MAHARASHTRA STATE GAZETTEERS

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MAHARASHTRA STATE GAZETTEERS



Government of Waharashfra

HISTORY PART I—ANCIENT PERIOD

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MAHARASHTRA STATE GAZETTEERS GENERAL SERIES

HISTORY PART I—ANCIENT PERIOD



GENERAL VOLUME—HISTORY

PART I

ANCIENT PERIOD

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CONTENTS

						PAGE
CONTRIBUTO	ORS	• •		•••	••	
PREFACE		• •	••		• •	
INTRODUCT	ION	••	••	• •	• •	
CHAPTER 1	PREHISTORIC (Deccan (3), I tecture (10), Early Politic Iconography Coins and I Amulets (38 (41), Glass Objects (48 Shell Objects	Pre and , Puranic cal Histo (28), I Bullie (35 8), Met and Glas), Objects	Proto Hisor Tradition (24), Painting (5), Boad allurgy are so Objects of Bone	story (5), he could be seen as the could be seen as	(23), (25), (34), and bjects acotta (53),	1
CHAPTER 2:	SATAVAHANA I Introduction (Satavahana of the Dyna	57), Hom and Satal	e of the l carni Nam	Satavahanas nes (71),	 (64), Kings	57
CHAPTER 3:	Successors of Abhiras (102), Rashtrakutas churis of Ma	Traikuta of Mana	kas (107), ipura (132 (136), M	Vakatakas 2), Early	(109) Kala-	101
CHAPTER 4:	THE WESTERN Kshaharata D (154), Thin Shaka Dynas	Kshatra ynasty (1 rd Shaka	PS 144), Hou Dynasty	nse of Chase (164), F	htana	143
CHAPTER 5:	Society, Reli 500 A.D.) Introduction Economic C (182), Educ	(169), Condition	Social (177), Re	 Condition (1 6 9),	169
CHAPTER 6:	CHALUKYAS OF End of the Cl				, .	201
CHAPTER 7:	RASHTRAKUTA	EMPIRE A	ND ITS FE	UDATORIES		233

PAGE	Ł
CHAPTER 8: Sinlaharas of Western India	•
CHAPTER 9: Chalukyas and the Kalachuryas of Kalyani 285 Chalukyas (285), Kalachuryas (345)	ś
CHAPTER 10: YADAVAS OF DEVACRI Early Yadavas (356), End of the Yadavas (374).	Š .
CHAPTER 11: SOCIETY, RELIGION AND CULTURE: 500 A.D. TO 1200 A.D	5
INDEX	
PLATES	

सन्यमेव जयते

PREFACE

This is the first part of the General Volume on History to be published in four parts. My thanks are due to Dr. H. D. Sankalia. the Late Dr. A. S. Altekar, Mahamahopadhyaya Dr. V. V. Mirashi, Shri N. Lakshmi Narayan Rao, and Dr. M. D. Paradkar and especially due to Dr. Mirashi who, besides contributing to the volume, revised the volume so as to bring it up-to-date and added a scholarly introduction.

I am thankful to the Joint Editor, Dr. B. G. Kunte and other members of the staff for the assistance rendered by them in the preparation of press copy and correction of proofs. My special thanks are due to Dr. M. D. Paradkar for preparing the Index to the volume. My thanks are also due to Shri J. W. D'Souza, Director. Government Printing, Stationery and Publications, Bombay, and Shri S. A. Sapre, Manager, Government Central Press, Bombay.

P. SETU MADHAVA RAO.

Executive Editor and Secretary.

Bombay: January 1968.

सन्यपेव जयते

INTRODUCTION

The first idea of compiling information about the different districts of the Bombay Presidency, conceived as far back as 1843, was in the form of Statistical Accounts. The Collectors of the districts were called upon to collect fullest information about 'the state of the cross and other roads not under the superintendence of a separate department, the passes and ferries throughout the country, the streets in the principal towns and the extension and improvement of internal communication'. The Collectors were also desired to include in their Annual Reports observations on every point from which a knowledge of the actual condition of the country could be gathered. In this scheme there was obviously no place for any section on history. Later, in 1867, it was proposed to compile a Gazetteer of the Presidency on the model of the Gazetteer of the Central Provinces which had been prepared during that year. So several new subjects were proposed to be included in the Gazetteer, of which history was one. The purpose was to give a new Collector a comprehensive and at the same time a distinct idea of the district which he had been sent to administer. To-day our notions about the Gazetteers have greatly changed. They are intended to serve not only the administrators but the entire nation. The people must have full information about inter alia the past history and culture of their country. So the subject of history has become an essential part of both the State and the District Gazetteers.

In the last Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency, which was completed in 1902, Volume I, Parts I and II were devoted to the history of the Presidency in all periods, ancient, mediaeval and modern. At that time Gujarat, Sindh and some Kanarese districts were included in the Bombay Presidency. Vol. I, Part I of that Gazetteer contained the Early History of Gujarat (B.C. 319-A.D. 1304), which was based on materials prepared by Pandit Bhagwanlal Indraji and completed by Mr. A.M.T. Jackson. Vol. I, Part II contained the following articles:—

- I. History of the Konkan by Rev. Alexander Kyd. Nairne.
- Early History of the Deccan down to Mahomadan Conquest by Prof. Ramkrishna Gopal Bhandarkar.
- III. The Dynasties of the Kanarese districts from the Earliest Historical Times to the Musalman Conquest by Dr. J. F. Fleet.

This Volume was very highly prized. The Editor says in the Preface, "The general contributions on History in Vol. I. Parts I and II are among the valuable portions of the Gazetteer.". The

articles dealing with the ancient period, written as they were by eminent scholars like Bhagwanlal Indraji, R.G. Bhandarkar and J. F. Fleet, have always been regarded as authoritative.

These Gazetteer Volumes, which were completed more than fifty years ago, have since become antiquated and the need was therefore felt to bring them up to date. In 1949 a Board was set up to undertake the work of revision and compilation of District Gazetteers. The Board then decided to prepare General Volumes covering the whole of the then Bombay State to be published along with the District Volumes. The General Volumes were to be on the following subjects:—

- (1) People,
- (2) Geography.
- (3) Public Administration.
- (4) Botany.
- (5) History.
- (6) Language and Literature.
- (7) Fauna.

Of these, the History Volume was to be published in four parts viz., (1) Ancient Period, (2) Mediaeval Period, (3) Maratha Period and (4) Modern Period. For the purpose of the compilation of the Volume on the Ancient Period, a committee of the following scholars was appointed:—

- (1) Dr. H. D. Sankalia,
- (2) Dr. A. S. Altekar, and
- (3) Dr. S. C. Nandimath.

Some chapters were written by them and some were assigned to other scholars. Later, in 1956, the States were reorganised. The Kanarese districts of the former Bombay State were transferred to the Mysore State. Subsequently, in 1960, Maharashtra and Gujarat too were bifurcated and Vidarbha was added to form Maharashtra comprising all Marathi-speaking districts. Consequently, the original scheme of the History Volume had to be greatly modified. Some chapters had to be omitted, some had to be added, while some others were required to be re-written.

The present Volume on the history of the Ancient Period consists of eleven chapters as stated below:—

- 1. Pre-historic Cultures and Remains by Dr. H. D. Sankalia.
- 2. The Satavahana Empire and its Feudatories by the late Dr. A. S. Altekar.

- 3. The Successors of the Satavahanas in Maharashtra by Dr. V. V. Mirashi.
- 4. The Western Kshatrapas by the late Dr. A. S. Altekar,
- 5. Society, Religion and Culture (200 B.C. to 500 A.D.) by the late Dr. A. S. Altekar.
- 6. The Chalukyas of Badami by Shri N. Lakshminarayan Rao.
- 7. The Rashtrakuta Empire and its Feudatories by the late Dr. A. S. Altekar and Dr. V. V. Mirashi.
- 8. Shilaharas by Dr. V. V. Mirashi.
- The Chalukyas and the Kalachuryas of Kalyani by Dr. S, L. Katare.
- 10. The Yadavas of Devagiri by the late Dr. A. S. Altekar.
- Society, Religion and Culture (500 A.D. to 1200 A.D.) by Dr. M. D. Paradkar.

It will be noticed that the present Volume is far more comprehensive than the corresponding portion of Vol. I of the earlier edition. It deals fully with the prehistoric culture of Maharashtra, its prehistory and proto-history, its arts and architecture, its ornaments and implements. Again the historical chapters in the earlier edition dealt only with political history, while the present Volume contains two chapters treating of society, religion and culture in the two broad periods in which the early history of Maharashtra can be divided. This is in keeping with the modern wider conception of history.

Some of the chapters in the present Volume were written more than fifteen years ago. Since then there has been much advance in our knowledge of the ancient history of Maharashtra. All articles have therefore been thoroughly revised and the information in them has been brought up to date. The notes added by me have been distinguished by my initials. It is hoped that the present Volume will give a fuller and more authentic history of Maharashtra than before.

It is a matter for regret that one of the contributors to the present Volume, Dr. A. S. Altekar, who wrote several chapters for it, passed away before it would be brought out. His death has been a serious loss to the cause of ancient Indian history.

V. V. MIRASHI.

Nagpur: 15th January 1968.

CHAPTER 1

PRE-HISTORIC CULTURE AND REMAINS*

THE STATE OF MAHĀRĀSTRA COMPRISES A LARGE PART OF WESTERN INDIA. It extends between 22·1 and 16·4 degrees north latitude and 72·6 and 80·9 degrees east longitude. The Arabian sea marks its western limit; on the north-west, north, south and south-east lie Gujarāt, Madhya Pradeśa, Mysore and Andhra Pradeśa respectively. The area of the State is 118279·9 sq. miles which is about 9·64 per cent. of the area of the Indian Union excluding Goa, Daman and Div. According to 1961 census the population of the State is 3,95,53,718 souls.

For the administrative convenience the State is divided into four divisions, viz., Bornbay, Poonā, Aurangābād and Nāgpūr. Bornbay Division comprises the districts of Greater Bornbay, Thāṇā, Kolābā Ratnāgirī, Nāśik, Dhuliā and Jalgānv; while the districts of Ahmadnagar, Pooṇā, Sātārā, Sānglī, Solāpūr and Kolhāpūr are included in the Pooṇā Division. The districts in the Marāthavādā region, viz., Aurangābād, Parbhaṇī, Bīḍ, Nānded and Usmānābād are included in Aurangābād Division, while the districts in the Vidarbha region, viz., Bulḍhāṇā, Akolā, Amarāvatī, Yeotmāļ, Wardhā, Nāgpūr, Bhaṇḍārā and Cāndā form part of Nāgpūr Division.

Physiography of the State may be considered first. For, it has determined the subsequent political, economic, social and cultural development of the State. Mahārāṣṭra consists of two main divisions. (1) The Deccan Plateau, and (2) the Konkan Plain. The plateau is one mass of basaltic lava which erupted and spread over the ancient land surface some time during the Upper Creatceous period. (Excluding Māļvā and some part of Northern Karnāṭak, its limit is almost conterminous with the limits of the Marāṭhī language.) The lava spread in horizontal beds of great thickness, having intercalated softer beds of ash. This particular feature, followed by a long period of denudation and sub-aerial weathering have given a characteristic topography to the land. Residual hills, often towering high into series of terraces, and punctuated by peaks, with luxuriant

CHAPTER 1.

Pre-historic Culture and Remains.

This chapter is contributed by Dr. H. D. Sankalia, M.A., LL.B., Ph.D. (London), Joint Director, Deccan College Post-graduate and Research Institute, Poonā.

Vf 3010-1

Pre-historic Culture and Remains. vegetation on their laterite covered tops, and basins forming river valleys, have sprung up. In the drier parts of the region on the east have developed the famous black "regur" soil. This almost uniform alternate occurrence of valleys and hills towards the west, and gently sloping plains towards the east and south-east have contributed not a little to the peculiar culture of Mahārāṣṭra.

The coastal strip of Konkan (stretching from the southern limit of North Kānarā to Damangangā in the north) is believed to be platform of marine denudations raised to form a narrow plain. It is neither uniformly level nor straight, nor equally fertile.

The plain is dissected by parallel and transverse sub-Sahyādri hills, some of which reach the sea. The Kalyān creek separates the plain into North and South Konkan respectively. Both are drained by parallel streams, but the former is more fertile with vast deposits of river silt. The latter is cut up into parts by hills and rendered further useless by extensive occurrences of laterites.

There are two principal river systems, that of the Godāvarī, and of the Kṛṣṇā. Countless streams and a number of rivers, which have their watershed in one or the other of the Western Ghāṭ hills, join these larger rivers and flow eastwards. Besides these, the region has a number of wells, lakes, canals and natural springs (in hills).

Mahārāstrian culture is comparatively homogeneous. Here there is comparatively less admixture of peoples (though recent anthropometrical investigations tend to show an increasingly northern racial element, comparable to that of other States, in the higher castes of Mahārāstra). This has been due to the fact that the numerous trap ridges have formed an effective barrier to outside influences and given to the inhabitants an isolated but independent outlook on life. The ridges have been pierced, no doubt, by a number of ghāts (passages), which enable contact with the Konkan and Gujarāt coast, but these are at all times difficult to negotiate. In such a region the centres of the earliest cultures and civilization once again have been the fertile river valleys, particularly the confluences of two or more rivers, or in times of stress mountain fastnesses and hollows. We had thus the early Aryan settlement in Vidarbha (Berār) and later on the Godavari, and the Satavahana towns at Paithan (Pratisthana), Nevāsā, Nāśik, Kolhāpūr and Karhād along the banks of the Godāvarī, the Pravarā, the Panchgangā and confluence of the Kṛṣṇā-Vennā. The Vākātakas later chose the valley of the Vindhyas, Rāstrakūtas, Mayūrakhandī while some of the Silāhāras preferred the coastal strip of Konkan, the Yadayas first chose Candor (Candradityapura) in the Nāśik District, but later made Devagiri their capital.

The creeks and ports of Konkan, like Caul, Kalyān, Sopārā, Rājapurī, have also played an important part in the formation of the Mahārāṣṭrian cul'ure, both by giving and letting in foreign influence by way of trade and immigration.

The appellation 'Deccan' can claim m higher antiquity. It is apparently based on 'Dakhan' which is derived from 'Dakṣiṇā-patha', meaning 'the southern road'. Since the times of Yāska, this seems to have been m general name for the country south of the Narmadā upto Kanyākumārī. Several Purāṇas, the Mahābhārata and the Rāmāyaṇa, and Baudhāyana and Kautilya refer to it. It is also occasionally mentioned in the Buddhist Jātakas and early Jain literature. The Greeks and the Romans knew it under the name of Dachinabdes. These are general terms from which the exact limits of the country denoted by Dakṣiṇāpatha cannot be deduced.

Two early epigraphical allusions, however, give a clue. Nāganikā and Rudradāman call Sātavāhana Sātakarņī as the lord of the Dakṣiṇāpatha. A consideration of the countries ruled by this emperor, suggests that 'Dakṣiṇa' included the country between the Narmadā and the Kṛṣṇā, definitely excluding the far south (Malabār) and at times even the Konkan. It would thus roughly correspond with the modern Marāthī term 'Deś' and the English 'Deccan', implying the plateau country only.

About the 5th-6th century, this term of wider significance began to be replaced by the name 'Mahārāṣṭra'. How and when it originated first cannot be well ascertained at present. Four explanations are offered by (i) Ketkar, (ii) Bhagwanlal Indraji, (iii) R. G. Bhandarkar and (iv) P. V. Kane.

The first derives it from 'Mahār' the third from 'Rathi' or Mahārathi' and the rest from Mahā-rāṣṭra, a 'vast country' gradually being opened up for civilization and replacing the old 'Daṇḍakāraṇya'.

None of these theories is convincing, and none is supported by contemporary usage, either literary or epigraphical.

But there is no doubt that when a Ceylonese Chronicle (Mahāvamśa) used the term in the 5th century or when Ravikīrti described Pulakeśin II as the ruler of 'three Mahārāṣṭrakas', the name must have been current, at least for a couple of centuries earlier, if not from the 1st or 2nd century B. C., as argued by Kane.

The limits of this early Mahārāṣṭra are not easy to fix. The Mahāvamśa itself specifically zones it off from Aparānta and Vānavāsa; so Konkan and the lower Deccan (or parts of modern Northern Karnāṭak or ancient Kuntala) seem to be excluded. We thus get back to the "Deccan" proper.

This would be perhaps one "Mahārāṣṭra"; but what constituted the three of the Aihole inscription? Possibly, Vidarbha, Kuntala and Mahārāṣṭra, though it might be mentioned that Rājaśekhara enumerates each of these separately. Briefly, the Deccan or Mahārāṣṭra included broadly the country from the Narmadā up to the Kṛṣṇā in the south. The furthermost limit in the east was Vainagaṅgā or the river Bendī in Cāndā district, and in the west the Arabian sea. These are co-extensive with the present spread of

CHAPTER I

Pre-historic Culture and Remains.

DECCAN.

Pre-historic Culture and Remains.

DECCAN.

the Marāthī language. If the language of the early Prākṛt inscriptions can be well determined and the distribution of the Mahārāṣṭrī plotted, then perhaps the ancient Mahārāṣṭra might be found to extend still further.

The most ancient place-name in this country seems to be Vidarbha, probably the earliest Aryan settlement. For, it is mentioned in the Attareya Brāhmaṇa, and occurs later in the Brhadāraṇyaka and the Jaiminiya Upaniṣads. It along with Rṣīka, Aśmaka, Daṇḍaka, Mūlaka, Kuntala and Aparānta of early instriptions and Brāhmanic, Buddhist and Jain literatures would constitute the principal divisions of the ancient Deccan (as well as of modern Mahārāṣṭra). Vidarbha comprised the present Berār (Varhāḍ) and the eastern districts of Wardhā, Cāndā, Nāgpūr and Bhaṇḍārā. Rṣīka, Aśmaka, Mūlaka and Daṇḍaka between them covered the whole of the middle and the upper Godāvarī valley. Kuntala, southern Deccan, included parts of Northern Karnāṭak; and Aparānta, the present Konkaṇ, a portion of southern Gujarāt or ancient Lāṭa.

The most famous towns and cities of these divisions were Kundina (Kaundinyapura) in Vidarbha, Nāśik or Govardhana in Dandaka (?), Pratisthāna (Paithan) in Aśmaka-Mūlaka (?). Karahātaka and Vanavāsī in Kuntala, Sūrpāraka, and Kalyāna with the hill Kṛṣṇagirī in Aparānta.

The Arabian Sea forms the western boundary of the entire State. This seafront has several ports: Sopārā, Caul, Kalyāṇa, etc. These have, from early historic and prehistoric times, been used mainly for commerce, but also for wars, and emigration to and from foreign lands. Thus the whole of the Near and Far West, including Iran, Iraq, Africa, Egypt, and later Rome and other Mediterranean countries were brought into contact with Western India. Relations were also established with Ceylon and other islands in the Indian archipelago.

What was the road system inside Mahārāṣṭra cannot be indicated in detail. Numerous Buddhist cave settlements seem to lie along the main lines of communications. Contact with the plains below was maintained through several passes in the hills, known as Ghāts. Khiṇḍs, etc. Of these, the most well-known seems to be the Nāṇeghāṭ between Junnar and Broach and Āmbāghāṭ and Phoṇḍāghāṭ between Kolhāpūr and Raṭnāgirī.

The latest survey of Mahārāṣṭra was made by Dr. Karve.

This survey² reveals the following facts of the physical characteristics of the people of Mahārāṣṭra.

The survey comprises over forty castes and tribes from Mahārāṣṭra.

¹ These countries are also mentioned in the present Bhismaparvan (c. 400 A.D.).

This section—(pp. 4-5), is contributed by Dr. I. Karve.

² Karve and Dandekar, Deccan College Monograph Series, 8, Poona, 1951, and Karve, "Anthropometric measurements in Karnatak, and Orissa, etc.," the Journal of the Anthropological Society, Bombay, (1954).

The whole sample ranged in cephalic index from 72 to nearly 83 i.e. from dolicho-cephals to the lower brachy-cephals.

The only dolicho-cephalic people in Mahārāṣṭra are the Kātkari, Wārlī, Koļī from the Western Ghāṭs; Koṅkaṇ Kuṇbī, Āgarī and Karhāḍā Brāhmins from the coast, Gujar, Lewā from north Khāndeś and Povār, Kohali, Bacane Mahār, Khaire Kuṇbī, Mana Kuṇbī, Goṇḍ, Govārī, Halbī and Kolam from eastern Mahārāṣṭra. The Bhils of Mahārāṣṭra fall just outside this range. If one plots these dolicho-cephals, one can see that they belong to the highlands and the peripheral region of the Mahārāṣṭra.

The overwhelming population of Mahārāṣṭra (Central and partly coastal) belongs to meso-cephalic people. In Mahārāṣṭra there is a good substratum of dolicho-cephals in hills, on the coast and in eastern Mahārāṣṭra.

The Mahārāṣṭra region was known as Daṇḍakāraṇya—the Daṇḍaka forest—with a lot of aboriginal people living in it. It seems that these were a long-headed, medium-statured people with noses ranging from extreme broad to medium broad. This region exended southwards upto and beyond the Kṛṣṇā and northwards into the forest belt of Central India. Into this population came an immigrant meso-cephalic people from north-west (?). The same population seems to have migrated southward viz. the Konkan coast, then up on the Ghāṭs. This movement of the meso-cephals seems to have driven the Mahārāṣṭra dolicho-cephals westwards and northwards. Possibly it was this immigration which drove the Goṇḍs northwards. They pushed the Vraons who, in their turn, pushed the Muṇḍas to the east and north. This is only a surmise which needs to be investigated anthropologically, culturally and linguistically.

Mahārāṣṭra coastal meso-cephals have less prominent noses and have lighter colour complexion. The people on the central plateau of Mahārāṣṭra are darker-skinned.

Until 1940 only the archæology of the historic periods was to some extent known. That of the pre-and proto-historic periods was believed to be non-existent in Mahārāṣṭra, inspite of the pioneer work of Robert Bruce Foote.

Since 1941 explorations and excavations, though on a small scale, have been started. These help us to give some idea of the life during the pre-historic period.

From a survey of the foot-hills in Konkan, and along the Godavarī, the Pravarā, the Mūlā, the Tāpī and other rivers in Mahārāṣṭra, it can now be said that early man lived in these regions along the river banks and on the foot-hills. All these rivers then flowed in a comparatively wider and higher bed. The climate was initially hotter than today; it gradually became more dry. The period when this happened cannot be definitely stated. But from the occurrence

CHAPTER 1.

Pre-historic Culture and Remains.

PRE- AND PROTO-HISTORY.

Pre-historic Culture and Remains.

PRE- AND PROTO-HISTORY.

of the fossil fauna of the Middle Pleistocene period in the gravels of the Godavarī and the Pravarā1 and the Tapī and its tributaries and the typological tools from these rivers it would appear that the first appearance of man in Mahärāṣṭra was not earlier than the Middle Pleistocene (Sankalia, 1946, 1952, 1956; Joshi 1955; Todd, 1939 and IAD, 1956-59).

We have no idea how this man looked and from where he came. The only artifacts which have survived are his stone tools. might have used tools of bones and wood, but these seem to have perished. However, since highly mineralized bones and wood have been discovered from the Deccan, it is possible that in future, these as well as skeletal remains of man himself will be found, discoveries which will give a fuller picture of Early Man and his environment. Though the material is stone, its nature differs according to the region. The tools of basalt material but generally called dolerite, which form dykes in the basalt were used by man in the Deccan. An exception was made by the Konkan man. He used quartzite chert and flint.

The tools can be classified as under:-

- (1) Hand-axes (various).
- (2) Cleavers.
- (3) Scrapers.
- (4) Discoids.
- (5) Choppers.

It appears that the tools were on slabs taken out from the parent rock (basalt and dolerite).

Since the cruder-free as well as the finer-controlled-flanking techniques are found in tools from the same horizon, this palæolithic industry is called Abbevillio-Acheulian. It must have an earlier beginning and further development which more extensive surveys in the State might bring to light2.

Middle **Palæolithic** Period.

What is described above belongs to the lower Palæolithic Period. Ouite recently work in the Deccan showed that this culture was gradually replaced by another palæolithic industry. It also coincides with a wet phase. Clear stratigraphic and typological evidence is hitherto available from the Pravara and the Godavari. Unlike the earlier tools, these later are comparatively small, and made on different technique from quite different raw material. In the Deccan preference was given to agate, jasper and chert. A few of the tools are now made on Levallois flakes, though a large number are on cores and asymmetrical, irregular flakes. These tools include a large variety of scrapers and points but a few blades and still fewer burins or gravers. (Sankalia, 1956).

¹ Recently palæoliths have been discovered at Kaundinyapura, district Amara-

vatī, and at Nāgpūr. See I. A. R., (1958-59), p. 68.

2 A very recent (January 1960), discovery at Gangapūr, five miles north-west of Nasik, disclosed very small, finely made, 'point-like' hand-axes and cleavers. These recall the late Acheulian of France.

The exact geological age of this industry is not known. Since the lowest gravel bed yields remains of Bos nomadicus, Elephant anticus, and other highly fossilized (silicified) bones, as well as remains of wood, some of which are of the Middle Pleistocene Period, the immediately overlying gravel bed might belong to the PRE- AND PROTO-Upper Pleistocene at least, though the occurrence of Bos nomadicus Falconer might indicate an earlier age.

CHAPTER 1. Pre-historic

Culture and **Hemains.** HISTORY.

There seems to have been a break in the sequence of culture after this. For, the gravels are capped by a layer of brownish sandy silt, its thickness varying from 30 ft. to 10 ft. or so.

In the Deccan this layer is overlain by a layer of black soil which may be nothing but weathering in situ under certain-humid-climatic conditions of the silt. Its thickness varies considerably and is totally absent where the underlying rock forms the surface. Owing to summer rains and wind activity hundreds of dunes or hillocks have been formed. Some of these enclose small inundation lakes. Around these on the dunes grew up another stone-using cu'ture. The bearers of this culture used tiny stone tools, called microliths. The people lived on low sand-dunes locally called timbas. They were hunters and lived on the flesh of sheep, goat, cow/ox, pig, rhinoceros, deer, all probably undomesticated, tortoise and birds and fish. All these animals were brought to the mound, where they were cut up and the marrow removed from bones. The microliths were also manufactured here. Thus a four to six feet debris of bones and stones has accumulated at the habitation site.

The tools were made from a coarse variety of chert, quartz, agate and carnelian and include lunates, trapeze, triangles, burins and asymmetrical blades and various kinds of scrapers or flakes as well as cores. Among the last occur a few fluted cores as well, whereas the rest have one, two or many platforms, and are indeed amorphous. The use of ornaments is attested by the occurrence of a flat round head of unidentified material and cut denatalium shell. The latter indicates contact with the west coast.

The primitive hunters buried their dead right in their habitation debris, along with the dog, which might have been domesticated. Hitherto some 12 skeletons have been found, all of which are found placed in an extremely flexed posture, with the feet tucked up right under the buttocks. These people were comparatively tall with thin legs, dolicocephalic heads and protruding lips. These physical characteristics resemble those of the Hamitic people of Egypt-Towards the later phase of this culture it appears that a pottery with red slip or incised criss-cross design and of coarse pale yellow texture had come into use. These few sherds in association with hourglass-like made head or ring-stone suggest an advanced stage of culture comparable to the Neolithic (Sankalia, 1956, and the references therein).

Microliths are found in Konkan and rest of Mahārāṣṭra. But except at Kandivali (Todd, 1939; 1950), their exact stratigraphical position Pre-historic
Culture and
Remains,
Pre- AND PROTO-

is not ascertained. Hence it is not possible to assign them to any definite date. Nor do we know anything about other aspects of the culture they represent. But there are great potentialities. Recently near Badāmī the writer examined a cave called Sidlephadī. Here microliths are found along with pot-sherds, but what their exact relationship is cannot be guessed without excavation.

In northern Deccan, microliths of a specialised kind persisted in the Chalcolithic or Copper Age and definite traces of such a cultural stage are now available from that area, as in the Indus valley or Harappā civilisation.

About the same time, Chalcolithic cultures had grown up in the Deccan, in the valleys of the Tāpī, Girṇā, Pravarā, the Godāvarī and the Bhīmā and its tributaries. The Kṛṣṇā has not yet been surveyed, but sooner or later, Chalcolithic sites are bound to be found in this river-valley also.

The Deccan Chalcolithic cultures have certain common features, viz., a painted pottery, short blade industry on chalcedony, a few tools and ornaments of copper or bronze and a consistent use of beads of faience and burnt steatite [or chalk, as indicated by Dr. Lal's (Archæological Chemist) analysis]. These cultures also seem to represent the earliest colonisation by a civilised man on the black or dark-brown soil which forms the surface soil in the Deccan and Karnātak. However, the pottery differs from valley to valley. though everywhere it is painted, usually in black, over a red, or reddish slip. An exception to this general picture has recently been provided by Diamäbād, about 15 miles east of Nevāsā in Ahmadnagar district. Here the typical Jorwe-Nevasa culture is preceded by two earlier ones. The differences are primarily in shapes and designs At Prakase the designs consisted "mainly of hutched diamonds. horizontal or oblique bands, criss-cross and wavy lines, ladderpatterns and also animal motifs". No account of the Bahāl (Girnā) culture is yet published, but its pottery has more affinity with that of the Tapī, which in its turn is basically related to the Narmadā valley (Moheśvar-Nāgdā) Chalcolithic culture. A better picture is available of the Chalcolithic culture of the Godavari-Pravara basins. Though a number of sites in these valleys are located, only three. Nāśik. Jorwe and Nevāsā, are partially excavated. It appears that the first inhabitants settled on a black or brownish soil which had developed owing to a change in climatic conditions, and consequent heavy vegetation on the aggradation deposits (sandy silt) of the Deccan From the occurrence of workshops containing anvils. hammer stones, and fully or partially polished stone axes of dolerite in their habitations, it appears that before these people came, there was a Polished Stone-using Culture in the region of which no distinct stratigraphical occurrence is hitherto found; or that they (the Copper Age people) had contact with this culture which seems to

¹ A very recent survey (January 1960), of the Godavari and Pravara valleys revealed that a loose, very late gravel covers the fringe of the oldest or first terrace. This contains microliths of chalcedony.

have flourished in pure neolithic form on the south-east coast. Whatever it be, since no development is visible either in pottery forms or fabrics, it must be presumed that this Chalcolithic culture entered fully developed from without. The houses were of square or rectangular shape; their floors made with lime and gravel, or lime and burnt black clay. The walls were supported on uncut, round, PRE- AND PROTOtimber posts. Possibly, these huts had had slanting roofs, made of reeds and grass. Most of the pottery was fine, thin-walled, made of well levigated clay and uniformly baked. This was covered with a red or reddish slip and painted in black. This painting is very regularly done with a thin brush, but the designs are very monotonous. These are generally linear and geometric, and include many zig-zag, lattice or criss-cross patterns. Animal designs, though few and extremely scarce, are realistic and beautiful. The bodies of dog, antelope and unidentified animal were shown in solid black.

The characteristic types are vessels for drinking or pouring with carinated shoulders, flaring rims and a long side spout, so that it could be used as a 'drinking tube', bowls with rounded bottoms and straight or carinated sides, and small flasks. Dishes seem to be rare. There was also a coarser, dull-brown, unslipped ware, used probably for preparing dough, and huge storage jars. Light grey and pink, partly handmade, globular vessels with comparatively narrow necks, but broad mouths with flaring rims were used for burying children. There was a fourth ware with thick, sturdy wall and black glossy surface, the rims of which were painted with a red paint after firing. However, hitherto an idea of the shapes in this fabric is not available. The storage jars were decorated with applique finger-tip ornament.

Among the copper or bronze objects, so far flat axes, a chisel, fish hook, small tubular as well as large biconical beads have been found. Ground and polished axes, adze chisels of dolerite were however, used and manufactured at Nevāsā. But for most of the daily needs for cutting, piercing, etc. blades were made of chalcedony. These include such types as parallel-sided flakes or blades, pen-knife, blade-like shapes, lunates, triangles, trapezes, points, and borers and a few scrapers on blade and on cores. The first two types predominate. Evidently, all these were hafted in a bone or wood handle.

Racially these people seem to be dolicocephalic with well-developed jaw.1 They buried the dead, right under the habitation floors. The adults were laid fully extended or in a slightly flexed posture in huge storage jars horizontally. These jars were marked off by an inch thick lime border. Some time an adult was laid right on the black soil, having a thin coating of lime. A fragmentation burial was practised in the case of children. The remains-portions of skull, ribs, etc.-were kept in the urns face-to-face horizontally or vertically.

CHAPTER 1.

Pre-historic Culture and Remains.

HISTORY.

¹ Till March 1960, nearly 90 burials have been found. Of these six are of adults. For the three, found in 1954-55, see the report by Dr. (Mrs.) Sophie Erhardt, in "From History to Prehistory at Nevāsa" (Poona, 1980), H. D. Sankalia, S. B. Deo, Z. D. Ansari, and S. Erhardt.

Pre-historic Culture and Remains.

PRE-AND PROTO-HISTORY.

Nevāsā (1959-60) indicate that these Latest excavations at people not only knew cotton and silk, but spun them on some cotton spinning appliance, and used the thread for stringing copper bead (and other) necklaces. One of such necklaces was found round the neck of a child buried in urn. Further the presence of millet, cells and epidermal hair besides fungel spores indicate the use of cattle dung in burial rites, whereas the presence of oil globules in the material found surrounding the string indicate the use of oil for anointing the human body during life and after death.

Who these Chalcolithic people were and what happened to them is not known. After a long interval, as evidenced by a weathered layer of black soil at Nevāsā, Nāśik and Prakāśe, we meet in the Deccan and elsewhere in India, an iron-using people. Since coins, sometimes bearing writing, are also associated with the remains of these people, the period can rightly be called Early Historic. This Early Historic period may be sub-divided regionally and dynastically according to the principal coin types, and other evidenceliterary or epigraphical.

Attention may be drawn to the existence of megaliths-over 300at Māhurjarī,1 near Junāpāņi, about 8 miles west of Nāgpūr, and Stone Circles at Cakalpet,2, Canda District.

If these are of the same type as those found in Mysore and South India, it will be possible to establish a link between pre-history and early history.

ARCHITECTURE:

Excepting the temples at Ter (in the Usmanabad District), no structural temples of the period, contemporary with the Sātavāhanas, Vākātakas, Traikūtakas or Early Cālukyas have been found in the Deccan. The Caitya-like temples as well as other Brahmanic temples at Ter might have been built during the Kalacuri regime. Whoever be the rulers, the fact that the temples of Uttareśvara and Käleśvara are built with moulded or carved bricks indicates that these probably belong to the 5th-6th century, when similar temples were being built in Rājputānā, Madhya Pradeśa and Bengal. Remains of such a moulded brick temple, also called Uttareśvara, were partially excavated at Kolhāpūr in 1946. The remains of two others, probably of the late 8th century, were discovered at Harni and Parinca, in Poonā District.3

Thus at present the long period of five to six hundred years seems to be a blank. Of the later period, the earliest temples—the Aisvara at Sinnar, the Koppeśvara at Khidrāpūr-are in the Călukya style. The latter developed in North Karnāṭak, in the temple cities at Aihole and Badami. It is impossible to describe here even all the important temples at these places. Only the line of development and the salient features are indicated. Fortunately, the few inscriptions from Aihole and Pattadkal confirm the stylistic inferences.

¹ I. A. R. (1958-59), p. 18.

² Ibid., p. 21. ⁸ See I. A. R. (1957-58).

The Aiśvara temple¹ at Sinnar consists of a shrine, antarala (antechamber) and an open-pillared-mandapa. The śikhara is lost. However, several decorative features such as Caja-Lakṣmī on the door-lintel, the saptamātṛka-frieze and aṣṭadikpāla ceiling, with the exquisitely carved makaratoraṇa seem to be inspired by conṭact with the later Cālukyas of Kalyāṇa under the feudatory Yādava king Parammadeva, about 1100 A.D. The only element which is of Northern style is the Kīcaka bracket.

While this temple is the northern-most specimen of Later Cālukyan style in the Deccan, the Kopeśvara temple at Khidrāpūr provides a southern specimen by showing the prevailing Kadamba influence also. It is definitely pre-Yādava as inscriptions on it attest. The temple consists of a garbha-gṛha, a gūḍha-maṇḍapa with three entrances, and detached sabhāmaṇḍapa. The last is star-shaped and incomplete. The original śikhara is lost, but the miniatures carved on various niched-panels indicate that it was like that of the Someśvara temple at Gadag. The ornamentation is varied and mixed, as exhibiting Hoysala and Kadamba influences in its lion brackets and pierced screens, but is not, however, of the best type-

Stylistically and also chronologically the later Deccan temples are divisible into six or seven groups. In plan and decoration, the temples of the earlier groups are more elaborate, ornate and artistic. Later, deterioration sets in, and ends in simple undecorated exteriors and interiors. The causes for this decay were primarily political; the social and cultural were its offshoots. With the Islamic conquests, and break down of the Yādava empire and its dependent kingdoms, royal patronage was lost. And in face of iconoclastic zeal, image sculpture was better left out.

In all these six groups, one-shrined temples dedicated mostly to Siva, but at times to Visnu or Surya or a Devi, predominate. But there are few, double or triple shrined temples in each group. Of the first group, the most noteworthy specimen is the temple at Ambarnāth (Thāṇā District). It together with the Nīlakantheśvara temple at Udaypür in Madhya Pradeśa (in the old Gwaliar State) and other temples mentioned here forms the early phase of the Deccan style. This seems to have come into vogue, as pointed out before, because of Parmāra-Rāstrakūṭa contact in the 10th century.2 Silāhāra inscription dates it at 1060 A.D. The other two are at Belsane (Dhulia District). The temple comprises a sunken garbhagrha and gudha-mandapa with three porches. It is tastefully decorated. As result of skilful manipulation of the plan, the walls right upto the sikhara from the the pitha (base) project and recede. These are further cut by deep horizontal mouldings. Thus we have all the parts of a mediæval temple, as noticed, except the asvathara and the narothara. The Jangha section of the wall proper has 70 figures of deities. Of these 40 are gods and goddesses. Most of

CHAPTER 1.

Pre-historic Culture and Remains.

ARCHITECTURE.

¹ This seems to have been missed by Sarasvati, op. ctt., in his review of the Deccan Temples.

² A recent inscription tells us that Bhillama III's general, Sridhara-danda-nāyaka's great-grandfather had served under the Paramāra Vairisimha of Dhārā, I. A. R. (1957-58), p. 56.

Pre-historic Culture and Remains.

ARCHITECTURE.

these are representations of Siva and Pārvatī. The śikhara or the Vimāna rises in four faces. The corners between these bands are filled with miniature śikharas. At the junction of mandovara (wall proper), and the base of the śikhara is a caitya window ornament inset with an image of the deity. The mandapa has pyramidal roof having cupola-shaped ornaments. There were three kinds of pillars, all beautifully sculptured. However, the most conspicuous features of the temple are its ceilings, the mandapa and the porches.

The triple-shrine at Belsāne (temple No. 1) is not only the earliest of its kind in the Deccan, but it is remarkable in the sense that it is not dedicated to Brahmā, Viṣṇu, and Siva, but to Siva and a form of Pārvatī.

It is even more richly decorated than the Ambarnath temple. Cousent says " We have here the style in its fullest development, crystallized into its richest details and sparking with light and shade from summit to basement.".

All the temples of the Second Group are situated within the ancient Seuņa-deśa (Jalgāńv, Dhuliā and Nāśik districts). That of Mahādeva at Jhoḍgā was built by Indrarāja of Nikumbha-Vamśa and is dated Śaka 1073 (1151 A.D.). Thus the temples of this style may be dated between 1100-1150 A.D. Of others the most well-known is the temple of Goṇḍeśvara at Sinnar. It is a Pañcāyatana type, and the śikharas, which cap the subsidiary shrines, are said to be quite unique in the Deccan (Naik, p. 233).

To this group also belong the small Brahmanic and Jaina temples at Anjaneri. One of the latter bears an inscription of Seunacandra, a Yadava prince of the minor branch, dated Saka 1093 (1142 A.D.). With the third Group of temples (1150-1200 A.D.) image sculpture becomes less and less, and there is corresponding increase of arabasque and geometric designs. Slender ornamental pillars. a characteristic feature of the much later temples, appears first at Sinnar and then at Anjaneri. However, some temples of this group, do bear images on the janghā. There are some 15 temples of this group. These are situated in the Dhulia, Nasik, Ahmadnagar and Poona Districts. As before, we have one-shrine, triple-shrine and many-shrine temples, of which special mention should be made of the ten-shrined temple at Belsane. It consists of the main shrine, facing north, in antechamber, a gudhamandapa, and a verandah porch in front. Around the sides of the mandapa are arranged ten small shrines, each of which is fitted with a carved doorway and an altar for the image against the backwall. This plan seems to follow the 5th-6th century Buddhist vihāras at Ajanthā.

From several other features, it is inferred that this was a Daśā-vatāra temple (Naik, 262).

While the Belsane temple presents a unique plan, that of Bhulesvar at Yavat is quite singular in a different way. In addition to the garbhagrha, mandapa and the Nandimandapa, it has a prakara (a wall running all round). This bears on the inside figures of saptamatrkas, each shown individually with her vahana, under

a beautiful semi-circular kārtimukha toraņa, together with the female forms of Gaņeśa and Vīrabhadra. Inspite of so many devī figures, the temple was that of Siva. It was not dedicated to a devī. One such, of Mahālakṣmī, is found at Tahākārī. It is moreover a triple-shrine, and on the dedicatory block of the shrine, there is a devī figure, instead of Gaņeśa or Sūrya.

In the Fourth Group of temples, not only the figure sculpture on the exterior disappears, but even the mouldings become less, a greater inclination being shown for flat surfaces. Consequently the plans undergo simplifications. Though the garbhagtha retains its angular shape, the mandapa is mostly a square. The sikharas, wherever they are extant, follow the Sinnar-Jhodgā pattern. Inside, the carvings become less plain, or are trabeated into rhomboid shape, and the pillars have usually cobra-brackets. There are a larger number of temples—all one-shrine—situated in the Districts of Ahmadnagar, Poonā, Sātārā, Solāpūr, and in the former Akkalkot, State, while a two-shrine temple is found at Gañjībhairav (Gañjībhoyrā), Ahmadnagar District, and three-shrined temples in the same district, and one each in the Sātārā and Akkalkot Districts.

Of these the temple at Bahāl, dedicated to Dvārajā or Bhavāni, is dated. It was built by Anantadeva, the chief astrologer of the Yādava king Sīnghaṇa in Saka 1144 (A.D. 1222). This and others may be considered as proto-types of the later Hemādpantī temples of the 14th century.

The double-shrined temple at Gañjibhoyrā, Ahmadnagar District, is in a way unique. It is dedicated to Siva and Viṣṇu, and is now known as Mahādeveśvara or Madhaveśvara, the latter being the more appropriate name. It has a common gūdha-maṇḍapa, with a shrine each on the east and west, facing each other, and open porches on the south and north.

Temples of the Fifth Group can be dated to 1300 A.D. or so, on the evidence of inscriptions in the temples at Velāpūr (Solāpūr District). The decoration is now confined to the interior only. This is found on pillars, pilasters and door-jambs in the form of floral and geometric patterns, kīrtimukhas and mithunas. The ceilings no longer bear cusp-shaped pendants. Instead may be found a lotus motif, human figures or kīrtimukhas.

Temples of this group, all one-shrined, are mainly distributed in arge numbers in the districts of Ahmadnagar (4), Solāpūr (7), and Sātārā (7). Of the three double-shrined temples, Ahmadnagar (Sirur), Solāpūr (Veļāpūr) and Nāśik (Deosthān), have one each, while Pedgānv and Karjat (Ahmadnagar), and Veļāpūr and Kāndaļgānv (Solāpūr) have triple-shrined temples.

Though from one point of view the temples of the sixth group bring this survey of temple architecture to a close, from another they herald a style which remained in vogue for the succeeding five centuries. Though plain, simple and uninteresting architecturally, through sheer cheapness of cost, they became popular all over the Deccan. These are the true Hemādpantī temples, and are found in

CHAPTER 1.

Pre-historic Culture and Remains.

ARCHITECTURE.

Pre-historic Culture and Remains.

ARCHITECTURE.

Poonā (2), Sātrā (6), Khāndes (4), Ahmadnagar (25), and Nāśik (7) Districts, and also in Berār (Akolā, Bulḍhāṇā, and Yeotmāl Districts¹) and Marāṭhvāḍā (Bīḍ, Nānded, Usmānābād and Parbhaṇt²). Amongst these we have even triple-shrined temples at Viţe (sāṅgalī), and Rāśin (Ahmadnagar).

The Deccan has a comparatively smaller number of Jaina temples. Though inscriptional references indicate that Jainism was mostly Digambara and prevalent in south Deccan, Jaina temples are found widly distributed all over the regions—Berar, Khāndeś, Ahmadnagar, Nāśik, Ṭhāṇā, Śolāpūr and Kolhāpūr Districts and that of Marāṭhvādā. Many of them are in a ruinous condition. Epigraphically and stylistically it appears that none is earlier than 1100 A.D.

Of the surviving ones, the most important group is at Anjaneri, which was nothing short of a Jaina town or colony. This included temples, mathas, (educational houses) and dharmaśājās. The earliest temple, dedicated to Candraprabha, the 8th Tirthankara, seems to have been built in Saka 1063 (A.D. 1141). Like the one-shrined Brahmanic temples, it and others of the group consist of the garbhagrha, antarāja, and an open mandapa. Since the mandapa is small, it has no pillars. But there are a couple of pillars and pilasters in the verandah, having brackets with Nāga-heads. Though less ornate, there is a fine sense of proportion in the various decorative features. Instead of Brahmanic gods and goddesses the lintel-jamb etc. have the figures of Jinas.

The important cave temples of Karnātak provide a unique opportunity for understanding the development of structural temples. The first phase of development covering nearly three centuries (A. D. 450-750) is afforded by the temple cities of Aihole and Paṭṭad-kal. All these were built by the early Cālukyan kings. To the second phase belong temples which were built during the later Cālukyas, and their contemporaries the Hoysalas, between the 10th-13th centuries. The Rāṣṭrakūṭas who ruled between the two, perhaps, spent all their time and wealth in enriching Ellorā. Hence not many Rāṣṭrakūṭa temples are found within Karnātak.

Archæology of the historical period was hitherto thought of from the point of architecture and sculpture only (Marshall, Majumdar). It would be more logical to have a much wider connotation, and divide it into (i) Civil, (ii) Military and (iii) Religious. Of course, no remains of civil buildings—in villages and towns—were known from the Mahäräṣtra State, though names of several towns such as Nāśik, Govardhana, Kalyāṇ, Sūrpāraka, are mentioned in cave-inscriptions of the 1st-2nd century B.C.—A.D. According to Pliny, 'the Andhras had thirty fortified cities'. All these towns are, therefore, most likely to have existed in Maurya times. (For they were not founded just for Buddhist Bhikṣus). These towns lay on or near the ancient highways, ports and rivers. Within the last 10 years, excavations

¹ At Yeotmal, there are some Hemadpanti temples Yeotmal District Gazetteer, p. 10.

² The monuments in these districts have not been yet scientifically studied.

have brought to light remains of ancient (built) habitations at Bahāl, Nāśik, Paithan,¹ Ter, Nevāsā, Karhād, in the Deccan. These thus show that both these sources recorded but an existing fact, and incidentally they give us some times the civil architecture, though at none of the above mentioned sites the excavations were large enough to give us a clear picture of town planning. Still we can have a glimpse of the houses at Kolhāpūr and Nāśik.

The large mound overlooking the Godavari at Nasik contains the remains of early dwellings, Chalcolithic and Early Historical, as shown by 1950-51 excavations (Sankalia and Deo, 1950). latter, were however, on a very small scale. So we have no full idea of the early dwellings. It would, however, appear that the houses during the earlier historical period (c. 250 B.C.) were simple huts, made with bamboo or wooden posts. The floors of these were made with sticky black clay, interbedded with a layer of sand. Three or four such floors were exposed by the excavations. Such a practice of making floors seems to have been common at this period in the Deccan. At Nevāsā and also at Ter the floor was made with lime and hemp or lime and black clay, often with a gravel bed (Indian Archeology, a Review, 1954-55, 1955-56). The use of bricks was also known. These bricks were usually big. The roofs of these houses were covered with tiles, which had two holes at one end. Iron nails were inserted in these holes, so that the tiles were firmly secured to the rafters. The inhabitants were probably Buddhists at Nāśik, and perhaps at Nevāsā, as pottery and a seal with Buddhist symbols would indicate. The inhabitants used principally three types of pottery (1) an ordinary coarse red ware which included small and big storage jars, dishes and cups, (2) a black-and-red ware for eating and drinking. This is of finer fabric, generally smooth with a black interior and black-and-red exterior due to inverted firing. Usually bowls, dishes and small lotas or water-vessels are found in this ware, (3) this was a highly specialised ware, known as the Northern Black Polished (NBP) ware. It had its origin in the eastern Gangetic valley, and a few vessels seem to have been brought in the Deccan by the migrants and less probably as imports.

During the succeeding period regular brick buildings appear at Nāśik, Nevāsā and Kolhāpūr. From the associated coins the period may be called the Late Āndhra or Sātavāhana (c. 1000 Å. D.). Though the excavations were nowhere very extensive, the Kolhāpūr evidence suggests that some of the houses had three or four small rooms bounded by a verandah in front and in the rear (Sankalia and Dikshit, 1952). The walls were about 12 ft. high and the roof made with tiles as described previously. The foundation of these houses was well-made by laying large pebbles of trap or basalt in sticky black clay. The kitchen-floor was paved with bricks, while storage jars were either sunk into the floor or in the wall. Cooking

CHAPTER 1.

Pre-historic Culture and Remains.

ARCHITECTURE.

¹ Paithan was excavated by the Department of Archæology of the Ex-Hyderabad Government. Unfortunately, no detailed report of this excavation

available, except

brief one.

Pre-historic Culture and Remains.

ARCHITECTURE.

was done on hearths (Culas) made with three large stones, its front closed by a clay border in which ash was collected. Each house, it appears, had one or two wells made with bricks or pottery rings. These wells seemed to have served as refuse pits, all over India at this period.

The inhabitants were non-vegetarian, but rice, wheat, joari, bājari, nācanī or rāgī, moong, udīd, gram and karadī oil were also used-Besides the black-and red ware, a fine red polished ware, comprising mainly bowls, dishes and sprinklers and a blackish rouletted ware probably influenced by Roman wares were also current, while Roman or Mediterranean wine was imported in large amphoras. Græco-Roman influence is visible also in the bronze dishes, bowls and human figures. A goddess, apparently nude, seated in European style and possibly also a foreign import, was worshipped all over the Deccan. There was also another goddess. She is shown headless but with a lotus garland round the neck, a flower or other girdle, heavy anklets and seated in a pecular-birth giving pose, with the pudenda prominently shown. Such figures may be in imitation of the Egyptian goddess Bavbo, and introduced in India about the 1st-2nd century A.D. with Roman trade. Or as shown by Stella Kramrishch, a representation of the goddess Aditī-Uttānapāda. So far only small terracotta and stone figures are found from Ter and Nevāsā.

Figures of Poseidon and other Roman gods are also found at Kolhāpūr, but it is not known whether they were worshipped. Iron was in general use. Plough-shares, socketed axes, tanged arrowheads, hunting knives, daggers and swords, lamps or oil-fillers. roasting pans, etc. are found in these houses. Grain was ground in rotary querns, also of foreign origin, of a heavy, cruder type, with two side slots running horizontally, through which probably a wooden plank with hole for a vertical handle was inserted. Saddle querns with or without legs were used for preparing spices, etc. (These are indeed too small for grinding grains.). Bangles which were worn probably on wrists, arms and ankles and necklaces and earrings constituted the chief ornaments. The bangles were made of clay (rarely), chank shell, ivory, bones and glass, and at times inlaid with gold leaf. The necklaces were made with beads of terracotta, semi-precious stones such as agate, carnelian, jasper, lapis-lazuli, faience, burnt steatite and glass. The last were sometimes decorated with goldfoil. Among the toilet articles occur combs of bone or ivory, collyrium sticks of bone, ivory or copper and skin rubbers of burnt clay as well as of soft porous stone volcanic rock.

In the Deccan, we know little except the fact that many of the hills in the Deccan might have been fortified, as they definitely were, after the 14th century. Indeed they have not been examined from this point of view. It is more than likely that the present fort of Daulatābād—the ancient Devagirī now in the Aurangābād District was selected by the Yādavas because of its impregnable

and strategic position. So this, and the forts like Rājamācī, overlooking the Końkan, Lohagad, Visāpūr, Narnāļā¹ (Akolā District) and others may be cited as possible strongholds of the pre-12th century period as well.

Amongst the religious architecture come Brahmānic temples and Buddhist and Jaina Stūpas and Vihāras. No temple, earlier than 5th century, is hitherto known, barring perhaps the one at Ter. The Stūpas etc. are of two kinds: Rock-cut and Structural. Of these, the earliest belong to Aśokan period (c. 250 B. C.). The inscriptions include (i) Rock edicts, (ii) Pillar edicts, (iii) Cave edicts. A fragment of an Aśokan rock edict was known from Sopārā and another fragment of the Ninth edict was discovered near Bassein (Vasaī) (in January 1960).

No cave definitely of the Aśokan period is known to exist in Deccan, though it is possible that some of the simple caves at Bhājā might belong to this period.

At the time it appears that a number of such structural Stūpas and Vihāras existed even in the Decean, which contains the largest number of rock-cut monuments in India. One of the largest Stupa was at Sopara. Built of bricks, it measured 270 feet in circumference, and must have been considerably high when complete. It had a pradaksināpetha and other essentials of a Stūpa. Inside was a large stone casket 17% inches high and 23 inches in diameter. It had two lids, and within the lower receptacle was a casket of copper which contained a smaller one of silver. The latter had one of sandstone; this contained that of crystal and the crystal that of gold. Within the last-the gold casket-were found reddish burnt lumps of clay, and a piece of emerald and diamond and gold flowers. The silver casket contained a gold plate with the figure of the Buddha in the Dharmacakramudrā, gold flowers and a silver coin of Gautamiputra Śri Yajña Sātakarņī. The copper casket had 8 statues of Buddha-seven Manusi Buddhas and the eighth Maitreya. While the coin of Yajñaśri Sātakarņī would date the stupa to the end of the 2nd century A.D., the style of bronze Maitreya is said to resemble those of Nālandā and therefore datable to the 7th-8th century.2 If so, the stūpa must have been re-opened at about this time. Douglas Barnett, apparently not aware of Dikshit's article, identified the Buddhas as Vipāseyī, Siktī, Viśvabāhū, Kakuchandā, Kanakamuni, Kāśyapa and Sākyamuni and places them in the 9th century A.D.³

Sopārā had several other smaller stūpas and vihāras, but very little of these remains now.4

A stūpa, of perhaps the 2nd century B.C., existed at Kolhāpūr, near the site of Brahmapurī. Within it was found a silver relic

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CHAPTER 1.

Pre-historic Culture and Remains.

ARCHITECTURE,

¹ Particularly the Sāhnūr entrance or gate. See Akolā District Gazetteer, p. 56.

Dikshit, K. N., "Buddhist Relies from Sopara Re-examined", JGRS, I
 (Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji Commemoration Volume), 1939, pp. 1-5.
 Lalte Kalā, No. 3-4 (1956-57), p. 25.

⁴ Trial diggings last year brought forth early and late Satavahana objects, See Annual Report.

Pre-historic Culture and Remains.

ARCHITECTURE.

casket placed in a larger stone casket or box. The lid of the latter was inscribed in Brāhmī letters to the effect that the casket was made by Dharmagupta and the gift of the casket was by Brahmā. It was possibly because of his that the site came to be known as Brahmapurī.¹

Such structural stūpas were built even in or near the rock-cut caves, as evidence from Nadsur and Kānherī indicates. These enshrined the relics of Buddhist saints, as the one at Kānherī contained the ashes, etc. placed in a copper urn, of one Buddharuci from Sindh (Sindhu-Deśa). The record which mentions this fact was found with the urn, and is dated in 245 of the Kalacurī era i.e. in 494 A.D. Such brick stūpas provide the much-needed evidence of the survival of Buddhism, even after the advent of Islām in Western India.

In the Deccan the rock-cut monuments can be counted in hundreds and spread over almost the whole of Mahārāṣṭra.

Some of these contain inscriptions, the most important being those at Junnar, Känheri, Kärlä and Näśik. From these we learn that kings and queens, ministers, rich merchants as well as ordinary people from different and distant parts of the Decean, Karnāṭak, Gujarāt (Broach), Sind contributed towards the excavation of these caves. Depending upon royal and public support, political and social conditions with varying fortunes, well-nigh over 1,500 years, the architectural and decorative style of the caves reflect these conditions to some extent and enable us to study their development.

There are two main types of early caves: (i) Caitya Grhas (i.e., halls with a caitya or stūpa within for worship), and (ii) vihāras (halls for meeting and residence of monks). These have one or more cells, sometimes on two floors. Accordingly, in the inscriptions at Junnar, for instance, the caves are called Dvigarbha (two-celled), Saptagarbha (seven-celled), etc.

The earliest caitya caves were, it appears, simple rectangular, flat-topped rooms, with the caitya in the back wall. But the ritual required a slightly more elaborate arrangement. Thus came to be carved out caves with the caitya at the longer end of the room, but not forming part of the wall, pillars separating the central hallthe nave-from passage (aisle) all round, and an apsidal roof. The cuitya caves at Bhājā, Kondāņe, Piţalkhorā and Ajanthā cave No. 10 are of the type described above. Their simple, octagonal, slanting pillars and wooden ribs testify that these caves imitate in stone the Toda-like reed huts. The front of these caves were carved with a fine caitya-arch having a wide base, and resting on the pillars. These arches were further decorated with lattice-work in wood, The rest of the front (facade) was decorated with caitya-windows or Vedikās, Yakṣas and Yakṣiṇīs and at times with portraits of donors. The pillars bear Buddhist symbols, such as Triratna,

¹ See JBBRAS, 14, 149. Collected Works of Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar, Lüders, 'List of Brāhmī Inscriptions', in El. X, Appendix, p. 136; Indraji and Burgess, ICTWI., p. 39.

Nandipāda, Cakra, etc. The Caitya or the stūpa, at the apsidal end of the cave, has a low pedestal. On this rests the drum over which separated by a Vedikā is a hemispherical dome. Over this is the harmikā—a box-like member—surmounted usually by a wooden umbrella. The early full-fledged caitya was like this, though its parts might vary in individual cases. Until the Mahāyānists produced the Buddha image, the caitya was the main object of worship, and a caitya-grah a veritable temple.

Slightly later caves of this group and period (2nd-1st century B.C.) are the *Caitya*-caves at Junnar (Mānmoḍā), Nāśik and Ajaṇṭhā (Cave No. 9). Here the most noticeable features are the pillars, which are now considerably straight, have pot-bases and square abacus.

This cave architecture is at its best at Kārlā. And this is closely followed at Bedsa. Indeed, the Karla caitya-grha was regarded as the finest in the whole of Jambudvīpa by its donor, Setha Bhūtapāla of Vaijayanti (Vanavāsi). Originally, near the entrance there was a tall, free-standing lion-pillar on either side. Now only one survives. The hall itself was over 124 feet long, 45 feet wide, 45 feet high. Fifteen octagonal pillars with stepped pedestals, surmounted by pot-shaped bases, and crowned with āmalaka-like capitals, having a circular grooved member in a square frame, between the latter, and an inverted pyramid above, separate the cave from the side aisles. Right on the top of the pillars are carved, almost in the round, elephants seated back to back. Over them are seated a pair of smiling mithunas (couples). At the end of this magnificent hall is the stūpa. surmounted by a wooden umbrella, having a beautiful lotus design. In front of the hall there is a verandah. Its sides are filled with cattya window decorations, and elephant in half relief, whereas the front wall has life-size mithunas. The whole was covered by a huge caitya window opening and a stone screen. It has been shown that the complete original excavation of the cave continued for nearly 60 years (circa 40 A.D.-100 A.D.).

Cave No. 6 in the Ganesa group of caves at Junnar, though smaller and perhaps slightly later in time, is again a perfect specimen of its type. Känheri on the other hand, though modelled on that of Kärlä, heralds the decadence in style. Its *mithunas*, though less sturdy, however, exhibit a finer proportion.

Of this early period are four circular caitya-grhas at Junnar, Koṇḍivte, Pitalkhorā and Beḍsā. These are perhaps modelled on those of the Aśokan period in Bihār. Even these caves show a slight development. The earlier in the Tuljā Leṇā at Junnar is circular in plan, 25 ft. 6 inches across with pillars. These support the dome over the stūpa. Later, a porch was added to the circular cell, as at Pitalkhorā and Koṇḍivte.

The Hīnayānists, before they were supplanted by Mahāyānists, had also devised a simpler caitya-gṛha. Here, the stūpa was placed in the central cell of the back wall of the vihāra. Such vihāra-cum-

CHAPTER 1.

Pre-historic Culture and Remains.

ARCHITECTURE.

CHAPTER 1.
Pre-historic
Culture and

Remains.

Architecture.

caityas are found at Kuḍā, Mahāḍ, Karāḍ, Wāi, Śelārvāḍī, Junnar, Kānherī and Pitalkhorā. These are dated in the 2nd-3rd century A.D.

In about the 4th-5th century the Mahāyāna got ascendancy in the Deccan, as elsewhere in India. As a consequence, the figures of Buddha, Bodhisattvas, and their attendants—Yakṣas, Nāgas, etc. began to be carved. Some of the Hīnayāna caitya caves, as at Kārlā, and Kānherī, were tampered with. Fortunately, the caityas themselves have been left untouched. Some ornamental figures from the front wall of the verandah were chiselled out, and Buddha figures were added instead. In course of time, however, purely Mahāyāna caitya-grhas were also carved. Of these there are specimens in caves Nos. 19 and 26 at Ajaṇṭhā, and in the Viśvakarmā cave at Ellorā. These caves practically follow the plan of the earlier caitya-caves, but depart from them in having huge figures of Buddha, carved out of the caitya, and in having an elaborate and at times artistic decorations of the pillars and the facade. No trace of the wooden proto-types is to be found in these caves.

An invariable adjunct of the caitya-grhas was the vihāra. Most of the early vihāras are simply cells with a stone bed on one or two sides, a niche for a lamp, and mortices in the wall for a wooden door or screen. But there are exceptions. The Bhājā vihāra is not only unique in its figure sculpture, but gives an idea of what a residential house of a rich man or a king of the period would have been. The one at Pitalkhorā has winged animals, some having camel heads at bracket capitals and stone girders; that at Bedsā with vaulted roof, and apsidal back reminds one of the caitya-grhas.

A pillared vihāra appears for the first time at Kondāne. The pillars have lost their bases, whereas the shafts are octagonal in the centre and square on the top. At Nasik we see the gradual development and final culmination in the vihāra architecture. That of Känheri, perhaps of c. 170 B.C. has a hall, with three walls on three of its sides, and a verandah with pillars. This plan is elaborated in cave No. 8, which was engraved nearly two centuries later in the time of the Ksaharāta, Nahapāna and his family. There are 16 cells, all having beds, while the verandah is supported by six pillars with bases bell-shaped and capitals. This vihāra was followed by cave No. 3, as it contains an inscription of Gautamiputra. Identical in plan, its central doorway and the friezes over the pillars are more ornately executed, with mithunas, stūpas and foliage design. The one excavated during the reign of Yajñaśrī Sātakarnī is still larger, though essentially of the same plan. Later, it was taken over by the Mahāyānists who carved out a colossal figure of the Buddha.

Truly Mahāyāna Vihāras are to be found at Ajaṇṭhā, and Ellorā. These belong to a period between 5th-7th century or even later. These vihāras exhibit not only Buddha figures with other attendant deities but highly ornate pillars and capitals among which the "Vase-and-foliage" design is very striking. It is in these caves that we see for the first time in the Deccan the figures of the river

goddesses Gangā and Yamunā flanking the shrine-door, a motif which was introduced by the Guptas. A further stage is indicated at Ellorā and Aurangābād. The caves look like huge monasteries. The caves Nos. 11 and 12 at Ellorā are cut into three stories. These rise to a height of nearly 50 feet, with a vast courtyard in front. In the absence of any structural buildings, these provide good illustrations of how houses looked like at this period. However, it must not be forgotten that this three storied cave was a temple as well and it is the only one of its kind in India.

At about this time a large Vihāra—called Darbār hall—was excavated at Kānherī. But from the point of view of sculpture, the cave No. 3 at Aurangābād probably possesses the finest of the lot.

The Buddhist caves at Wijāsan, about a mile to the south-west of Bhāndak (District Cāndā), seems to belong to a period between the last two groups. These differ from other groups in having no large halls (vihāras) and no caitya-caves for the pradakṣinā. The three principal caves consist entirely of long passages leading through small chambers up to small shrines of Buddha. They are in the shape of the cross.¹

In the 4th century, Brahmanism got a new fillip under the Guptas. So, imitating the Buddhists, temples began to be built and caves carved for Brahmanic deities in Central India. Nothing of comparable date has so far been found in Mahārāṣṭra. But two centuries later, probably inspired by the Guptas, the Western Cālukyas cut the first Brahmanic caves at Aihole and later at Badāmī, and soon after temples were also built at these places, turning these into veritable temple-cities. The Pallavas followed suit in the extreme south, but after a purely Dravidian fashion. Inspite of the frequent wars between the Cālukyas and the Pallavas, there was a continuous exchange of cultural influence. When the Rāṣṭrakūṭas replaced the Cālukyas they inherited this legacy, with the result that under them the Deccan created some of the finest rock-cut temples in India.

The earliest cave at Aihole consists of a shrine, side chapels, each raised by 5 steps, a mandapa on a lower level. The front is divided by two simple pillars with 16-sided shafts. Important sculptures—the first of its kind in the south—include those of Siva, Pārvatī and Mahiṣāsurmardinī. This cave seems to be followed by the magnificent caves at Badāmī. Of the four, No. 3 is well dated. It bears an inscription of Mangaleśa (Śaka 500 to 578-79 A.D.). The cave is nearly 60 feet deep, 70 feet long, and 15 feet high. It consists of a platform with moulded cornice, a beautifully decorated pillared verandah, a simple hall, and a deep set shrine. On the ceilings there are figures of aṣṭadikpālas, while beautiful sculptures of gods, goddesses, apsarās and mithunas, some in roundels—dedicated to Viṣṇu, the representations of his avatāras predominate, so also stories of Kṛṣṇa. The pillars have cushion-shaped capitals.

CHAPTER 1.

Pre-historic Culture and Remains.

ARCHITECTURE.

¹ Adapted with slight alterations from Cunningham, A. S. I. R., IX, p. 124 and Pl. XXI.

Pre-historic Culture and Remains.

ARCHITECTURE.

The Brahmanic caves at Ellorā fall into two main groups, though each group is further divisible into sub-groups. In the first fall the Daśāvatāra, Rāvaṇa-kā-khai and Rāmeśvara and in the second the famous Kailāsa. The Daṣāvatāra is two storied, has a pillared portico and a shrine behind. The Rāvaṇa-kā-khai has a pradakṣiṇāpatha round the shrine. Both these contain Saiva and Vaiṣṇava sculptures.

In between these, other caves, now of comparatively less importance, either because they are incomplete or not well preserved, are the caves of Pooṇā (Pātāļeśvara), Jogi Ārībā at Mominābād and Karusā, and those at Wijāsan.

The small Saiva temple at Elephanţā having a mandapa with side chambers and a nandī-mandapa opposite to the shrine also belongs to this period (c. 700 A.D.). Slightly later than the above group is the Dhumār Leṇā. It has an isolated shrine within a crucifix mandapa. This style of rock-cut cave finds its culmination in the main cave at Elephanṭā. Its vast mandapa with six rows of pillars having fine ribbed-cushioned capitals, and eight great panels of sculpture prepare us for the gigantic image, usually known as Trimūrti, but now identified as Mahādeva representing the three aspects of Siva: in the middle, the face of Tatpuruṣa, on the left that of Aghora, and on the right that of Vāmadeva.²

From these to Kailāsa is a big jump. Instead of a cave-temple we have all the elements of a temple cut out completely from the living rock. Coomaraswamy has summarized its main features admirably:

"This famous rock-cut shrine is a model of a complete structural temple, and may be a copy of the Pāpanātha at Paṭṭaḍkal. The whole consists of a linga shrine with Draviḍian Sikhara, a flatroofed maṇḍapa supported by 16 pillars, and a separate porch for the Nandī surrounded by a court, entered through a low gopuram; five detached shrines are found on the edge of perambulation terrace of the Vimāna proper, and in one corner of the court there is a chapel dedicated to the three-goddesses with their images in relief. There are two dhvaja-stambhas; these and all the columns are Northern, everything else is Draviḍian, characteristic of the Cālukyan style",3

The Jaina caves are comparatively very late, none of the early Christian era. The earliest is at Badāmī adjoining the Brahmanic. It is much smaller in size and not much different stylistically from its neighbours, save that it contains the images of Pārśvanātha and Gomāteśvara. Slightly later than the Badāmī caves are the ones at Aihole. These too resemble the Brahmanical ones. Besides, sculptures of dvārapālas and others, one has the image of Mahāvīra seated on simhāsana.

¹ Cunningham, op. cit., p. 126.

² Kramrisch, Ancient India, 1946, No. 2, p. 4.

³ Coomaraswaniy, IIIIA, p. 99.

In the Decean, the caves of this period (600 A.D.) are at Dhārāśiva in the former Hyderābād State. There were perhaps Jaina caves at Wijāsan also.¹ Those at Māṅgyā-Tuṅgyā are considerably late (860 A.D.). Two of these are richly decorated with figures of Tirthankaras and their attendants.

It is at Ellorā that Jaina art and architecture is seen at its best. Of the five caves, the Indra and Jagannātha Sabhā are two-storied, whereas the Choṭā Kailāsa is an imitation of the Kailāsa. These caves are dated to a period between 750-1000 A.D. on stylistic grounds. The plan is elaborate and the decoration very rich, but as remarked by Burgess these cave temples are not well-designed. The authors were Digambara Jainas; hence the images of the Tirthankaras in the principal shrine, and elsewhere—Mahāvīra, Pārśvanātha, Sāntinātha, Gomaṭeśvara—are nude. Among the attendant deities are Indra and Ambikā and these are well-carved.

Other Jaina caves of this period are to be found at Karusā, Ambā, while caves of a still later period exist at Pātņe in Khāndeś, Ankāi, Cāndor, Cāmarleṇā and Tringalvāḍī in the Nāśik district.²

Between the pre-historic culture mentioned above and the historic period to be described below there exists a wide gap. It can be tentatively filled up by the Purāṇic or Traditional History. Later research may make it historical.

Reference was made to the Yādava occupation of parts of Mahārāṣṭra. Its chronology though not well-fixed and datable in absolute years, seems to be as follows:

In the Rgvedic period the Yadus with other Āryan tribes were in the Sapta Sindhu. Later, Sātvatas, Bhojas and others which belonged to this tribe spread to the Gangā-Yamunā doah, and even crossed the Cambal in Central India. Very soon or perhaps much earlier the Haihayas, another branch of this tribe settled in the Narmadā valley. Their capital was at Māhiṣmatī, probably Māheśvar, 60 miles south of Indore. One of their greatest kings was Kārtavīrya—Arjuna, also known as Sahasrārjuna. He is credited with having fought with Rāvaṇa and other Asuras near Broach. Later, because of his indiscretion he was killed by Paraśurāma, a Bhṛgu.

Some of the Yadu branches, Vṛṣṇi, Andhaka, etc., who had lived in and around Mathurā later migrated to Saurāṣṭra, owing to pressure from the north and east, of the Āryan and non-Āryan tribes. They colonised around Dvārkā. About the same time or perhaps, earlier, Bhojas and Sātvatas established kingdoms at Kauṇḍinyapūra in Vidarbha.

The Ikṣvākus, another Āryan tribe, had in the meantime, come from the upper Gangetic basin south-eastwards, and occupied the

¹ Cunningham, op. cit., 127.

CHAPTER 1.

Pre-historic Culture and Remains.

ARCHITECTURE.

PURANIC OR TRADITIONAL HISTORY.

² Very recently a few Jaina caves have been found at Mohida-tarf-hamli on the Gonai in Dhulia. IA.R., 1958-59, p. 71.

CHAPTER 1,

Pre-historic Culture and Remains.

PURANIC OR TRADITIONAL HISTORY, Godāvarī valley. Thus, in about the 8th-9th century B.C. the following kingdoms existed in the Indo-Gangetic plains and north Central Deccan. King Brahmadatta ruled in Aśmaka. To his east, in Kalinga, was Sattabha, and Vessabhu at Avantī, immediately north of Aśmaka. Beyond these in Videha (Bihār) ruled Renu, and Dhṛtarāṣṭra in Kāśi and Aṅga respectively. In the west, in Sauvīra, was Bhārata. Suraṭha (Saurāṣṭra) was under Pingala and Lāṭa and southern Sind under Bhiru.

A century or two later when Buddha and Mahāvīra preached in Bihār, the country was divided into the following kingdoms governed by Āryan and non-Āryan rulers. To the east and north of Gujarāt-Mahārāṣṭra ruled the famous king Pradyota. Beyond it lay the equally famous kingdoms of Kosala, Vatsa and Magadha ruled by Prasenajit, Udayana and Bimbisāra, respectively.

EARLY POLITICAL HISTORY. Bimbisāra and his successors may in our present state of knowledge be regarded the first historical dynasties, known as the Srenikya or Haryańka and Siśunāga, respectively. The latter was supplanted by that of the Nandas, sometime in the 5th century B.C. Several Purāṇas credit these with the subjugation of the kingdoms mentioned above which ruled the Madhyadeśa, Kaliṅga, Madhyabhārata, and Central Decean. Later epigraphic evidence includes even Kuntala—northern Karnāṭak—in the Nanda dominions. No archæological data has come forth either to prove or disprove these statements. Perhaps a loose sovereignty over Western India was established by the Nandas.

When the Mauryas succeeded the Nandas in Magadha the things changed. Candragupta seems to have taken effective steps to consolidate the vast empire which he inherited. Saurāstra, perhaps including Anarta and Lata, was placed under a Rastriya (Governor). We do not know definitely whether the Deccan and Karnatak formed part of the first Maurya's dominions. Early Tāmil literature and late Mysore inscriptions speak of Candragupta's invasion of the south, through Konkan, and rule in Northern Mysore respectively. Since Asoka is never known to have conquered these regions, whereas, his rock edicts are found at Girnar, Sopara and Brahmagirī in Mysore and further his kumāras and viceroys were ruling also at these places, it is probable that the whole of Western India formed part of the Maurya Empire, However, what the relations of the several kingdoms,-of the Rāṣṭrikas, Bhojas, Petenikas, Pulindas and Andhras-which occupied the Central Deccan, and are expressly mentioned in his edicts were, is not clear. They ruled, it is suggested, as semi-independent kings.

During Aśoka's suzerainty Saurāṣṭra was administered by a Yavana (Greek), Tuṣāspa, with his capital at Girinagara. Broach and Sopārā were important ports.

With the dethronement of the Mauryas in eastern India, the outlying provinces became independent. The Sungas who followed the Mauryas do not seem to have reconquered them. The nearest of the western provinces which passed under their rule was Vidarbha. And perhaps during the asvamedha-digvijaya Sunga

army had gone to the Sindhu (which is interpreted as the southern ocean at Saurāṣṭra and Patalena). But the rest, including Gujarāt, Saurāṣṭra and Sind, the Konkaṇ, Kuntala and Mahārāṣṭra came under different powers. Henceforth their history has to be sketched separately.

CHAPTER 1.

Pre-historic Culture and Remains.

SCULPTURE.

The Deccan, has some fine sculpture, human and animal, in the early period. The armed warrior with unique head-dress in the Vihāra at Bhājā is not only the earliest but unmatched later. Equally remarkable are the full length figures of couples-supposed to be donors-at Karla and Kanheri. Those at Naneghat, probably the earliest portraits (sālikā), in India, of the Sātavāhana family are no longer preserved. The caves referred to above possess smaller portraits-busts of men and women, who either look out from window, as on a facade of the Caitua cave at Bhaia or sit on horses, elephants, etc., as on the pillars of the Caitya-hall at Kārlā. These might not have been anatomically correctly shown, but the facial expression of the elephant and other riders is indeed worth noting. The same is true of the dancers and dancing couples from the Caitua cave at Kondane. History of the Deccan, Vol. I, Part VIII, Fine Arts, pl. iv-v). These show a delight in life that we miss completely in the later stylized figures. Attention may also be drawn to the figures kneeling before the Buddha at Ajanthā and Aurangābād (at the latter group of 14). Very thick projecting underlips, short chin with long straight noses, claborate head-dresses, in almost all these figures might stand for certain racial or regional types. Portraits of this nature are to be found in the mediaeval and the later periods.

To this a'ready existing stock, very recent¹ discoveries in the caves at Pitalkhorā, which on the evidence of the Buddhist text Mahāmayūrī is identified with Pitangalaya and Ptolemys' Petrigala, has added a very large number of human and animal sculptures, some of them finest in the entire range of early sculptures. While all these cannot be described in this brief note, attention must be drawn to the smiling, dwarf Yakşa from the courtyard of cave 3.

A sense of anatomical details, and delight in the work he is doing are readily conveyed by this figure in the round. A small inscription on his palm dates it to the 2nd century B.C. Only slightly less remarkable is another smiling dvārapāla—also a Yakṣa. His face was painted yellow and lips red. The mithunas, apsarās, and the scene of the Great Departure in which Chandaka leads the horse Kanthaka with a torch remain unique.

We have then scenes from life. That from the Vihāra at Bhājā now believed to be a scene from the Divyāvadāna relating the Māudhātā's visit to Sumeru Parvata, where he saw the Kalpa Vrksa

¹ Deshpande, M. N., "The Rock-cut Caves of Pitalkhora in the Deccan", I. A., No. 15, pp.63-93.

CHAPTER 1.

Pre-historic Culture and Remains,

SCULPTURE.

and later drove out the Asuras¹—and not a representation of Sūrya, Indra and others is perhaps the earliest; those of figures worshipping the Buddhist symbols or the Buddha are later. But perhaps the most natural and artistical y remarkable are two sculptures, as noted by Naik (p. 862) from the cave No. 1 at Ajanthā. One represents the hunt of a wild ox and the other of a deer. The hunters are armed with bows and arrows, lances and shields.

The mediæval temples have to offer little in this line. The scene in the Godeśvara at Sinnar seems to be in reality a *Dadhimanthana*. At Jhodgā one may see a fight between an amazon and a man, and at Ambarnāth men chastising women. In these, we see some naturalness, some different kind of action though anatomically the figures might not be up to the mark.

Then there are the donors and dancers and amorous couples (mithunas). Of the latter the cave at Kondāņe presents, perhaps the earliest, a scene from life, showing a man dragging a woman by her hair (Yazdani, op. cit. and CTI. p. 221.). Then later we have them at Kārlā and other caves and in mediæval temples.

True dancers, however, do not appear until century. Of these, the most remarkable is a musical concert sculptured in cave No. 7 at Aurangabad, (Classical Age, Fig. 81, ASWI 3. pl. liv, fig. 5, p. 78). "The whole compartment is occupied by seven females rather scantily dressed; the central figure is dancing, the others are all engaged on different musical instruments". Recently Barrett writes: "The significance of this scene, easily overlooked in the darkness of the shrine, is unknown. Of its value as a work of art there can be no doubt. The grouping and subtle recession of the musicians and the extraordinary beauty of the dancer, smiling and absorbed, make this relief the finest thing at Aurangābād". (A Guide to the Buddhist Caves of Aurangābād. Bombay, 1957, p. 21). A similar scene, more elaborate but crudely depicted, is sculptured in a 13th century temple of Rāmalinga at Gursab, (Sātārā District). Besides, the central female dancer and the male drummers are shown the audience-males and femalesheavily dressed, sitting on sofas and benches. The latter might represent royal personalities (Naik, p. 865).

Beautiful dancing figures illustrating various poses—Adhomukha, Bhramara, Svaṣtika—from the Nāṭya-Sāstra, (Naik, pp. 369-70) may be cited from the temples at Khidrāpūr and the temple of Bhuleśvar at Yavat.

Dancers were invariably accompanied by musicians. The Daśāvatāra and other caves at Ellorā, and the temple of Koppeśvara at Khidrāpūr still preserve various forms of *Mṛdaṅga* (drum), *Veṇu* (flute),

¹ Gyani, R. G., "Identification of the so called Sürya and Indra Figures in cave No. 20, of the Bhājā group". Bulletin, Prince of Wales Museum of Western India, No. 1 (1950-1951), pp. 15-21. Or according to E. H. Johnston (Marg. Vol. IX, No. 1, pp. 55-58), the scene perhaps represents a story in the Kulavaka-jātaka, where the asuras fled when Sakra suddenly retraced his steps; and another from a story in the Mārasamyuttas, according to which Māra created the form of a gigantic elephant to frighten the Buddha.

Vinā (lute) and Zāñja (pair of cymbals). Sculptures illustrating stories from the Rāmāyaṇa and Mahābhārata first seem to appear in Daśāvatāra at Ellorā.

The vihāra at Bhājā gives us perhaps one of the earliest animal sculptures (barring, of course, those of the Aśokan columns). The so-called 'Indra' panel contains an elephant richly caprisoned, and below in a corner figures of lions and a bird. The pose of the elephant is very similar to that on a glass tablet from Maheśvar and early coins (INSI. Vol. XV, pt. ii, pp. 5-8). Besides there are found the horse, tiger, deer, ram, wolf, camel, and birds such as geese and swan. All these are carved with considerable freedom in a variety of postures. Though we lose some of their naturalness, these animals continue to figure in the later caves and mediaval temples. Of these, one may cite the hamsas and lions carved beautifully in the round on an architecture in the Aiśvara temple at Sinnar.

Among vegetable forms, a few trees do appear in the 'Indra' panel at Bhājā, while the pippal (Bodhi) tree and the lotus plant are a common sight in Buddhist sculptures. De'icately carved trees are found in the Jaina caves at Ellorā. Here an attempt is made to isolate each leaf by deep cutting. On the whole, these as well as creepers with leaves are throughout well depicted.

Meution may also be made of floral, geometric, architectural and composite designs. The wooden umbrella in the Caitya cave at Kārlā bears a carved totus; lotus buds, leaves etc. are used as ornaments in other caves. However, their best specimens are found at Ajanṭhā and in the early mediæval temples of the Deccan.

Purely geometric designs, e.g. the circle and the rhomboid are a common feature of the mediæval monuments, but are generally absent in the earlier cave architecture.

Of the architecultural designs, the Caitya-window and the Vedikā are the earliest to appear as they do at Bhājā. The former develops into infinite forms, adorns the śikharas of mediæval temples, but finally disappears after the 13th century. The Vedikā (or the railpattern) is found restricted to the Buddhist caves only. 'Composite' designs included several forms such as 'lotus and beaded strings' or 'scroll and kīrtimukhas' or 'Makara-toraṇas'. It is impossible to list all these combinations. The tree, in the carving of which the early mediæval artists excel, are the concentric ceiling with pendants, the makara-toraṇas and the pot-and-foliage motif. The last two, first appear in the Mahāyāna caves at Kārlā and later at Ajaṇṭhā. The concentric ceiling with pendants are first seen at Ambarnāth, which is one of the finest in the Deccan.

Before closing the section, a reference must be made to small artistic objects of terracotta, ivory etc. The terracottas are discussed separately. The ivory objects, so far were found broken, and consisted of toys and household objects. Recently, however, a beautiful figure in the round of a woman has been found at Ter. It recalls similar ivories from Afghaņistān and Italy (Pompei) are of Indian

CHAPTER 1.

Pre-historic Culture and Remains.

SCULPTURE.

CHAPTER 1.

Pre-historic
Culture and
Remains,
ICONOGRAPHY.

Brahmanic.

manufacture and exported to the distant countries. The figure is above five inches in height and locally carved, bespeaks indeed of a flourishing industry in wood and ivory.¹

In the Deccan we have no figures of Hindu (or Brahmanic) gods and goddesses until about 550 A.D. This is indeed regrettable, for there is no scope for the study of regional evolution. Then suddenly Daśāvatāra presents us almost a complete Saiva and Vaisnava pantheon, including Brahma. Here we see the earliest images of Ganesa, though not yet as a cult image and displayed so prominently, and the various manifestations of Siva as Lingodbhava, Samhāramürti (Andhakāsuravadha, Tripurāntaka), Havanānugraha-mūrti, Ardha-Nārīśvara. The dancing (Nrtva) figures of Siva are carved in other caves. But with Kailasa and, slightly later, Elephanta or (earlier, if Elephanta is supposed to precede Ellora), we have not only a whole view of Saiva iconography, but its finest representation from the point of view of art. The great Mahesa, the Kalyāṇa-sundara and Gaṅgādhara at Elephaṇṭā need no description-Iconographically and artistically these are some of the best known Deccan sculptures. The earliest image of Siva as Maheśa, it appears, is said to be in the temple of Uttareśvara at Ter. Figures of Siva as Lakuliśa are rare in the Deccan.

The mediævel temples do not portray all these mythological stories. Those to be commonly met with are Umā-Siva, Samhāra and Nṛtya-murtis, and at times Harihara (as the one from Purandara in the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay).

Viṣṇu also first appears in the Daśāvatāra as Varāha (human and animal), and Anantaśāyī, but throughout, his position is inferior to that of Siva. This feature persists at Elephaṇṭā. Thus, though Viṣṇu was quite well-known, we do not see all his manifestations as at Aihoļe or Badāmī, for instance. Besides, Varāha, we find Narasimha, Trivikrama, Vāmana, Govardhanadhārī, Kāliyāmardan, Muralīdhara, Veṇugopāla. This deficiency is supplied by the mediæval temples. Viṣṇu as Keśava, Nārāyaṇa, Govinda, Mādhava, Madhusūdana, in fact, in all 24 forms may be seen in the several temples mentioned previously.

Visnu as Yogīsvara, four-handed and seated in the padmāsana, is found in the temple at Khidrāpūr. Though now Viṭṭhala is extremely popular in the Deccan, his earliest image standing, with two hands only and bearing a śankha in the right and padma in the left, a kirīṭa-high mukuṭa, as it appears in the temple of Paṇḍharpūr, is not found earlier than the 13th century.

Ganeśa images first appear, as subsidiary figures in the various representations of Siva beginning with the Daśāvatara; but not until the mediæval period does it find an independent place, as on the door-lintel of ■ temple. The images are usually seated; but standing ones at Belsāne, Vāgholī and slightly later at Karjat (Naik, A.D., pp. 731-32) are also sometimes found. Dancing—Nṛtya—Ganeśa—

¹ For illustration, see Barrett, Douglas, Ter (Bhulabhai Memorial Institute, Bombay, 1960), pp. 10-11.

which is very rare—is to be seen in the Saptamatrka panel in the temple at Aiśvara at Sinnar. In all these there is not much variation in iconographic details. It is only in the later mediæval period that Ganeśa's trunk is generally turned to the left.

Brahmā throughout played a secondary part. His images first figure in the Saiva panels at Ellora, though according to a revised study of a four-faced image from the Elephanta caves, now in the Prince of Wales Museum, it would be the earliest figure of Brahma, datable to c. 7th century A.D.1 Later he is shown in niches around the temple, but never prominently. The early images were fourfaced (the fourth face being hidden behind). Later, in the temples along with the three-faced images, those with one face are also found. The latter usually have a beard, while among the former the central face has a beard. The images are generally four-handed. In later images, Brahmā is sometimes accompanied by his consort; while the early images have hamsa-vāhana, the later are usually shown without one.

The Decean was believed to possess one of the earliest representations of Sūrya, viz., the one at Bhājā, where a king with two women on either side is shown on a two-wheeled chariot. Gyani and others have now identified this sculpture as a depiction of Mandhata's visit to Sumeru.2

The next in point of time is the image from Ellora, where Surya is shown standing in samabhanga with two arms, holding lotuses, in each hand. A more elaborate figure with the chariot is found in the Kumbhārvādā cave.

Later temples usually depict him in this way. But at Vagholi in the Mudhāi Devī temple, Jalgānv, which was originally a Sūryatemple, there is a figure of the deity in paryankāsana or with legs left hanging down from a seat, as in Western fashion).

Panels showing navagrahas and the astadikpālas are comparatively very rare.

Goddesses were worshipped and shown independently. Of such, we have figures of Srī or Gaja-Lakṣmī first at Pitaļkhorā (c. 1st century B.C.3) and then in the Manmoda cave at Junnar and later at Ellora and those of Sarasvatī in the Buddhist caves and 8, also at Ellorā. On her left hand is a peacock, while in cave 6, there is, in addition, a male figure reading some manuscript.

Sarasvatī is beautifully represented in some of the mediæval temples, for instance, in No. 1 at Belsane, Khidrapur, Patan, etc. In these she is seated in savyalalitāsana or vīrāsana, wears a conical karanda-mukuta and is four-headed. Another goddess who deserves a separate mention is Mahā-laksmī. In her famous shrine at Kolhapur she is shown with I linga on head, and with Mātulinga, Gadā, Khetaka and Kamandalu.

CHAPTER 1.

Pre-historic Culture and Remains.

CONOGRAPHY. Brahmanic.

¹ Chakravarti, S. N., "The Image of Brahma from Elephanta", Lalit Kala, No. 1-2. (1955-56), Plates XXIX-XXIVA.

² See above under "Sculpture".

8 See Deshpande, M. N., N, A. I., No. 15, pp. 75 and 80, and Pl. LV,A.

CHAPTER 1.

Pre-historic Culture and Remains.

ICONOGRAPHY, Brahmanic.

Buddhist.

Pārvatī was worshipped in several forms. The goddess Durgā is first found in the Daśāvatāra at Ellorā, but later she was most popular as Mahiṣāsuramardinī.

Perhaps the earliest Jaina images are to be found in the caves of Dhārāśiva, later at Mungyā Tungyā,¹ Ellorā, Nāśik, etc., and in the mediæval Jaina temples. As a rule these are all Digambara and figure only the images of Mahāvīra, Pārśvanātha and Sāntinātha and the Yakṣas and Yakṣinīs associated with these.

Buddhist iconography does not show that development or evolution, and consequently richness of iconographic forms, as it does in Eastern India—Bihar, Bengal and now Orissa. In addition to the Hīnayāna and Mahāyāna, we have a trickling of the Tantrayāna forms and perhaps none of the Vajrayāna.

In the Hinayana, the principal object of worship invariably met with is the Caitya or the Stupa. At Karla, pillar No. 30 in the caitya cave is 16-sided, and on three sides facing the nave are carved a wheel on a pillar with two deer at the base indicating the 1st sermon, a caitya (Mahanirvana) and a lion pillar (the Birth). Even the pādukās (foot-prints) of the Buddha are not depicted in the early caves at Bhājā, Ajanthā, Bedsā, Junnar, Kārlā, Kondane Pitalkhora. Other scenes from the life of the Buddha, so common clsewhere-Bharhut, Sañci, Amaravati, Nagarjunikonda-seem to be absent from Western India. To this Pitalkhorā has recently provided a welcome exception. A beautiful panel showing 'the Great Departure', it appears, decorated Cave No. 4.2 Chandaka with a torch in his left hand is shown leading the fully caprisoned horse Kanthaka out of the palace or town gateway, the presence of Siddhartha on the horse to be inferred by the umbrella bearer behind the horse. The horse which is generally badly sculptured in ancient Indian art is indeed well modelled.

These caves again have yielded very fine figures, of several types of Yakṣas. Of them, the finest⁸ is the one in Cave 3. It is inscribed and is probably the Yakṣa Saṅkarin of the Mahāmāyūrī. Not less remarkable is the smiling Yakṣa⁴ acting as a dvārapāla in the same cave.

Cave 4 depicts a Yakṣiṇī carrying a karaṇḍa (basket)⁸ and Kinnaras and Vidyādharas⁶ of the early Buddhist subsidiary pantheon.

With the emergence of the Mahāyāna came the Buddha figure, the Bodhisattvas and the goddesses, Tārā, Bhṛkutī, etc. The Buddha is shown mainly in three ways:—

(i) Seated in padmāsana,

¹ This name might be due to the Tunga dynasty, one of whose inscriptions is recently found in the Nanded district.

² Deshpande, op. cit., Pl. LV, B.

³ Ibid., Pl. LVI.

⁴ Ibid., Pl. LVII, A.

⁵ Ibid., Pl. LVII.

⁶ Ibid., Pl. LVIII, A. B.

(ii) Scated in pralambāsana (in European fashion with the legs dangling down),

(iii) Standing.

The hands are in the dharmacakra, bhūmi-sparśa, abhaya or dhyāna mudrā. (The last only when he is seated). Buddha is shown in parinirvāṇa, that is lying down dead. It occurs but once at Ellorā, twice or thrice at Ajaṇṭhā and once in Kānherī.

Among the Bodhisattvas we have Avalokitesvara, Padmapāni and Vajrapāni, the seven Mānuṣī Buddhas (see above) and the future Buddha Maitreya.

Besides these, some incidents-like the Miracle of Srāvastī or the eight terrible calamities—are carved at Ajaṇṭhā, Ellorā and Kānherī (?). The largest number of scenes from the Jātakamālā were painted at Ajaṇṭhā particularly in Cave XVII.

Though the above is a generalised picture, there are exceptions, showing how gradually even the Mahāyāna was being transformed or being influenced by Tantrism, which first arose in Eastern India. In the early form, the Buddha while seated in *pralambāsana*, his feet resting on a lotus or a *siṃhāsana*, with wheel flanked by deer on either side and supported by Nāgas and Nāginīs, he has at times Bodhisattvas with *cāmaras* as his attendants.

But in Cave 9 at Ellorā, Buddha is shown in an unusual jaṭāmukuṭa, holding his garment in the left hand, while the right is in varadamudrā. Further in Caves 11 and 12, which are supposed to be later. large figures of Buddha are seated either in dhyāna, dharmacakra or bhūmi-sparśa mudrā. And "these may represent", it is said, "five Dhyānī Buddhas".¹

The figures of Avalokiteśvara show the same development. An Avalokiteśvara is two-armed, having a rosary in his right hand, and in his left a lotus which supports a lotus seat; he wears ajina and is standing or sitting. But already at Kārlā a small figure of Dhyānī Buddha is shown with his head-dress. In Cave 11 at Ellorā he is seated in Dhyānāsana, is adorned with all ornaments, and in his jewelled crown has a Buddha in varadamudrā, and is flanked by Tārā and Bhṛkuṭī. In Cave 4 he is shown seated in Pralambāsana which seems to be unique. Further in Cave 8 at Aurangābād we have Avalokiteśvara with four arms, the right hand holding a rosary and in varadamudrā, whereas the left holds a lotus and a cāmara.

The 'Miracle of Avalokiteśvara' viz., the protection he affords from fire, sword, chains, ship-wreck, lion, snake, elephant, and deathare finely depicted in Cave 7 at Aurangābād.

The Bodhisattva Mañjuśrī first appears at Kārlā as cāmara-bearer to the Buddha; he holds a rosary in his left hand and has a miniature stūpa in his head-dress. It is also the same in the earlier caves, but in later caves he is shown carrying a book or the lotus in his left hand.

CHAPTER 1.

Pre-historic Culture and Remains, ICONOGRAPHY, Buddhist

¹ Sen Gupta, Guide to Elura (Ellora), p. 4.

CHAPTER 1.

Pre-historic Culture and Remains.

ICONOGRAPHY. Buddhist, The Bodhisattva Vajrapāṇi has a Vajra in his head-dress in Cave E at Ellorā. But later he is shown four-armed in Cave 10, having a Vajra in his lower left hand, and another set in his head-dress.

A late Cave No. 11, at Ellorā shows several Bodhisattvas, viz., with Maitreya with flowers in his head-dress, Sthiracakra with a sword in his right hand, Mañjuśrī with a book on a lotus and Jñānaketu with a flag in his left hand.

The seven Mānuṣī Buddhas—three of whom, Vipasyī, Siktī and Viśabhū belong to the preceding Kalpa (epoch) and four, Kakuchhanda, Kanakamuni, Kāśyapa and Sākyamuni to the present Kalpa—are sculptured both at Ellorā and Aurangābād. But their representation differs in each case. At Ellorā some are in dhyānamudrā, and some in dharmacakramudrā, whereas at Ajanthā they are painted in Cave 22, each one having its representative Bodhi tree over him.

But the most important thing is that in the Buddhas from Cave XI-XII at Ellorā, as well as in the seven bronze figures of Buddha found from the Sopārā Stūpa, the hem of the upper garment is drawn over the left shoulder and hangs in a short, pleated fold. Now this is a characteristic feature of the Pāla Buddha figures from Nālandā in Bihār. We can legitimately infer Tantric Buddhist influence from this quarter at Ellorā and even at Sopārā.

There is, however, some difficulty in identifying the seven Buddhas from Sopārā with the seven Mānuṣĩ Buddhas as Dikshit has pointed out,¹ though Barrett² perhaps not aware of this, has definitely accepted this identification. If this is not correct, then as Dikshit has marked 'Sopārā finds (figures) must be considered as unique and striking an eitirely original note'.

Jambhālā, an early Buddhist god of wealth, is depicted normally with a citron in his right hand and a book in his left and flanked by Avalokiteśvara and Māyūrī in Cave 6 at Ellorā, but later in Cave 11, he is shown sitting on a man with citron in his right hand and a purse with coins in his left hand, and on his either side are Prājňapāramitā and Avalokiteśvara.

The female goddesses are comparatively few but they too herald unmistakably the advent of early Tantrism. For instance, besides Hāritī, we see Tārā standing with a lotus in her hand (Cave 8, Ellorā), once with her miracles (Cave 9), Mahāmāyūrī (Cave 6), Bhṛkuṭī and Prājňapāramitā. However, the most remarkable is the occurrence of one female Bodhisattva in Cave 8, three in Cave 11, at Aurangābād, Cave 7, Group 1, and 12 in Cave 12 at Ellorā on the side and back wall of the antechamber. Each of the latter has her right hand in Varada and is seated in lalitāsana on a lotus, supported by two Nāgas. The first Bodhisattva holds a lotus and kamandalu in her left hand, and a rosary in her right and wears ajina over her left shoulder and curious caitya-like object in her Jaṭāmukuṭa. No doubt about the Tantric form is left by female Bodhisattva in

¹ J. G. R. S., vol. I, No. 4, p. 5.

[■] Lalit Kalā, Nos. 3-4 (1957), 0.42.

Cave 12, who is identified as Cundā. She is seated in dhyānāsana, is adorned with ornaments and wears a kaccha bandha and has four hands which hold a lotus in the back right hand and Kamandalu in her back left, whereas, the front hands hold a bowl. She is the only feminine emanation of Vajrasattva bearing the image of the Dhyāni Buddha on the crown. And lastly there is female figure in Cave 11 which strides over prostrate male, either in imitation of Mahiṣāsuramardinā of the Brahmaric pantheon or Aparājitā of later Tantrayāna.

Most of the caves in Mahārāṣṭra, early or late, were at one time painted. Traces of these still remain at Junnar and Bedsā in the Poonā district. However, it is at Ajanthā that these paintings have remained comparatively more intact than anywhere else. And rightly have they received the attention1 they deserve from the laymen, students of art as well as art critics. Instead of going into details, it would therefore suffice to mention first that the paintings are not technically frescoes (fresco buono). For in this technique the pigments are mixed with water without any binding medium and applied on a fresh wet lime-plaster. At Ajantha, on the other hand, the binding medium is supposed to be glue. Secondly, they range over a period of some ten centurics, and fall into two or three periods, the earliest being in Caves 9 and 10 and dated to the 2nd-1st centuries B.C. Of the later Caves, Nos. 16 and 17, called in the inscriptions 'magnificent dwellings' were excavated by Varāhadeva and a feudatory respectively of the Vākāṭaka king Hariṣeṇa (c. 475-500 A.D.), while some still later in the 8th-9th century. Thirdly, most of the paintings even in Caves 16 and 17 depict incidents from the life of the Buddha, the Bodhisattva and the Jātakas (stories of the past life of the Buddha), whereas the paintings on the ceiling are essentially decorative, showing varied patterns with flowers, plants, fruits, birds, beasts and human and semi-divine beings, and not some contemporary scenes as the embassy of an Iranian king at the court of Pulakeśin II (in Cave 1, for instance) as was generally believed. Nevertheless, it is also true that while the scenes might be from the Jātakas, the artists might have and seem to have, introduced certain features in dress and ornaments, furniture and household utensils, from the life around them. It is thus that we can explain the occurrence of Iranian-looking head-dress of some people in Cave 1, people wearing beards and striped shorts, and spouted pots. Even the use of lapislazuli as a colour, which is absent in the earlier paintings, but present in the later paintings implies Irāṇian influence, as this is found in Irāṇ and Afghāṇistān.

However, it is the artistic aspect of the paintings, which has drawn world-wide praise, that commands our attention. With only four colours—red and yellow ochre, terre verde, lime, lamp-black and lapis-lazuli, the Ajaṇṭhā artists have created masterpieces of art 'which throughout maintain an exalted height and enthral the spectator by

CHAPTER 1.

Pre-historic Culture and Remains.

Iconography. Buddhist.

PAINTING.

¹ For a brief bibliography, see Debala Mitra, Ajanthā (Department of Archæology, Government of India, Delhi, 1956).

CHAPTER 1

Pre-historic Culture and Remains. PAINTING their rich beauty, superb expressiveness, colour scheme, balanced and effective composition, fine shading and high light bringing into relief plasticity and sensitive modelling of the figures, bold but faultless outline, delicate and idealised, but never unnatural, bodily features and women ever beautiful in all conceivable poses and moods. In fact, the paintings have stood the highest art standard of mural paintings'.

CULTS.

Regarding the cults, Saivism was more popular in the Deccan. The temples of other deities such as Viṣṇu, Sūrya, are comparatively very few. That of Brahmā none at all, though there are a couple of temples of other goddesses in the Deccan region.

Dr. Naik has ably pointed out the cult characteristic of the cave temples and later structural temples in the Deccan. For want of space, all these cannot be separately given here. From his studies, certain broad results emerge. These are as follows:—

- (1) Cult Images.—(i) Siva temples, both excavated and structural had a linga.
 - (ii) Temples of Vișnu had an image of some form of Vișnu.
 - (iii) Temples of Sūrya, had an image of Sūrya,
 - (iv) Temples of Devi had an image of Devi,
- (v) Temple of Ganesa (only one and very late) had an image of Ganesa.
- (2) Orientation.—(i) Siva's structural temples faced either the east or the west,
 - (ii) Vişnu even north,
 - (iii) Sūrya east or west,
 - (iv) Devi even south,
 - (v) Genesa east.
- (3) Gaṇapati is found in the centre of the door-lintel in most of the structural temples of Siva. Saiva Goddesses and Gaṇeśa may even be found in the temples of Sūrya and Viṣṇu. But upon the lintels of the most of the temples of Viṣṇu and Vaiṣṇava Goddesses is found an image of Garuḍa.
 - (4) (i) Pure Saiva temples have only Saiva Parivāradevatās.
- (ii) Ordinary Saiva temples have a mixture of Vaisnava and other deities as well.
 - (iii) Pure Vaisnava temples have Vaisnava sculptures only.
- (iv) Temples of goddesses have a preponderance of female sculpture.
- (v) Temples of Sūrya have also the images of Saiva and Vaispava deities as well.

Generally the temples faced the east and except those of Ganesa (which are very few and late), those of Siva, Viṣṇu and Sūrya never faced the south. Ganesa acquired his present popularity, an almost concomitant of all auspicious occasions, as attested to by a detailed epigraphical survey, by the late 10th century. All these conclusions are in perfect accordance with those obtained from Gujarāt and point to a general crystallization of religious thoughts and practices at this period.

The numismatic and allied data brought to light in the excavations, explorations and treasure-troves in Mahārāṣṭra can be divided into two groups, viz., coins and bullie.

The earliest coins that are reported are the punch-marked coins of silver. Prior to the excavations, finds of the hoards of such coins were found at Sinhī near Kolhāpūr (1871), Sultānpūr near Wāi in Sātārā district (1876) and at Bahāl in Khāndeśa (1943) which is the largest of the three. All the three hoards have not properly been classified, and the dating of these remains uncertain except the observation that the hoard from Sinhi was associated with a gold ring bearing letters in Aśokan Brāhmī. That from Bahāl shows a variety of motifs which depict animals like the bull, elephant, and the deer, aquatic animals like the frog and the fish, plants or trees with or without railing, group of arches, human figures, and religious symbols like the taurine, etc. In the case of the coins from Sultanpur, it is not evident whether these can be really called punch-marked as most of them are impressed with a die rather than punched. The motifs on these square and round coins have not been properly designated, but have a similarity to the taurus and quarter-foil motifs.

The excavations in Mahārāṣṭra have been neither many nor extensive. As such, punch-marked coins recovered in these are few in number. Whatever such coins are reported are from Paiṭhaṇ and Nevāsā. Those from the first are as yet unpublished while the evidence from the latter site restricts itself to two coins having the taurine and the solar symbols. Both these are of copper, of which one is coated with silver and thus might belong to the Mauryan period.

The evidence as a whole hardly reveals any new features either in shape or motifs punched. Square or rectangular in shape, the coins of this category as found in Mahārāṣṭra hardly reveal any deviation from those which are more abundant in the north. In date also, the specimens from Mahārāṣṭra might be later than those from north India.

The next in antiquity are the so called tribal coins which are diestruck and are made of copper. These are still meagre in quantity whereas they are found in a fairly good number in Madhya Pradeśa, Puńjāb, Rājasthān and Uttar Pradeśa.

The tribal coins so far reported in Mahārāṣṭra are those from Nevāsā. These are made of copper and are rectangular in shape. Two groups can be discerned in these, viz., the Ujjain and the Eraṇ-like group. The former bears the Ujjain symbol and the arched hill, whereas the Eraṇ group has standing human figures, svastika, with triple tips, şaḍaracakra and a taurine. Such coins are reported from Ujjain, Eraṇ (Madhya Pradeśa), Saurāṣṭra and Gujarāt. So far as the available evidence goes, Nevāsā seems to be at present the known southernmost limit for such coins.

CHAPTER 1.

Pre-historic Culture and Remains.

Coins and Bullie.

Coins.
Punch-marked.

Tribal.

CHAPTER 1.

Pre-historic Culture and Remains,

Coins and Bullie.
Coins.
Sătavāhana.

The preceding two categories do not seem to have been indigenous to the Deccan and are thus found in small quantities. The case with the coins of the Sātavāhanas is totally different. The Sātavāhanas were the first emperors of the Deccan who belonged to this region. As such, the coinage of this dynasty has been reported from number of sites like Nāśik, Nevāsā, Kolhāpūr, Ter, Karhād, Paithan, Cāndā, Tarhālā in Mahārāṣṭra.

The metals used by the Sātavāhanas for their coinage were copper, lead and potin; silver being restricted mainly to the coinage of only three kings who came in contact with the Kṣatrapas. Almost all the coins bear the animal motif (bull, elephant, lion, etc.), on the obverse with the legend, and the reverse having a variety of motifs, like the tree-in-railing, fishes, taurine, river, nandipada, Ujjain symbols and svastika. Portrait coins come only in imitation of the Kṣatrapas. Along with this the Ujjain symbol is also absent on the early coins of the dynasty, which thus shows that the territories of the early rulers of the Sātavāhanas, did not come in contact with regions outside the Deccan.

The excavations at Nevāsā have brought to light five coins bearing the legend \$\frac{\sir}{\sir}\$-Sātavāhana. The coins of this legend are also known from Hyderābād, which are different. This points to two facts; firstly, there seem to have been more than one king who bore this name, and secondly, all those early coins are from the heart of Mahārāṣṭra which points to the possibility of this region being the homeland of this dynasty.

Besides this, the hoards at Tarhālā and Cāndā have brought to light certain kings whose names do not occur in the traditional Purāṇic lists. The coins of these kings named as Kumbha, Karṇa, Saka, Skanda and others and bearing the motif of an elephant on the obverse and the Ujjain symbol on the reverse belong to the later days of the dynasty when it lost its hold on the mainlands.

The technique of coin-making as revealed by the coins of this dynasty shows that the die used for stamping is normally bigger than the size of the coin with the result that the legend and the motifs fall out and are incomplete. However, in clarity and motif they are remarkable, but more or less stereotyped so far as the animal motif is concerned. The only exception is the ship-type coin of Yajña Sātakarnī.

The influence of the Gujarāt Kṣaharāta and Kṣatrapa coinage on that of the Sātavāhanas restricted itself only to the coinage of two or three kings. Those who came in conflict with these foreigners either restruck their silver coins or adopted the portrait motif as in the case of Gautamīputra.

Kurā.

A number of coins of lead, round in shape, die-impressed, heavy in weight, with thick letters, having a bow and arrow on the obverse, and tree-in-railing on the reverse, have been found in the last decade or so at Kolhāpūr and Nerle (Sātārā district). These belong to three

¹ The Ujjain symbol is clearly seen on the early coins of Satavahana. See Studies in Indology, Vol. I, Pl. I. (V. V. M.).

kings, viz., Vāsisthiputra, Gautamīputra and Mādhāriputra and are often restruck mutually. All the three kings thus have metronymic names and have the suffix Vilivayakura, which has not been satisfactorily explained. Some scholars take them to be the feudatories of the Satavahanas, while others assign them to the Kura or Ankura dynasty. However, the latest study of the coins from the excavations from Kolhāpūr has shown that the Kuras were a separate dynasty contemporaneous with the early Satavahanas. They do not seem to be the feudatories of the latter and were deprived of their dominions by either Srī Sātakarni or Pulumāvī.

These dynasties, which were the contemporaries of the Satavāhanas, have been accounted for by coins mostly from Kolhāpūr. As is well known, the Mahārathīs had a matrimonial alliance with the Sātavāhana dvnasty.

The coins of the Cutus, whose rule seems to have been over regions near Kanheri, North Kanara and Mysore, are of lead and bear the three-tiered hill on the obverse and the tree-in-railing on the reverse. The former motif is also found on the Kşatrapa coinage.

The Maharathi coins belong mostly to regions of the periphery of the present Mahārāṣṭra State. However, the lead ones as found at Kolhāpūr have an identity with those of the Kura dynasty discussed above.

As compared to the Gujarāt region the Kṣatrapa and Kṣaharāta coins reported from Mahārāstra are much less. Save the Jogalthembi hoard of Nahapana's coins, no other collections of these dynasties are reported. Stray coins do occur as at Poona and Nasik, both of which were looked after by their governors. The excavations so far carried out in the present State have not turned out Ksatrapa coins.

It has already been noted that the round silver coinage of the Kşatrapas had a passing influence on contemporary Sātavāhana rulers. On the whole, the coinage of this dynasty bears the head of the king on the obverse and the three-arched caitya surrounded by legend in very fine thin letters. The copper coins are rare, but the silver ones are after those of Nahapāna whose standardisation can be co-related to the hemi-drachms of the Græco-Indian kings. coinage of the Kṣatrapas in its turn influenced that of the Guptas and the Traikūtakas of a later date.

From the point of view of workmanship, the silver coinage of Kşatrapas is distinctly disciplined. The clarity of the letters, motifs and the profile of the king with hair-lock flowing over the neck, a tight fitting head-dress and prominent nose are remarkable, for no contemporary dynasty in this region or elsewhere had such portrait coins. The coins, mostly round, also give the date and titles of the king in Sanskrt mixed with Prakrt.

There is great paucity of numismatic data from about the Coinage from the 5th century A.D. onwards till one comes to the mediæval period. This is because of the unsettled and changing political pattern of Mahārāṣṭra. Even the great Rāṣṭrakūṭas who arose and consolidated

Gupta to the

Silähära Period.

CHAPTER 1.

Pre-historic Culture and Remains.

COINE AND BULLIE.

COINS.

Cutu and Maharathi.

Kşatrapa,

¹ Coins of several Ksatrapa kings have been found in Vidarbha. See Studies in Indology, vol. III, pp. 93 f.-V. V. M.]

CHAPTER I.

Pre-historic Culture and Remains.

Coins AND BULLIE. Coins. their hold over this region, have not left for us any coins. Similar is the case of the Yādavas who have left to us a few padmatankas. This being the case, the numismatic history suffers from a gap of little more than five hundred years.

The Silāhāras who came to power in the Deccan. and North Konkan in about the 9th-11th century A.D. have left some coins as the evidence from Kolhāpūr and allied region shows. However, the data are not sufficient for a comparative study.

Silàhāra.

The tiny gold coins about half an inch in diameter have the garuda emblem on the reverse and the trīśula on the obverse. It is well known that the copper plates of the dynasty refer to the Suvarna-garuda-dhvaja as the emblem of the family. There is, however, no legend on these coins and as such their attribution to the Silāhāras is not yet final.

Besides gold, silver coins also were issued by the Konkan branch of the dynasty.

Bullie, Roman. In the first three centuries of the Christian era when the Deccan through the coastal ports, came in contact with the Romans, a number of Roman coins seem to have entered India. Soon the copies of such coins in terracotta, lead and gold started and were worn possibly as ornaments.

The Roman coins were remarkable for their precise delineation of the human and divine figures. Their copies in terracotta and metal have been reported from a number of places in the south and the western India. In Mahārāṣṭra they come from Kolhāpūr, Nevāsā, Ter, Paiṭhaṇ and Koṇḍāpūr. These are usually circular pieces with perforations and depict royal heads, Roman goddesses etc., in a dotted border. The bullies imitating the coins of Tiberius are numerous. Similar metal pieces with the head of a goddess on it are even now used in rural Mahārāṣṭra. As such the bullie represents an aspect of non-indigenous influence on Mahārāṣṭrian life.

BEADS,
PENDANTS
AND
AMULETS.

In recent years, archæological excavations at various sites in Mahārāṣṭra have yielded thousands of beads and a few beadpendants and amulets. These indicate not only the flair for decoration and the artistic selection of indigenous and imported material, but also the ideas connected with certain shapes on the basis of religion and superstition which formed a part and parcel of the culture of the people in the past.

Materials.

Practically all the sites inhabited during the Chalcolithic and subsequent historical periods have brought to light beads in different materials. Nāśik, Nevāsā, Prakāśe, Bahāl, Diamābād, Kolhāpūr, Karhād, Ter, and Paithan have brought forth beads of agate, carnelian, chalcedony, jasper, amethyst, amazonite, coral, glass, terracotta, crystal, shell, steatite, faience and copper. It may be pointed out that most of the semi-precious stones in these occur as veins in the Deccan trap area and as such seem to have been utilized for bead-making throughout the remote and the recent past. Evidence for the local bead industry in the Deccan is

furnished by the excavations at Kolhāpūr and Nevāsā where beads in various stages of manufacture have been found. Apart from the use of local material like chalcedony, jasper and carnelian, beads of non-indigenous material like lapislazuli bespeak of import from abroad especially Afghāṇistān and Irāṇ.

A study of these various finished and unfinished beads shows the various stages in their manufacture. Preparing the core, flaking it to a requisite shape, perforating the bead and polishing it, were three stages as indicated by half flanked, semi-perforated and incompletely polished specimens. It is likely that very fine drills of diamond were used. The perforation was never done through from one end, but was done half-way from both ends so that it was asymmetrical and very minute at the end of the double perforation from either side. The use of a lathe for polishing or that of a pot for moving the beads briskly for polishing cannot be ruled out. That was the case so far as the beads of semi-precious stones are concerned. The beads of material like faience and steatite, which are one of the outstanding culture-criterion of the Chalcolithic period as at Nevāsā and Diamābād, demanded a different method. On a piece of string, cylinders of this material were applied which were incised around the body to cut off discs from it later on. Such cylinders along with the thread were set to fire which resulted in the burning away of the thread and the creating of a perforation. Hundreds of tiny discs and cylinders have been found at Nevasa and Bahāl in the Chalcolithic levels. As against this, the biconical beads of pure copper at Neväsä show that they were made by a process of hot hammering.

The glass bead industry of the later mediæval period of the Deccan involved a number of different techniques. These result in the beads being of drawn glass or wound or coiled or moulded, composite or spirally wound glass. All these techniques have been evidenced at Nevāsā and Kolhāpūr. The latter site has given moulds of slate stone of the Sātavāhana period, which turned out square beads in two parts which were joined together later on. The making of glass beads involved a complete control over temperature and the mastery in fusing together different parts either of the same colour or of differently coloured plastic glass. The industry of polychrome bangles seems to have formed an important cottage industry in Mahārāstra round about 13th-14th centuries A.D. That glass was locally prepared on a medium scale in small kilns has been recently evidenced by the discovery of such a kiln along with hundreds of pieces of glass slag and waste slag in one of the houses of the Muslim period in the excavations at Nevāsā.

There is a wide range of shapes. As the earliest habitations of the Chalcolithic period have as yet not been excavated on a large scale in the Deccan, the material associated with those appears to be much less than that met with in the historical period. However, with the available evidence, it appears that beads with geometrical

CHAPTER 1.

Pre-historic Culture and Remains.

BEADS,
PENDANTS
AND
AMULETS.

Method of Making.

Shapes.

CHAPTER 1. Pre-historic Culture and Remains.

BEADS, PENDANTS AND AMULETS

shapes predominated in all periods. In spite of this, some of the beads in semi-precious stones like agate and carnelian show remarkable skill in facetting, in the early centuries of the Christian era.

As remarked above, some beads in all the ages, reflect ideas connected with magic, religion and superstition. Thus, besides, providing evidence of the decorative patterns, beads at Nevāsā and other Chalcolithic sites like Jorve, Bahāl and Diamābād were found Bead-Amulets, to have contributed to the making up of one of the items of funerary goods. At all these sites scores of beads of agate, chalcedony, steatite and carnelian have been found in child and adult burials.

> Bead-amulets and pendants of the historical period seem to go a step further. They definitely give us an idea of the superstitions current in the contemporary society. For instance 'eye-beads' have been reported from a number of sites in the Deccan. These begin from the Chalcolithic times and continue upto the present day. These beads were worn to protect one from the supposed bad effect of an evil eye. Such beads made either of semi-precious stones like agate or of artificial material like glass are so executed as to depict the pattern of the human eye by means of black dot on a white surface. In glass it was found to have been made by using differently coloured plastic glass fused together. In the case of stones, either dotted or banded material was suitably chosen or coloured pieces of stones were inlaid in another stone. However, these techniques were widely adopted elsewhere outside the Deccan as well. As such, there is nothing distinct about them. Along with such beads, amulets imitating the leg of a human being have recently been reported from Nevasa in the late mediæval levels.

> Bead-amulets imitating the shape of some animals are also met with in the early historic layers. These are widely reported from a number of sites in contemporary horizons outside Mahārāşţra. The evidence from excavations in the Deccan in this regard is meagre. However, mention may be made of the puissant lion amulet in pure crystal from Nāśik, and the delicate Nandī amulet in terracotta from Nevāsā. Both these belong to the early centuries of the Christian era. The former, perforated below the mane is remarkable for its workmanship and excellent polish, whereas the latter executed in double mould is exquisite in the details of the plump muscular outlines of the Nandi and delicate details of the lotus petals on which the animal rests.

> Amulets after weapons, fruits, flower (rosette) and religious symbols are very few. It may be noted that whereas amulets like the eye-beads seem to have been current right from the Chalcolithic period onwards in Mahārāṣṭra, the bead-amulets after the pattern of a dagger, or an amalaka or triratna symbol are reported only prior to the Gupta levels in this area. Of all these, the Yakşa amulet from the 1st-2nd century B.C. levels at Nevāsā is remarkable, Executed in the terracotta in double mould, the piece depicts a standing Yakşa wearing a dhoti and has a close affinity to similar

figures in stone reported from the Pitalkhorā caves where these are identified as the Yakşa Sankarin.

Another set of bead-amulets and bead-pendants are the imitations of the Roman coins in terracotta or metal. These have been reported from Kolhāpūr, Nevāsā and Paiṭhaṇ. These came to be in use in the first two or three centuries of the Christian era when contacts with the outside world grew up on a large scale through trade. They depict the head of a king after the fashion of Roman coins or the full-size figure of a Roman goddess. Somewhat similar things are even now worn by womenfolk in rural Mahārāṣṭra which they call 'putaļī' depicting some goddess.

Besides the beads with regular geometrical shapes and the beadamulets, a few pendants have also been reported. However, these repeat the shapes—like drop pendant, double-capped pendant, pillar-like pendant, along with spacers—found in earlier contexts elsewhere and as such, cannot be credited to be local innovations. Moreover, they survive over a long period and as such, are useless for dating purposes.

In short, though the antiquity of beads goes back to the first millenium B.C. in Mahārāṣṭra, and though they show a variety in the use of locally available materials, they fail to exhibit a spectacular range of shapes and workmanship as is noticed in the early historical beads in the Gangetic valley. It is only when one comes to the late mediæval period that evidence of some sort of an 'industry' of glass beads is met with.

Evidence from various excavations has indicated that the earliest use of copper or bronze goes back to at least the first millenium B.C. in the Deccan. Iron started much later say about second-third century B.C. and its use on a large scale is evidenced in the early centuries of the Christian era.

The objects of copper or iron show a vivid range of utensils and can be grouped into the following categories:—(a) Tools, (b) Weapons, (c) Objects of household use, (d) Objects of toilet, and (e) Ornamental objects.

The tools comprise those used in carpentry such as chisels, nails, adze, drills, axes and those used in agriculture like sickles and pick-axes.

The antiquity of the axes goes back to the copper or bronze age dated to the first millenium B.C. as evidenced by excavations at Jorve and Diamābād, both of which are situated on the river Pravarā. Besides these being of bronze or copper, they differ entirely from those of the succeeding historical phase when iron axes came into use. The axes or the celts of bronze are rectangular in outline with a convex edge. In section they are biconvex at the edge, but flat the ards the butt. Containing 1.78 per cent of tin, they represent 1 tow grade alloy or bronze. In typology, these are more akin to the Indus axes than those from the Gangetic valley or elsewhere. By virtue of their shape which did not provide for

CHAPTER 1.

Pre-historic Culture and Remains.

BEADS,
PENDANTS
AND
AMULETS.

Bead-Pendants.

Summary.

METALLURGY
AND
METAL
OBJECTS.
Antiquity.

Variety.

Tools.

Axes.

CHAPTER 1.
Pre-historic
Culture and
Remains

METALLURGY AND METAL OBJECTS. Tools a socket for insertion of a wooden handle, such rectangular celts were tied to u wooden handle possibly by means of roots or leather.

The tradition of such celts seems to have gone out of vogue with the disappearance of the Chalcolithic folk. By about the second century B.C. the socketted axe of iron, which has continued to this day, emerges. This has a round socket at one end while the blade tapers into a sharp edge. Such iron axes have been reported from the early Sātavāhana levels from Nāśik and Paiṭhan, and from the deposits of early centuries of the Christian era at Nevāsā.

Socketted pick-axes with slightly curved blade with a pointed tip, which have not so far been reported from Chalcolithic deposits from the Deccan are found in Indo-Roman levels at Nevāsā and continue even in Silāhāra times at Brahmapurī (Kolhāpur).

Chisels.

Earliest chisels in Mahārāṣṭra come from the Chalcolithic deposits at Nevāsā. An intact specimen made of copper has a long rectangular body with a flat square and a double-sloped edge. That it was made by hot forging is evident from the overlapping edges. This shape is totally absent in Indus Valley sites, where chisels with shanks or burned butts are common.

Similarly made chisels in iron appear in the second century B.C. levels at Nevāsā, though these differ in size which is more thick and stumpy. Another variety, belonging to the same period but having a round body with sharp levelled edge is reported from Nāśik. Similar chisels with pround body and a pointed or spread edge are used by the masons even now.

Drill.

So far, there is not such an evidence about this type of tool as would warrant a general statement regarding its typology. However, no drills of any metal have been reported from Chalcolithic deposits from the Deccan. Drills appear for the first time, so far, in early historic levels. These are made of iron. Nāśik and Nevāsā have given two different types. Whereas that from the first consists of a spirally twisted thin strap of iron, that from the latter site shows possibly a grooved shaft having a sharp tapering point. No wooden accompaniments of these have been so far found.

Adze.

Similar is the case with adze. Whereas in the Chalcolithic times adzes of polished dolerite stone were used, those of the historical period are made of iron. The iron adze reported from Nevāsā of the early centuries of the Christian era, consists of a flat blade with shaft. This shape continues to this date.

Nails, Hooks and Clamps.

Along with the tools described above, hundreds of iron nails, hooks and clamps have turned up in different excavations. None of these items have so far been found in any other material prior to the third century B.C. in Mahārāṣṭra.

Of these, the nails show a wide range of shapes of which the most common seems to be that with a round body and a spread head. These continue to be from the early historic to the end of the Bahāmanī period as at Nāśik, Prakāśe, Kolhāpūr and Karhāḍ. It may, however, be pointed out that nails, besides being used in wood work,

were also used for fixing tiles to the rafters below. As such, tiles and nails have been found in abundant quantities in the early centuries of the Christian era when it was practice of roof houses with terracotta tiles, having perforations.

Pre-historic Culture and Remains, METALLURGY AND METAL OBJECTS.

CHAPTER 1.

Ordinary hooks—to distinguish them from fish-hooks—and clamps are not many. Only Nevāsā and Kolhāpūr have yielded them so far. Here they occur from the early historic and continue even during the Muslim-Marāṭhā times. These are made of thin rods with curved sharp ends. Similar is the case of clamps made of horizontal rod of iron with two lower projections at both the ends. These are restricted only to the Indo-Roman deposits.

Apart from the carpentry tools discussed above, several others of agricultural and fishing usage have been found. These comprise sickles, fish-hooks and harpoons.

So far only Nevāsā, Bahāl and Kolhāpūr are reported to have yielded sickles of iron in the Sātavāhana period. Prior to the advent of iron, the Chalcolithic people used sharp retouched microliths set in a row close to one another in a piece of bone or wood. The sickles of the iron age however, are mostly curved iron blades sharp on the inner edge and having a tang which was fixed in a wooden handle.

Harpoons and Fish-hooks.

Sickles.

Objects which are probably harpoons and fish-hooks have been found only at one site in Mahārāṣṭra and those too in the historical period. Though copper fish-hooks and harpoons are reported from Chalcolithic times elsewhere, these are not found so far in any Chalcolithic site of the Deccan-

The fish-hooks which consist of thin rods of iron with upturned pointed ends with no barbs, and harpoons with barbs on top or which are leaf-like with slightly bent point, have been met with from the early historic to the Bahamanī period at Kolhāpūr, whereas they belong to the early historic levels at Nevāsā.

Along with the tools of technical use, a large number of tools of offence have been brought to light in recent excavations. These comprise knives, arrow-heads, spear-heads, daggers, choppers and caltrops.

Weapons.

Save in Diamābād, copper knife-blades have not been found anywhere else. The Diamābād specimen is a fragmentary piece which does not indicate its complete shape. Knives with tangs and medium broad, straight, curved or plano-convex blades appear for the first time in c. 600-300 B.C. levels at Bahāl, and at Kolhāpūr, the latter having an exact parallel from Adicannallur. Abundant varieties of these occur in the early centuries of the Christian era at Ter, Nevāsā, Nāśik, Paiṭhan, Karhāḍ and Prakāśe. All these are tanged and have been found associated with fragmentary handles of ivory and bone.

Knife-blades.

Unlike the knife-blades, no spearheads have been reported so far prior to 4th/5th century B.C. Iron spearheads appear for the first time at Bahāl along with dagger-heads assignable to the period

Spearheads.

Pre-historic
Culture and
Remains,
METALLITRGY
AND
METAL
OBJECTS.
Weapons,
Arrowheads.

mentioned above. In later levels at Nāśik and Nevāsā, they reveal two types, e.g., socketted and tanged. The former variety having triangular blade is reported from Nāśik where it is dated to the early Sātavāhana period. Nevāsā, on the other hand, has given both the socketted and the tanged varieties assignable to the early centuries of the Christian era. These have an elongated triangular blade. Though spears continued to be in use during the Muslim-Marāṭhā period, none of them have been traced in excavations so far.

The story regarding arrowheads is similar to that of the spearheads. No arrowheads of either copper or bronze have been reported from any Chalcolithic site, from Mahārāṣṭra. It can be attributed to two possible reasons. Firstly, no Chalcolithic deposits have been extensively excavated so far, and secondly, the use of copper or bronze itself was on a limited scale due to the scarcity of the metal itself. It is also well-known that tanged points of chalcedony, etc., were used as possible arrowheads in the Chalcolithic period.

Coming to about the third century B.C., one comes across iron arrowheads of varied types, some even corroborating the information as given in Kautilya's Arthaśāstra. The earliest evidence, so far of iron arrowheads comes from Bahāl where they occur in c. 600-300 B.C. levels. Nevāsā, Nāśik, Ter, Karhāḍ and Kolhāpūr have yielded arrowheads which are mostly tanged ones. The socketted variety is on the whole rare. For want of limited evidence, no precedence or otherwise of any one type over the other can be established at present.

The blades of these arrowheads show quite a range of shapes, such as leaf-shaped, triangular, crescent-like, spiked, so on and so forth. These concentrate mostly in the Sătavāhana and Indo-Roman levels, though their use was attested to even in the Bahamanī period at Kolhāpūr.

Caltrop.

The most remarkable weapon of offence amongst all these has been reported from Nāśik. It is called caltrop and can be equated with 'trika' of Kauṭilya. This is a four-spiked weapon which when thrown on the ground rests with two spikes upwards. This was first traced at Śiśupālgaḍ in Orissa in the c. 200-300 A.D. levels. At Nāśik, on the other hand, it belonged to c. 300-200 B.C., deposits. Right from Kauṭilya's times upto the first World War, similar caltrops were spread on the ground to obstruct the attack of the cavalry.

Objects of Household Use. Along with all these tools and weapons, several objects of household use have been unearthed. These comprise lamps, laddles, bowls, dishes, frying shovels, pokers, etc.

Lamps.

So far the earliest lamps of the first millenium B.C. copper age are found to be oval-shaped terra cotta pieces. However, by about the 2nd century B.C. lamps of iron in the shape of bowls with slightly pinched lips seem to have come into use as at Nevāsā and Ter. It is likely that they were kept on some stand with support as their bases are round.

Iron laddles in the shape of a bowl with either vertical or horizontal rod-holds came to be in use in the early centuries of the Christian era as the evidence from Nevāsā shows. Similar is the case with frying shovels with a broad squarish blade and a straplike handle which are reported in the Indo-Roman levels. However, the most notable object is a dish with a central boss recovered from Nevāsā in the same period.

It is significant that frying shovels, dishes with a boss, laddles and drills, etc., should be found in association with other objects showing non-indigenous affinities. In this connection, it is to be noted that all these objects having similar shapes with those found in Mahārāṣṭra have been reported for the first time at Taxilā in the early centuries of the Christian era when the Indo-Romans had a cultural influence, over the area. Literary evidence abounds in the information of trade relations which the coastal Mahārāṣṭra and its interior regions like Junnar and Paiṭhaṇ, developed in the late Sāṭavāhana period. As such, it may not be incorrect to hold that these domestic utensils were the legacy of foreign contact. It is interesting to note that frying shovels and laddles continue to have the same shape to this day.

Objects of toilet and ornamental objects of copper and iron are not many. They exhibit a limited range and comprise bangles, and a leg-ring (called $v\bar{a}|\bar{a}$ in Marāṭhī). These go back to at least the first millenium B.C. as evidenced by Jorve and Nevāsā. Whereas the former was an unstratified find associated with Chalcolithic assemblage, the latter was found around the leg part of the skeletal remains of a child buried in urns. The former is a thick ring of copper and the latter a thin specimen resembling similar $v\bar{a}|\bar{a}s$ used even today.

No bangles of metal are reported from the mediæval period when glass and shell took the place of metal.

Rings of metal are very scarce in the Chalcolithic period. Plain specimens appear in a remarkable quantity in the Sătavāhana period when they occur along with monochrome glass rings. It is only in the first two or three centuries of the Christian era, when Roman contacts developed through trade, that one comes across rings with ornamental bezels. A few of such rings with oblong or circular bezels have sometimes the provisions of a depression for setting precious stone in them. There is remarkable similarity between these bezelled-rings from Mahārāṣṭra to the contemporary specimens found at Taxilā.

Mctal rings seem to have given place to glass rings-monochrome and polychrome-in the Muslim-Marāthā period.

Nevāsā has been the first site to give beads of copper belonging to the first millenium B.C. These were found in two sets, the first being group of three biconical hollow beads made by hot hammering and consisting of pure copper, and the second set consisting of fourteen barrel-shaped beads forming necklace around the neck of a buried child. These beads were woven in silk

CHAPTER 1.

Pre-historic
Culture and
Remains.
METALLURGY
AND
METAL
OBJECTS.
Objects of
Household
Use,
Laddles,
Frying shovels
and
Dishes,

Ornaments and Objects of Toilet.

Rings.

Beads.

CHAPTER 1.
Pre-historic
Culture and

Remains

METALLURGY
AND
METAL
OBJECTS.
Ornaments and
Objects of
Toilet

Pins.

and cotton thread. In no other site of the Chalcolithic period such biconical beads have been reported so far-

Metal beads seem to have gone out of vogue in the early historic and subsequent periods, as glass replaced metal.

Pins with solid, coiled or bi-foil heads have a long history. They occur in the Chalcolithic levels at Diamābād, though in fragmentary state. Those with a solid loop and pointed end and made of iron occur at Kolhāpūr. However, it is only in the Indo-Roman period that they are met with in an elaborate form showing affinities to contemporary specimens from Taxilā. It may not be incorrect to hold that along with apparatus of domestic use like frying shovels, etc., pins of metal were also an extension of foreign contacts.

Pins are not met with in the late historical or mediæval period. The only specimen, so far known, comes from Silāhāra levels from Kolhāpūr.

Kohl-Sticks.

Along with pins, kohl-sticks or antimony rods for use in applying collyrium to the eyes, formed an important article for toilet from at least the Chalcolithic times in Mahārāṣṭra.

Whereas these are made of copper in the shape of a rod with either one or both the ends bulbous as in the Chalcolithic period, they continue along with elaborately decorated specimens of bone and ivory in the early historical and subsequent periods, as attested to by Nāśik, Nevāsā, Ter, Prakāśe and Karhāḍ finds.

Summary.

A short survey of the art of metallurgy in Mahārāṣṭra shows that its antiquity goes to the first millenium B.C. whereas, only copper was in use round about the first millenium B.C., as the evidence goes.

An elaboration in the preparation of iron objects of domestic and toilet use seems to be the result of Indo-Roman period.

For want of extensive chemical analysis of copper and iron objects, no connected account of the art of metallurgy can be had as yet.

GLASS AND GLASS OBJECTS.

No specimen of glass or any glass object has been reported so far prior to the 3rd century B.C. in Mahārāṣṭra. It is first introduced in the early historic period. The finest type of glass, i.e., Roman glass is met with in the early centuries of the Christian era. In the late mediæval period a sort of glass bangle industry seems to have been prevalent on a small scale.

Early glass specimens as found at Nevāsā, Nāśik and Kolhāpūr show thick, bubbly, translucent structure while the late Sātavāhana period turns out fine, thin, transparent, bluish glass in the finest Roman tradition. The mediæval glass bangles are opaque and have variously coloured bands of uneven thickness.

Objects of glass from the early historical to the late mediæval period comprise bangles, rings, kohl-sticks, vessels and pully-shaped ear-reels.

Glass bangles of the early period are without exception monochrome made of black, yellow, blue, red or green glass. These are plain specimens having no decoration, and have been found both for the use of the adults and children. Along with these, bangles of shell were also current. (See under 'Shell Objects').

Bangles of the first three centuries of the Christian era, show the use of the fine glass fashioned into thin rings with a grooved circumference. This type can be attributed to Roman import.

As compared to the bangles, the rings of glass are few. In antiquity and technological peculiarities they are similar to the bangles. Nāśik and Nevāsā have given monochrome glass rings which are mostly plain though some have a flat biconvex or truncated pyramidal bezel. A few are made by the wire wound process while very few are of cupreous glass.

Pulley-shaped discs which were used as ornaments in the earlobs are reported from Nāśik, Nevāsā and Prakāśe in the early and late Sātavāhana levels. In the same period similar ear-reels in terracotta and bone were also in use. Similar ear-reels are also depicted in the frescoes at Ajanthā.

The ear-reels of glass are either of transparent white glass or red cupreous glass. Similar reels made of agate and bearing high polish are reported from Bahāl, while reels of black glass were found at Ujjain. At Somanāth such reels were coated with gold having decoration in repoussé. This type of ornament, thus, shows a wide regional distribution.

Kohl-sticks made of glass are extremely scarce and have been reported in a fragmentary condition only from Nevāsā. There they belong to the Indo-Roman period and are made of blue translucent glass free from bubbles. It thus shows all the qualities of Roman glass and as such might not be of local make.

The specimen is a rod tapering to a point with the other end thick, flat and having incised hatched pattern which is a patent decoration on contemporary bone specimens (see under "Bone Objects").

Glass does not seem to have been utilized for making small bowls, prior to the Christian era in Mahārāṣṭra. Whatever fragments of such vessels are available are from Nevāsā where the evidence is meagre. However, these fragments show the use of clear, fine, bluish, thin glass free from any bubbles. We have already seen that though glass was known and made prior to this period in the Deccan, fine glass is the contribution of trade with the Roman empire.

The antiquity of the art of glazing goes back to the first millenium B.C. This is attested to by the find of glazed beads of faience and paste in Chalcolithic burials at Nevāsā. However, no analysis of this glaze has been made so far. In the early historic period also, the industry does not seem to have made any headway, as only beads of glazed faience are available at various sites in Mahārāṣṭra.

The art of glazing tiles and pottery seems to have been introduced by the Persian Muslims into India, round about the thirteenth CHAPTER 1.

Pre-historic Culture and Remains, GLASS AND GLASS OBJECTS. Bangles.

Rings.

Ear-reels,"

Kohl-sticks.

Glass Vessels.

Glazing.

CHAPTER 1.

Pre-historic
Culture and
Remains.
GLASS AND

GLASS OBJECTS. Glazing. century A.D. This is evidenced by glazed dishes and plates at Nevāsā, Nāśik, and Kolhāpūr. This glaze is thick and rough and covers the painted designs on pottery.

TERRACOTTA
OBJECTS.

Thus, though the art of glazing beads was known in the first millenium B.C., glass objects were restricted only to the field of bangles which can be traced back to the early historic period. Fine glass was introduced by the Romans, while the art of glazing pottery and polychrome glass bangles flourished as a cottage industry in the late mediæval period.

The terracotta is the material for objects of worship like figurines and votive tanks, objects of toilet like skin-rubbers, and household objects like lamps and toys.

Figurines.

The terracotta figurines can be classified into three main categories, to wit, female, male and boyheads.

The first can be further grouped into (a) 'ageless' or conventional, (b) mother or fertility goddess, (c) dhātrī figurines, and (d) miscellaneous.

Female Figurines.

The antiquity of the terracotta female figurines goes back to the first millenium B.C. as they are reported from Bahāl in Khāndeś and Nevāsā and Diamābād in Ahmadnagar district. These have given highly conventionalised female figures with pinched nose, slit eyes and mouth, and stiff, short and horizontally spread hands. These are more or less featureless and occur in all periods right up to the end of the Marāthā period. These are thus 'ageless' and being merely representative of the idea of a female being, show absolutely no attempt at finer delineation of features.

Fertility Goddess. The second category is not only more elaborate but also reflects the contemporaneous ideas connected with fertility, prosperity and village deities. The first specimens of this category have been found at Nevāsā and Bahāl in the first millenium B.C. chalcolithic levels. Whereas the one from Nevāsā is a nine-inch-high piece with broad, flaring bottom, stiff hands, prominent breasts and depressed eyes, those from Bahāl are applique figurines fixed to pots. Similar figures and couples affixed to storage jars have been reported from contemporary levels from Māļvā area. Such figurines either single or in pairs (Mtthuna) might be connected with fertility and prosperity. All these are handmade.

Divine-Woman figurines.

By about the third-second century B.C.-A.D. a group of female figurines is met with. Cast in double mould, these specimens, so far reported from Kolhāpūr, Nāśik, Nevāsā, Ter and Karhād in Mahārāṣṭra and Tripurī in Madhya Pradeśa, form a group by themselves. They wear an elaborate hair style and head-dress and have ornaments like bangles, girdles and necklaces. Shown always in a squatting posture with legs apart, their private parts are apparent due possibly to their wearing a diaphanous clothing. Since these figurines are invariably associated with the Sātavāhana levels, these might as well be taken to be the 'grāmadevatās' which find mention in the Gāthāsaptaśatī of Hāla.

In the opening centuries of the Christian era are found a set of nude figurines, as at Ter, in which an exaggerated emphasis is given to the depiction of the sexual members of the female figurine. Headless, frog-shaped and made of fine clay, these figurines are the result of non-indigenous influences, especially as they occur with the advent of the Roman contacts with India. These are reported from a number of places outside India as well by about the first century B.C.

By about the third-fifth centuries A.D., a set of female figurines Dhātrī Figurines. which are cast in single mould and hence having a flat back, are met with in a fair number as at Ter and Nevasa. Mahārāstra, they are reported from a number of sites in the Gangetic valley which formed the core of the Gupta empire in about the same time mentioned above.

The specimens of this group are usually standing figurines with or without a halo behind and features in a shallow relief. The patent head-dress is trefoil and the figures wear clothes which reach below the knees. Usually these figurines hold a child and are shown as possessing a ball, etc. Accordingly, these are classified as kridādhātrī, arikā-dhātrī, kṣīra-dhātrī, etc., according to the job they perform such as suckling, playing, fondling the child on the knees etc. These are usually met with in Gupta levels and are often referred to in contemporary Indian literature.

There is a large number of female figurines which do not fit in any one of the categories referred to above. Such specimens usually come from the levels of the mediæval period. These are very crude with a mere semblance of a figurine, and are usually coated with lime and red ochre. Almost all these are handmade, heavy and solid pieces of clay, and seem to have been used as toys.

Compared to the number of female figures, those of the males are less frequent. The antiquity of these also goes to the first millenium B.C. on the basis of the evidence from Diamabad.

Male figurines, for which the evidence is too meagre for general study, remain crude in workmanship till about the beginning of the Christian era. They remain stiff and stumpy figures with a cold expression. The only exceptions to this are the male figures from Sātavāhana levels from Kolhāpûr having girdles and wristlets, pendants in the ear-lobes and folded head-dress. The warmth of facial expression is apparent on the Indo-Roman and Gupta specimens depicting in few cases the use of double mould. The use of red ochre for emphasizing decoration and ornament, becomes a general feature of the figurines of the Muslim-Maratha period in which, however, the art deteriorates.

The best specimens are reported from Ter which shows a wide variety in coiffure and dress. Ter also shows the use of fine kaolin in preference to terracotta. Belonging to the first two or three centuries of the Christian era, the figures are cast on a double mould with proportion and precision of limbs. These figures show a variety of ornaments like girdles necklaces and wristlets, a warmth Vf 3010-4

CHAPTER 1.

Pre-historic Culture and Remains. TERRACOTTA OBJECTS, Figurines. Nude Figurines.

Miscellaneous.

Male Figures.

Yaksa Figures.

CHAPTER 1.

Pre-historic Culture and Remains,

TERRACOTTA
OBJECTS,
Miscellaneous

Miscellaneous.
Child Figures.
Late Sātvāhanā.

of expression in facial features, and ornamental head-dresses. It is likely that these were cult-figures or might be yakṣas. (For yakṣa amulets, see under 'Beads, Pendants and Amulets').

Fragmentary boyheads are reported from the 3rd century B.C. to the end of the 3rd century A.D. levels from Nevāsā and Ter. No boyheads or complete figures of boys prior to and after this period have been obtained from excavations so far.

Those from the late Sātavāhana levels are generally made out of a single mould, while some of these have a halo behind these. Such specimens, especially from Nevāsā, are remarkable for the depiction of innocent smile of the chubby-faced child. They have a remarkable similarity with specimens from Sirkap, Taxilā.

Kaolin.

The group of Kaolin and terracotta boy figures fashioned in double-mould and belonging to the levels assignable to the first three centuries of the Christian era, are noteworthy for expression, delicacy and dignified bearing. These have elaborate arrangement of hair similar to the 'kākapakṣadhara' of Raghuvamśa and are noteworthy for the selection of choice ornaments such as the pendant right on the forehead. The lips are thick-set, nose a bit broad and eyes rather large for the face. The cheeks are plump. Exactly similar specimens with their mould-copies in terracotta are reported, besides at Ter and Nevāsā, from Kondāpūr in Āndhra Pradeśa. It is possible that these had a cult significance.

A general study of the terracotta and kaolin figures of the first few centuries of the Christian era besides showing an affinity in facial expression to those from Taxilā, also brings out another feature. This consists of the arrangement of the hair which fails to have affinity with any indigenous styles not only in terra cotta but even in contemporary sculptures. As such, it may not be incorrect to say that Roman contacts which developed on a large scale during this period, might have influenced the creation of such specimens in the Deccan.

Toys.

Along with the figurines and other objects described above, scores of toys made of terra cotta have been found. These can very broadly be classified into two categories, viz., those which are realistic and those which are conventionalised.

The latter merely representing the idea of a particular animal or a bird occur over a long stretch of time, from the first millenium B.C. to the end of the late mediæval period. These are crudely made. The earliest specimens have some amongst them which have a flat base and perforation to pass thread through so that it can be held suspending. The mediæval specimens are mostly lime-coated and sometimes the eyes, beaks or horns are depicted by read ochre.

Among the toys of the first category are elephants, bulls, cows, horses, dogs, rams and beaked birds. Most of these are solid handmade specimens, though some show the use of either a single or a double mould. The use of the latter too seems to have restricted itself from the early historic to the Gupta phases.

So far the earliest terracotta figurines of a bull and a dog are reported from the Chalcolithic levels from Diamābād; single and double-moulded elephants, bulls, rams, and cows from the early historic to the end of Indo-Roman levels; beaked birds, some of which have holes for insertion of feathers from Indo-Roman and late mediæval periods at Nevāsā.

Scores of terracotta wheels which were possibly used for toycarts have turned up at several sites in the Deccan.

The first millenium B.C. wheels found at Nevāsā are rectangular in section with convex sides and devoid of hubs. This evidence is contrary to earlier Chalcolithic sites of the Indus valley which have hubbed wheels. The Nevāsā specimens thus show a less advanced technological state as its hubbess wheels would suffer greatly from friction with the body of the carriage.

Hubbed terracotta wheels appear for the first time in the Sātavāhana levels at Nevāsā while they belong to the 1st century A.D. and all later deposits at Nāśik. As against this, hubless biconvex wheels occur in all periods from the first millenium B.C. to the end of the later mediæval period. The latter are coated with lime and spokes are shown in red ochre.

Masks made of terracotta and applied to the outer surface of a pot as a decoration along with a type of spout in the shape of a water-bottle held over its head by an applique human head, occur for the first time in Mahārāṣṭra, at Nevāsā in the 1st and 2nd century A.D.

Two such are human faces with very crudely executed features. The nose is eroded, lips thick and the eyes extra-large for the face. One of the masks (measuring 11 mm.×92 mm.) has knob on the forehead.

The affixing of lion-masks to pots is also reported from Taxilā where they are supposed to have been introduced by the Pārthians. The Nevāsā specimens, though probably made locally, indicate the influence of a non-indigenous practice.

This category is not represented by a variety of objects. The only objects deserving attention are the terracotta lamps.

Nevāsā has been the only site, so far, in the Deccan to have yielded lamps of the first millenium B.C. These are mostly oval shaped, flat based specimens with a wick-channel in the centre and a projection for the wick. Because of raised edges of the periphery, oil could remain over the wick in the channel. As these were flat-based, they could be kept without any support or stand.

A variety of the same period and of the same general pattern showed the provision of the loop-hole over the wick channel. Such lamps could be held more comfortably and carried elsewhere VI 3010—4a

CHAPTER 1.

Pre-historic
Culture and
Remains.
TERRACOTTA
OBJECTS,
Miscellaneous,
Wheels.

Maske.

Objects of Household Use. Lamps CHAPTER 1.

Pre-historic
Culture and
Remains.
TERHACOTTA
OBJECTS,
Objects of
Household
Use,
Lamps.
Objects of

Ritual Use.

as compared to the former category which had to be kept on the palm of the hand. It may be noted that similar lamps in terracotta or any other material are not met with in the Indus Valley or any other Chalcolithic site so far.

The pattern of terracotta lamps of the early historic period at Nevāsā remained unchanged, while those of the 1st/3rd centuries A.D. show that they were mere bowls with pinched projection. (For metal lamps, see sections on Metallurgy and Metal Objects).

The votive tanks which are reported from a number of sites in the Gangetic valley, occur, so far, at Nevāsā and Sopārā in the Indo-Roman period or the 1st to 3rd century A.D.

These are either square or rectangular in plan with high walls, rounded corners with small lamps on them. In one corner of the interior are small steps. The other category consists of bowls with thin walls and thick top with fingertip depressions.

Votive tanks first occur at Taxilā and are supposed to have been introduced by the Pārthians. This practice got elaborated with the addition of a terracotta goddess kept inside the tank. A similar practice of worshipping such a goddess is still current in Bengal, where young maidens worship it.

Objects of Structural Use, Tiles. Tiles which were used for roofing structures have been found on a large scale at early and late Sātavāhana sites in the Deccan such as Nāśik, Nevāsā, Kolhāpūr, Ter, Paiṭhaṇ, Karhāḍ and Prakāśe.

These are rectangular pieces with grooved upper surface. The under-surface has a groove along the length of the edge. This is fitted in the ridge of the adjoining tile. The tile was further secured in position by means of two iron nails inserted through the perforations of the tile, into the wooden rafters below.

At most of these sites lumps of tiles stuck together in firing were found. This indicated the existence of local industry.

Objects of Toilet.

Besides the figurines, toys and masks, terracotta accounted for some objects of toilet as well. These consist of skin-rubbers and combs.

Skin-Rubbers.

Skin-rubbers of terracotta emanate from the Chalcolithic levels at Nevāsā datable to the first millenium B.C. These are either punctured cakes, or oval with one surface punctured and the other having a pinched hold, or circular pieces with roughened surfaces by means of fine silica,

The skin-rubbers of the early historic period at Nāśik are mostly rectangular pieces with either sandy or punctured surfaces. Sometimes, instead of pores, disciplined incisions like chevrons, etc., were executed. Along with these, Nāśik and Karhāḍ have given planoconvex hollow pieces resembling the half cut mango seed. It may be incidentally noted that the latter are even now used in rural Mahārāṣṭra for cleaning the shaven head.

These specimens continue even in the early centuries of the Christian era along with circular discs with roughened surfaces and pumice stones.

Coming to the late mediæval period, one finds skin-rubbers of metal (brass) with an elaborate decoration, especially in the Peśvā regime (called 'vajri' then). However, the occurrence of some of the terracotta specimens described above along with the metal ones indicates the possibility of the former being used by the poorer classes of the society.

The antiquity of combs goes back to first millenium B.C. when combs with stumpy teeth and rectangular body and made of terracotta were in use, as the evidence from Bahāl shows. These seem to have been fashioned out of potsherds with painting in black.

No terracotta combs have been reported in any succeeding period. In the early historic period, combs were made of ivory and bone as at Nevāsā and Prakāśe, while in the late mediæval period, wood was preferred. In the former the teeth are long and body of elongated triangular shape, while the late mediæval combs have stumpy teeth and biconvex section.

Terracotta ornaments are rare and restrict themselves to bangles and ear-reels. This is because of the brittleness of the material coupled with its low esteem in the society.

The bangles of terracotta are reported from Nevāsā and Ter from the early historic to the late mediæval period. These are either plain or having impressed rope pattern in relief. Terracotta bangles went out of vogue when exquisite polychrome bangles of glass came into use round about the 14th Century A.D.

Plain pulley-shaped discs with a groove around the circum-ference and fashioned out of semi-precious stones, shell and glass were in vogue from early historic times in Mahārāṣṭra. Ajaṇṭhā paintings in Cave Nos. VI and XVII also depict such discs worn in the ear-lobes. However, terracotta ear-reels are reported from Nevāsā in the early centuries of the Christian era.

Elaborate, highly polished reels of agate, crystal and glass are reported from Bahāl and Nāśik, while gold-leaf coated discs are reported from sites in Saurāṣṭra. Similar reels are even now used by tribes in South India.

Bone and ivory account for a limited range of objects as probably both these were not available readily in the interior regions of Mahārāśṭra.

Bone seems to have been used for antimony rods in the early historic period. Whereas the Chalcolithic people had such type of objects made of copper-rods with bulbous or tapering ends, the early historic specimens are mostly slender rods of bone with one end tapered to a point. The other end is either truncated and flat or having an ornamental elongated bulb. The former type bears different incised ornamentation such as grooves or hutched lines. Caskets of steatite, found along with antimony rods of bone which

CHAPTER I.

Pre-historic Culture and Remains.

TERRACOTTA
OBJECTS,

Objects of Toilet, Combs.

Ornaments.

Bangles.

Ear-Reels.

Objects of Bone and Ivory,

Bone.
Antimony Rods.

CHAPTER 1.

Pre-historic
Culture and
Remains.
OBJECTS OF
IVORY,
Rings and
Pendants.

Bone Points.

are reported from almost all the excavated sites of Mahārāṣṭra and elsewhere, might indicate their use as collyrium caskets. (See the sections on Metal and Class objects).

Besides antimony-rods, bone was utilised for making finger rings and pendants and beads as well. However, the material is very meagre for a general study.

The excavations at Nāśik brought to light a collection of thousands of bone objects which have been commonly designated now as Bone Points. At Nāśik they were assigned to the 3rd century B.C., but have been recently reported from a number of sites in and outside Mahārāṣṭra. They occur from the Chalcolithic period onwards and their possible use is yet uncertain. These are biconical, curved or flaked pieces, some having grooved points. It is likely that these were used either as stylus or as arrowheads as the Ujjain evidence shows.

Ivory.

As compared to bone, the objects of ivory are rare, restricting, as they do, to bangles, rings and dice. Thus ivory seems to have been used only for ornamental objects, which occur more or less in the early historical and mediæval period.

Bangles and Rings.

Ivory bangles have been reported from early historical period. However, the presence of a bangle and ring-making industry on some scale has been attested to by Nevāsā where ivory cylinders marked with bangle outlines have been recovered in great numbers in the mediæval deposits.

The bangles are either plain or decorated, the latter showing designs of slanting lines, circles and wavy lines.

The technique of making such bangles seems to have involved the use of marked cylinders rotated on a lathe and the cutting off of the bangle rings.

Dice.

Pieces of ivory square cylindrical in shape and incised circles one to four serially on each face occur for the first time in the early historical period. They are reported from outside Mahārāṣṭra in deposits of the same period pointing to the standardised pattern of this type of recreation.

SHELL-OBJECTS,

Shell was used mostly for ornamental objects like bangles, rings and ear-studs from the Chalcolithic period onwards. Especially, shell bangles have a long survival.

Bangles.

Shell bangles have been reported from Nāśik, Prakāśe, Nevāsā, Diamābād, Bahāl, Kolhāpūr, Ter and Paiṭhaṇ. Of these only at Nevāsā they occur in the first millenium B.C. levels and are plain pieces with biconvex section. Plain bangles continue even in the early historic levels.

The decorated specimens appear in the late Sătavāhana period as the evidence from Nevāsā, Nāśik and Kolhāpūr shows. The decorations comprise incised lines, segments, rope pattern, panels and the heart-shaped knob in relief.

Unlike bangles, shell rings occur from the early historical period onwards as the evidence at present stands. These are mostly plain specimens with only a few having linear incisions as decorations. (See under 'Glass Objects').

CHAPTER 1. Pre-historic Culture and

Pulley-shaped ear-reels also occur in shell as in terracotta and glass (See under 'Terracotta Objects' and 'Glass Objects'). Though all these are more or less contemporary, those in shell mostly belong to the late Sātavāhana period. Ear-studs of this period are more elaborate, as for instance those having a floral pattern on the facing side. It is possible that these were fixed in ear-lobes or were fixed by means of a projecting metal pin.

SHELL-OBJECTS. Rings. Ear-Studs

Remains.

Nāśik has yielded a big shell with copper revetments at two points opposite each other on the periphery. Belonging to the early Sātavāhana period, it compares favourably with a type of ornament put over the hair of the head as shown in a fresco at Ajantha.

Stone was utilised in making objects mostly of household use like querns, mul'ers, mortars, dabbers etc., and images and plaques. Most of the former are made of locally available trap stone, while the latter are of softer varieties of stones like the slate

OBJECTS OF STONE.

The querns fall into three categories, viz., saddle querns, legged querns and rotary querns.

stone.

Querns.

Saddle querns go back to the Chalcolithic period as at Nevāsā. These are flat based rectangular pieces with slightly concave upper surface. The use of such querns with the help of cylindrical mullers turned out a paste of grain. For facilitating easier use, it is likely that the Chalcolithic people might have been soaking grain in water overnight. The paste of such soaked corn should be expected to give a rough bread.

Saddle Querns.

In about the 4th/3rd century B.C. there seems to have been Legged Querns. a further advance in the saddle querns. The shape remained the same as in the Chalcolithic period, but four short legs, one each at the four corners, were added. Besides this, one of the short breadthwise side was projected so as to cover the dish placed below it so that the pounded material fell right into it. Sometimes the quern bore Buddhist symbols like the triratna and svastika showing the religious affinities of the user. Such legged querns have a wide regional distribution throughout India and similar specimen is depicted at Ajanthā.

The legged querns are not to be found from the mid-Gupta period onwards. In the mediæval (Kolhāpūr, Nāśik, Karhād and Nevāsā) and modern periods flat based querns again come into use.

The saddle querns, as seen above, turned out a rough paste of pounded grains. However, for finer flour, rotary querns were needed. No rotary querns, however, are reported from any site in

Rotary Querns.

CHAPTER 1. Pre-historic

Culture and Remains, OBJECTS OF STONE. Rotary Querns, Mahārāstra or elsewhere, till about the beginning of the Christian era. Nevāsā has been the first site in Mahārāstra which has given rotary querns in the 1st century B.C. to 3rd century A.D. levels. These are not like the modern rotary querns in as much as the upper stone is very heavy, concave-sided and having a damaru-like perforation through which grain was poured in. Along with this, the upper stone has also two perforations one opposite the other in the upper part of the sides through which a long wooden bar was inserted horizontally for giving rotary motion. The lower stone was short and rather plano-convex, being at the bottom. The upper part of this stone had an iron pin in the centre around which the upper stone was placed.

Similar querns have been reported from the Mediterranean and English sites in about the first century B.C. when such rotary mills were worked with the help of animals yoked to the horizontal bar. It is significant to note that this and couple of succeeding centuries saw the development of foreign—Indo-Roman—contacts with Deccan area.

Thus along with other relics of such a contact as evidenced in votive tank, bullie, iron utensils etc., the rotary quern also is the outcome of Indo-Roman cultural contacts.

Gradually, however, the height and consequently the weight of the upper stone lessened, and a wooden peg came to be fixed in a shallow hole at a point near the edge of the upper circular stone. The width of the mouth through which grain was poured in was also lessened, and the mouth ringed. That is how the modern rotary quern has come to be.

Mortars.

Mortars of trap stone are reported so far from Kolhāpūr and Nevāsā in the late mediæval period. At the former site, mortars of Silāhāra period have a square surface and a tapering base. The Bahamanī specimens show both a rounded and a flat bottom. It may be noted that those with a rounded bottom have to be fixed in the floor as they cannot rest independently.

At present mortars fixed in the floor as well as those with a pedestal base are in use.

Plaques and Images.

Besides the querns and mortars, plaques and images are also reported mostly in sandstone or slate stone. These, however, are mostly late mediæval or might even be recent in date, and comprise crudely executed Gaņeśa plaques, lingas and Nandī images. These are reported so far from Nāśik, Kolhāpūr and Nevāsā.

CHAPTER 2

SĀTAVĀHANA EMPIRE AND ITS FEUDATORIES*

The foundation of the Satavahana empire in c. 220 B.C. is an important mile-stone in the history of the Deccan. The Rāmāyana Satavāhana Empire refers to the depredations of Ravana in the Dandakaranya of the Deccan and Rāma's conquest of Lanka or Ceylon. But these events belong to the realm of legend and not of history. The Bhojas, apparently belonging to modern Berar, are referred to in the later Vedic literature, but we know nothing of their history. Pāṇini hardly evinces any knowledge of the society and cities of the Deccan. Aśoka's records mention the kingdoms of the Andhras, Colas, Ceras and Pandyas, and also refer to the Rathikas, the Bhojas and the Petenikas who were ruling as feudatories in the northern Deccan, but we can hardly reconstruct their history in the pre-Sātavāhana period. Connected history of the Deccan begins with the foundation of the Sātavāhana empire.

Before the foundation of the Sătavāhana empire, the Deccan was covered with a large number of petty kingdoms, which were often at war with one another. The Satavahanas for the first time wielded the Deccan into a powerful State and gave a cohesion and integrity to its history. The Deccan prospered immensely under their strong rule. At a time when northern India was suffering from a series of invasions by foreign powers like the Bactrians, the Sakas, the Parthians and the Kuśānas, the Deccan was enjoying relative peace. Among the foreigners, the Sakas eventually succeeded in establishing a base at Ujjayini, from which they proceeded to attack the Deccan. For a time the Sātavāhanas had to give way and portions of Konkan and Northern Maharastra were lost to them. But very soon the Sātavāhanas drove out the foreigners from the Deccan and restored freedom to the conquered provinces. The role of the Satavahanas in this connection is comparable to that of the Vijayanagar empire in later times.

The invasions of the Deccan by northern powers are more frequent in Indian history than the invasions of Northern India by Deccan powers. The latter process was first started by the Satavahanas.

CHAPTER 2. and its

> Feudatories. INTRODUCTION.

^{*} This Chapter is contributed by the late Dr. A. S. Altekar, M.A., LL.B., D. Litt. Some notes based on later research have been contributed by Dr. V. V. Mirashi, M. A., D. Litt,

CHAPTER 2. Feudatories. INTRODUCTION.

There is no doubt that they were holding Malva and Jabalpur area for several decades. There is sufficient evidence to indicate that Sătavâhana Empire they had penetrated into the Gangetic plain and it appears probable that they had occupied for some time even Pataliputra, the imperial capital of northern India.

> Trade and industry prospered in the Deccan under the Sātavāhanas. Economic life was given a cohesion by the guild organisation which had permeated almost every profession. Banking was highly developed and a number of western ports were carrying on a rich trade with Rome and Western Asian countries. Eastern ports were taking keen interest in founding Indian colonies in Insular India and carrying on a lucrative trade with them.

> The Sātavāhanas were orthodox Brāhmaņas, but Buddhism prospered under them both in western India and Andhra country. Remarkable impetus was given to sculpture and architecture under their aegis. Nāgārjuna and Guṇāḍhya, who are important personalities in philosophy and literature, were associated with their court. Prakrt literature received great encouragement at their court. The importance of the Satavahana period in the history of the Deccan cannot be exaggerated.

DIFFICULTIES IN RECONSTRUCTING SATAVAHANA HISTORY

In spite of the researches in ancient Indian history extending over more than a century, it is not yet possible to give a connected and complete history of the earliest and the biggest empire of the Deccan, the empire of the Sātavāhanas. They have not left us many monuments, and literary references to the rulers of the dynasty are few and far between. Archaeological explorations and excavations have not yet been systematically and extensively carried out in the heart of the dominion, once ruled over by them. Puranas give us the names and reign-periods of the different rulers of the dynasty. But the information they give is scanty and often self-contradictory. Thus some Puranas state that there were only 18 kings in the dynasty, while others aver that their number was 30. According to one tradition they ruled only for 300 years; according to another, they were in power for more than 450 years. Even the number of the kings in the dynasty does not give an approximate idea of the duration of their rule. It is argued by some scholars that the longer list of 30 kings is formed by including the members of subordinate branches of the main dynasty. Others hold that the father and the son were ruling together during a pretty long period of the history of the dynasty and the longer period of 460 years of the duration of its rule is made by adding together the years of the contemporary reigns of the father and the son1.

Epigraphical and numismatic data for reconstructing the history of the dynasty is no doubt considerable. It is much more copious than that available for the history of the Sungas and the Kanvas.

¹ R. G. Bhandarkar had first advanced this view in the first edition of the present work; B. G., I, ii, 165.

But unfortunately both these data fail us during a long stretch of about 140 years when kings No. 10 to 22 of the longer Puranic list, Satavahana Empire from Svati to Cakora Satakarni, were ruling. Epigraphical and Satavahana Empire and its numismatic data are often dubious and inconclusive and lead themselves to diverse interpretation.

Chronology and geography are rightly stated to be the two eyes of history; neither of them however enables us to get a clear glimpse of the Satavahana history. There are wide differences among scholars both about the time when the Satavahanas rose to power, as also about their original home. One school holds that the Satavahanas established their power in the last quarter of the 3rd century B.C.; the other opines that they began to rule in the second quarter of the first century B. C. One school holds that their home was somewhere in Andhra country or Telangana; the other holds that it lay somewhere in Mahārāstra, either in Western India or near Pratisthana, their traditional capital. It will be convenient to settle these controversial points before we proceed to give an account of the history of the dynasty.

In the first edition of this work, R. G. Bhandarkar had advanced the view that the rise of the Sātavāhana power should be placed during the second quarter of the first century B. C.1 has been subsequently accepted by D. R. Bhandarkar2, H. C. Roy Chaudhuri³ and D. C. Sircar⁴. The arguments in favour of this view are not without weight. (1) The most cogent evidence in support of this theory is the unanimous statement of the Puranas that Simuka, the first Andhra (i.e. Sātavāhana king), will rise to power after overthrowing the last Kanva ruler Susarman and destroying what remained of the Sunga power⁵. It is generally assumed that the Sungas ruled from c. 187 to 75 B. C. and the Kanyas from c. 75 to 30 B. C. It is therefore maintained by this school that the rise of Simuka, the founder of the Sātavāhana dynasty, should be placed in the third quarter of the first century B.C.

(2) This would lead to the conclusion that the dynasty ruled for about two and a half centuries only; we can now well understand why one Puranic tradition asserts in round number that the rule of the Satavahanas lasted for three centuries only.

(3) Normally speaking about 17 or 18 kings only can flourish during this period, and we can now well understand why one Purănic tradition enumerates 18 Andhra kings only.

(4) If we assume that the Sātavāhana dynasty consisted of about thirty kings who ruled for about 450 years, we have to assume a big gap of about 150 years between the earlier and later Satavahana kings, known to us from inscriptions and coins. This gap disappears almost altogether if we place the rise of Simuka in c. 30 B.C.

(5) R. P. Chanda has drawn attention to the palaeographical difficulties in accepting the theory that Sātakarņi, the 3rd Sātavāhana CHAPTER 2.

Feudatories, DIFFICULTIES IN RECONSTRUCTING Satavahana HISTORY.

WHEN DID THE DYNASTY BEGIN ITS CAREER?

¹ B. G., I. ii, 166, ² I. A., 1918, p. 71, ³ P. H. A. I., p. 337, ⁴ S. I., p. 183, 5 Kanvayanams tato bhṛtyah Susarmanah prasahya tam | Sunganam c-aiva yoc chesam ksapayitva baliyasah Sisuko-ndhrah sa-jatiyah vasundharām |

CHAPTER 2. and its Feudatories. WHEN DID THE DYNASTY BEGIN ITS CAREER?

ruler known to us from his Naneghat record, flourished in c. 175 B.C. --- He points out that palaeographically the Nāṇeghāṭ inscription of ātavāhana Empire Sātakarṇi comes midway between the Besnagar inscription of Heliodorus (c. 100 B.C.) and the Hathigumpha inscription of Khāravela (c. 25 B.C.)1; this would place the 3rd Sātavāhana king by the middle of the 1st century B. C. and not of the 2nd century B. C.

(6) Marshall has further pointed out that plastic and architectural considerations show that the Caitya Hall at Nāśik does not belong to the middle of the 2nd century B.C. but is about 100 years later. The form of the entrance door-way, the lotus design on the face of its jambs, the miniature Persipolitan pilasters, the rails of the balustrade flanking the steps and the treatment of the dvārapāla (door-keeper) figures besides the entrance, all bespeak the date approximately contemporary with the Sañci Toranas (gateways) i.e. c. 50 B.C.

The above arguments are no doubt weighty, but they are not strong enough to establish the case they seek to support. It may be pointed out that if we assume that Simuka rose to power after overthrowing the last Kanva king Susarman and subduing what remained of the Sunga power, his rise has to be placed in c. 30 B.C. It is admitted on all hands that the Satavahana dynasty ended in c. 210 A.D. The duration of the dynasty would then be of only 240 or 250 years and not of 300 years. The Puranic tradition of the Andhra rule extending over 300 years therefore does not support this school and the argument No. 2 above fails.

As to argument No. 4 above, it is no doubt true that there is a big gap of about 150 years between the earlier and the later Satavahana kings as known from the Puranas. But we need not therefore dismiss them as purely imaginary. The last seven Sunga kings are not known from any inscriptions or coins. Do we dismiss them as imaginary? For a long time not a single one among the nine Magha kings of Kauśāmbī was known from their coins or inscriptions. Now, however, the existence of most of them is proved by epigraphical or numismatic evidence. Archaeological sites of the Sātavāhana period of both the States of Andhra and Mahārāṣṭra, over which the Sātavāhanas ruled, are not yet properly explored; it is therefore too early to say that the rulers between Sātakarņi II and Gautamīputra Sātakarni were all imaginary. Recent numismatic discoveries have proved the existence of four Satavahana rulers not known to the Purāņas, Kumbha Sātakarņi, Karņa Sātakarņi, Šaka Sātakarņi and Kosikiputra Sātakarni. It would therefore be hazardous to say that the Purāṇas exaggerate the number of the Sātavāhana kings when they give it as 30. It is quite likely that the existence of many of the Puranic kings would be proved in course of time by further archaeological, epigraphical and numismatic discoveries. It is therefore hardly sound to assume, as is done in argument No. 3 above, that there were only 18 kings in the dynasty and therefore it could not have ruled for 450 years.

¹ M. A. S. B., I, pp. 14-15.

If we assume that the Satavahanas rose to power in the Deccan by c. 50 B.C., there arises a vacuum of more than a century which cannot be explained. The Maurya empire which included the State Satavahana Empire of Mahārāstra, collapsed by c. 200 B.C. This region was not completely integrated in the empire; a number of Rathikas, Bhojas and Petenikas ruled in them in a feudatory capacity, enjoying considerable autonomy. It is therefore rather difficult to assume that no movement for the establishment of an independent state arose among them, when the Mauryan empire began to show signs of weakness. If we assume that Simuka rose to power in c. 50 B.C., we have to assume that no ruler arose to take advantage of the confusion resulting from the collapse of the Mauryan empire for about a century and half. This is rather inexplicable. We are not faced with this difficulty if we place the rise of Simuka towards the end of the third century B. C. The span of the dynasty can then exceed four centuries, as is suggested by the Puranas. We can also well understand how the number of kings, who ruled during this period, should be about 30 and not 18.

As to argument No. 1 above, it is true that the statement of the Purāņas that Simuka, the founder of the dynasty, rose to power after overthrowing the last Kanva king Susarman, no doubt tends to support the theory of the rise of the Satavahanas by c. 30 B.C. If we assume this statement to be literally true, it goes against the assertion of the Puranas that the Andhras (i.e. Satavahanas) ruled for three centuries. The duration of the dynasty would be of only 240 years, a view which is not supported by any Puranic tradition. We have therefore to explain the Puranic tradition in some other way. There is sufficient evidence to show that the Sātavāhanas extended their power to Malva by the middle of the 1st century B.C. It is quite possible that they may have come into conflict with the last Kanva king at this time, as also with some scions of the Sunga family, who may have been ruling as petty feudatories in or near Māļvā, which was probably their ancestral home. The Puranic tradition probably confused the overthrower of Susarman with the founder of the Sätavahana dynasty and ascribed him that feat, thus making him live by the middle of the 1st century B.C. A verse in the Bhavisya Purana says that the base-born Andhra king will rule only for a short time after killing Susarman.1 This would suggest that the Andhra intervention at Pataliputra was of a short duration. The keepers of the Puranic tradition, who belonged to Madhyadesa, did not know much about the Andhra interloper and therefore confounded him with the founder of the dynasty, when they later got its full list in the 4th century A.D., at the time the Puranas were given their present form.

We should further note that the statement of the Puranic tradition that Simuka, the founder of the Andhra (Sātavāhana) dynasty overthrew the last Kanva king, is inherently difficult to believe. How can the founder of a new house at distant Pratisthana or Paithan

CHAPTER 2.

Feudatories. WHEN DID THE DYNASTY BEGIN ITS CAREER?

¹ Hatvå Kanvam Susarmanam tad-bhrtyo vrsalo bali | Gam bhoksyaty Andhra-jātīyah kancit-kalam a-sattamah ||

CHAPTER 2.

Sătavāhana Empire
and its
Feudatories.
WHEN DID THE
DYNASTY BEGIN
ITS CAREER?

grow suddenly so powerful as to overthrow the imperial dynasty of northern India ruling at far-off Pāṭaliputra? The Cālukyas defeated Harṣa, the Suzerain of northern India, but during the reign of Pulakeśin II, the 4th ruler of their house. The Rāṣṭrakūṭas shattered their rivals in northern India, but during the rule of Dhruva and Govinda III, the 4th and 5th rulers of their dynasty. The Marāṭhās could bring the Moghals of northern India under their control, but only a century after the rise of their power under Śivājī. Logic of history thus favours our hypothesis that not Simuka, the founder of the dynasty, but a descendant of his succeeded in defeating the last Kānva ruler sometime in c. 30 B.C. This ruler was probably confounded with the founder of the dynasty, when the Purāṇic accounts were given their final form in the 4th century A.D.

We shall now consider other arguments advanced in support of the theory of Simuka being a ruler of the middle of the first century B.C. The Palaeographical argument (No. 5 above) of Chanda is not quite convincing. He argues that the script of the Naneghat inscription places it in c. 50 B.C., showing that that was the time of the third Satavahana king. He maintains that the script of this inscription is later than that of the Besnagar inscription of Heliodorus (c. 100 B.C.) and earlier than the Hathigumpha inscription of Khāravela (c. 25 B.C.)¹ To compare the palaeographical developments in such widely separated provinces as Orissa, Malva and Konkan and to conclude that a particular script in one province is earlier than that in another by 50 years or so is rather hazardous with reference to an age when communications were very difficult Palaeographical evidence is not sufficiently decisive when the difference in time is only about a century and records concerned belong to places wide'y separated from one another by hundreds of miles.

Stray occurrence of advanced or archaic forms is too slight ar evidence to determine precisely the date of a record when the difference between the two views is of less than a century. There is no doubt that the relievo statues at Nāṇeghāṭ were raised at one and the same time. Bhagwanlal has however pointed out how² the palaeography of the inscriptions over the first and last statues show archaic characteristics like those in the inscription of Kṛṣṇa, and how the inscriptions over the 2nd and the 3rd statues show palaeographica affinity with that of the records of Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi and Vāsiṣṭhīputra Puļumāvī. We cannot therefore make much of the palaeographical peculiarities, when the difference is of less that a center.

Argument No. 0 above, trying to fix the date of the dynasty by the architectural forms at Nāśik caves is also not convincing. Marshal has no doubt pointed out how the Sātavāhana Caitya hall at Nāśik has to be placed by the middle of the 1st century A.D. and not by the middle of the first century B.C. Even if we assume his view to

¹ M. A. S. B., I, pp. 14-15.

Nasik Gazetteer (first ed.), pp. 607 ff.

be correct, it does not follow that the rise of the Sātavāhana power took place in c. 50 B.C. Mahāhakusirī, the grandfather of the donor of the hall, is certainly not identical with the prince Hakusiri who satavāhana Empire and its was a son or grandson of the third Satavahana king. The record gives no regal titles to him, while it carefully records the official titles of a number of other personages mentioned in it, who are described as rajāmātya, bhāndāgārika, etc. It is clear that Hakusirī was not even a minister, much less a king. We cannot, therefore, identify him with prince Hakusiri, who flourished in the 2nd century B.C. Palaeographically the record of Hakusiri is quite late and we can well accept Marshall's theory of the Caitya hall being excavated in c. 50 B.C., without drawing the corollary that the Satavahanas rose to power at about the time the hall was excavated, viz., c. 50 B.C.

It may be pointed out that the date of Khāravela is not inextricably connected with the rise of the Satavahanas. We can well place the Kalinga king in the 1st century B.C., and still hold the view that the Sātavāhana empire was founded in c. 200 B.C. by assuming that the Satakarni, who is mentioned as the opponent of Kharavela in that record, was not the third but the sixth ruler of the dynasty. We definitely know that a number of Rathikas and Bhojakas continued as the feudatories of the Sātavāhanas, as they once were the subordinates of the Mauryas. Khāravela could well have defeated some of them by the middle of the 1st century B.C. also.

Nāśik inscription of Kṛṣṇa, the second Sātavāhana king, refers to Samana mahamatras. This close imitation of a peculiar feature of the Asokan administration would suggest that Krsna and Asoka were not far removed in time from each other. This circumstance lends additional weight to the view that the 2nd Satavahana king flourished in c. 200 B.C., rather than in c. 50 B.C.

In our opinion Hathigumpha inscription supplies fairly conclusive evidence to show that Khāravela ruled in the last quarter of the 3rd century B.C. It is true that we can no longer maintain the view that the record contains a date described as 164th year of the Mauryakāla or Mauryan era. Rapson's argument that this year in the Mauryan era shows that Khāravela flourished in c. 165 B.C., does no longer hold good. It seems very probable that there is reference to the Greek king Dima in line 8 of the Häthigumpha inscription; this ruler can be no other than Demetrius I or II. The time of Khāravela would thus be c. 185-165 B.C. That would be the time of his Sātavāhana opponent king Sātakarņi. We shall show later how the probable time of this ruler is c. 189-179 B.C.; and how the two earlier kings ruled from c. 222 to c. 189 B.C.

A critical discussion of the available evidence thus shows that the Satavahanas rose to power in the last quarter of the 3rd century B.C., soon after the death of Aśoka. If we place the accession of Simuka in c. 220 B.C., we can explain satisfactorily all known facts of contemporary history. We have therefore accepted this date for the rise of this dynasty as a working hypothesis.

CHAPTER 2.

and its Feudatories. WHEN DID THE DYNASTY BEGIN ITS CAREER?

CHAPTER 2.

Sătavāhana Empire and its Feudatories, When did the Dynasty begin its Career?

If the Satavahana dynasty consisted of about 30 kings who ruled for about 450 years, the question may be asked as to how one section of the Puranas happens to record a tradition stating that there were only about 18 or 19 kings of the House, who ruled for 300 years only. The answer is not easy to give. It, however, appears very probable that this Puranic tradition notices the duration of the dynasty subsequent to the fall of the Kānvas. Smith has pointed out how the duration of the dynasty works out to be 300 years if we deduct from 457 years, the real rule-period of the House according to one Puranic tradition, the sum of 157 years, which is the sum of the rule-periods of the Sungas (112 years) and the Kanvas (45 years). The Satavahana rule was of short duration in the north and therefore the full details of its list of rulers were not known to all the custodians of the Puranic tradition. Some Puranas accepted the entire list and gave the dynasty a duration of 457 years. Others deducted from this period 157 years, the reign periods of the Sungas and Kanvas, and assigned a rule of only 300 years for the house. They naturally had to knock out some kings from the list and they omitted about ten names in the middle. Smith's hypothesis is an ingenious and probable one and better explains the tradition of 300 years' rule of the dynasty than the theory which places the rise of the house in c. 27 B.C. For according to this view, the duration of the dynasty extends over 240 years only.

HOME OF THE SATAVAHANAS.

The home of the Sātavāhana dynasty is still not definitely known. Since the Puranas unanimously describe the dynasty as Andhra, it was for a long time assumed that its original name was Andhra and early scholars like Bhandarkar, Smith and Rapson¹ naturally proceeded to locate its home in the Kṛṣṇā-Godāvarī delta, the headquarters of modern Andhradeśa. The Sunahśepa story in the Aitareya Brāhamana shows that the Andhras were originally living on the outskirts of the Aryan settlements. Their association with the Pulindas would suggest that they were somewhere near the Vindhyas from where they seem to have spread to the mouths of the Kṛṣṇā and the Godāvarī. Jātaka No. 3 mentions Āndhrapura or the city or capital of the Andhras as situated on the Telavaha river flowing on the border of Madhyapradesa and Madras States. The Kṛṣṇā-Godāvarī doab is the centre of Andhradeśa since c. 350 B.C. The Andhra Kingdom was a powerful one even before the rise of the Mauryas; it had 32 big towns and a standing army of 1,00,000 of infantry and 1,000 elephants. Rock edict 13 of Aśoka shows that the Andhras enjoyed semi-independence under that emperor. There is, therefore, nothing improbable in their establishing an independent kingdom after the death of that monarch. The original nucleus of this kingdom was in the Kṛṣṇā-Godāvarī delta. From there the dynasty extended its sway to Mahārāṣṭra and Western India after subduing the numerous Bhoja, Rathika and Petenika chiefs who were ruling there with a view to found a solid empire in the Deccan which could serve as a bulwark against any future invasion from the north.

¹ B.G. (first ed.), I,ii; Z.D.M.G., 1902, p. 657; C.C.A., p. xvi.

The theory of Andhradesa being the home of the dynasty is no doubt the earliest one in the field, but it appears to be untenable now. That the Puranic appellation can hardly have any significance Satavahana Empire about the early home of the dynasty becomes fairly certain when we remember how the early kings of the house describe themselves always as Sātavāhanas and never as Andhras1. Smith's view that Srikākulam in Andhradeśa was the capital of the early Sātavāhanas is based upon a passage in the Trilingānuśāsanam, which is now proved to be a late work composed even later than the 11th century. The statement in this work that Andhra Visnu, the son of the first Andhra king Sucandra, was a patron of the first Telugu grammarian Kanva, can have no historical value. It has to be remembered that neither Puranas nor inscriptions attest to the existence of kings Vișnu and Sucandra in the Sătavāhana dynasty. It is therefore futile to argue that they were ruling at Srikākulam in Andhradeśa.

R. G. Bhandarkar held that Nāśik inscriptions Nos. 2 and 3 showed that Gautamiputra Satakarni was the lord of Dhanakata. He derived Dhanakata from Dhannakataka of Amravatī inscriptions and indentified it with Dharņikota in Andhradeśa. Even if we assume Bhandarkar's view to be correct, the Nāśik inscriptions will only show that in the days of Gautamīputra Sātakarņi, in c. 100 A.D., Dharnikota in Andhradeśa had become a secondary capital of the Satavahana empire; it cannot prove that it enjoyed this honour in the 3rd century B.C. It may however be pointed out that the reading Dhanakata-sāmi has been recently challenged. At this time the letters dha and ba were similar, and it has therefore been suggested that the reading is Benākaṭa-sāmi and not Dhanakaṭa-sāmi2. Gautamiputra would thus become the lord of the banks of the Benā which may be either Waingangā of Vidarbha or Kṛṣṇā-Veṇā of Mahārāstra.

In the Stūpa at Amrāvatī, we have discovered several votive Buddhist records belonging to the second and first centuries B.C. None of them refers to any contemporary Satavahana ruler or his officers. This is rather significant; for the second Satavahana ruler Kṛṣṇa, is known to have appointed a special officer (Mahāmātra) to look after the Buddhist Sramanas. It is clear that Buddhism received State patronage and it is therefore strange that if Amrāvatī in Āndhradeśa was really included in the Satavahana empire, no votive records at the place belonging to the pre-Christian period, should have referred to Sātavāhana rulers or their officers. The only Sātavāhana kings figuring in the Amrāvatī Stūpa records are Väsisthiputra Srī Puļumāvi and Srī-sivamaka Sāta, who flourished in the 2nd century A.D. That the Amravatī records should refer to only these two late

CHAPTER 2.

Feudatories,

HOME OF THE Satavahanas,

¹ In the Naneghat inscriptions, Simuka calls himself a Satavahana and not an Andhra. It is possible to argue that the inscriptions give the family name of the dynasty whereas the Puranas give its ethnic or territorial name. This argument fails to carry conviction. If they were Andhras, they should have given this name at least in some of their numerous records.

² Sircar, Select Inscriptions, p. 19.

Vf 3010-5

CHAPTER 2.

Sătavāhana Empire
and its
Feudatories

HOME OF THE SATAVAHANAS rulers of the dynasty and should be silent about their early predecessors would show that the latter did not rule over the Kṛṣṇā-Godāvarī doab. This latter could not therefore have been their home.

There is fairly conclusive evidence to show that at about 200 B.C., the Sātavāhanas were not ruling in Āndhradeśa. The Bhattiprolu inscription, which by general consent is placed a few decades after Asoka, refers to a king named Kubîraka as ruling in the locality1. It is clear that he did not belong to the Sātavāhana family. King Khāravela, who flourished from c. 185 to 165 B.C. as shown already, refers to his destruction of the city of Pithunda in the 11th year of his reign and to the consequent break up of the confederacy in Tramira (Dravida) country. Pithunda of the Hathigumpha inscription is obviously identical with Pithunda of Ptolemy, which has been located in the Kṛṣṇā-Godāvarī doab. No opposition of the Satavahanas is mentioned in connection with the destruction of Pithunda, as it is in connection with another expedition sent to the west in the second year of the reign. It is thus clear that the Sātavāhanas had not established themselves in Andhradeśa by c. 200 B.C. It could not therefore have been their home.

Negative evidence is not generally conclusive, but when it becomes many sided, it cannot be ignored. All early Sātavāhana records have been found only in Western India. Why should not some of them at least have been found at Amravati, which has many records going back to the second and first centuries B.C.? Most of the coms of the early Sātavāhana rulers come from Western India or Māļvā; hardly any hail from Āndhradeśa. One coin of a very early king named Satavahana has been found at Warrangal, but two other coins of this ruler were picked up, one in the heart of former Hyderābād State and the second at Poonā. The evidence of the findspot becomes conclusive only when a large number of coins have been found at an ancient site, and not otherwise. Rapson has no doubt attributed a large lead coin found in the Godavari district and weighing 559.5 grains, to an early ruler of this dynasty. The legend on this coins is extremely fragmentary and therefore we cannot attribute it with confidence to any particular ruler. It may be also doubted at to whether it is a Sātavāhana coin at all.

On the strength of the use of the early form of da opening to left, Rapson assigns one coin bearing the fragmentary legend gha Sadasa to Meghasvāti, the 9th king of the dynasty and another to Mādharīputra Sakasena of the Kānherī inscription². Even if we accept these attributions, they will only show that Āndhra province was under the Sātavāhana rule in the first century B.C., as is clear from other evidence as well. They cannot prove that, that province was the home of the dynasty and the starting point of its expansion in c. 200 B.C. It is indeed strange that if Āndhra province was the home of the dynasty, only one coin of an early ruler should have been found in it. The earliest rulers whose coins are found in the Āndhra country is

 ¹ Cf. Şagathinigamaputānam rājapāmukhānam Kubirako rājā E.I., I, p. 328.
 2 C.C.A., p. 10; p. 28.

Väsisthiputra Pulumävi, who flourished in c. 120 A.D. It is interesting to note that most of the big hoards of the Sātavāhana coins have been found in Mahārāṣṭra in districts like Cāndā, Akolā and Nāśik. Sātavāhana Empire and its None has been found in Andhra country.

CHAPTER 3. Feudatories.

HOME OF THE SATAVAHANAS.

If Andhradesa was the home of the Satavahanas, it is indeed strange that the early ru'ers of the dynasty like Simuka, Kṛṣṇa and Satakarni I should have selected no place in their home province to inscribe records commemorating their glorious achievements; instead we find them selecting a far off and out of the way place like Naneghat in Western India to place their statues and inscribe their records commemorating great sacrifices and conquests. We have only three or four Satavahana records found in Andhra country, and these too belong to the rulers of the 2nd century A.D. This fact can hardly support the Andhra origin of the Satavahanas.

It has been recently argued that the inscriptions of the first three rulers are found in Western India, not because that was near their home, but because they had to shift their head-quarters to the west to counteract foreign invasions¹. The first invasion of the Greco-Bactrian rulers took place not earlier than c. 180 B.C.; and it had not threatened the Deccan in the least. It is therefore difficult to understand why Simuka and Kṛṣṇa should have shifted their head-quarters to Nāsik and Thāṇā districts as early as 200 B.C., if the aim was to make better preparations to thwart the Greek attack. Generally most of the northern invaders used to make Ajmer their base of attack and penetrate into the Deccan by crossing the Vindhyas and the Narmada near Housangabad. If Simuka and Kṛṣṇa wanted to thwart an invasion from the north, they should have shifted their head-quarters to Itarasi-Barhappur area, and not to Nāśik or Thānā district.

Dr. V. S. Sukhtankar has advanced the theory that the home of the Sătavăhanas should be located in Bellary district, where n Sătavāhana record was discovered at Myakadoni, recording the construction of a tank in the reign of \$rî Pulumāvī². This record describes the tank as situated in Sātavāhani-hāra and it is possible to argue that the Bellary district happened to be so called because it was the original āhāra or district of the Sātavāhanas. This argument considered by itself, is not without some force. But we have to note that hardly any early Satavahana antiquities like coins and inscriptions have been found in Bellary district or its neighbourhood. And it is quite possible to explain the origin of the term Satavahani-hara for Bellary by another assumption. The inscription refers itself to the

¹ Dr. Ram Rao has advocated this view in Satavahana Commemoration Volume, pp. 22, 37. On p. 56, he states that invasion of Saurastra by Sāliśūka and the capture of Ayodhya and Pataliputra by Antiechus were responsible for Simuka fixing his head-quarters in Western India. The power which had occupied Pataliputra could be better thwarted by shifting the headquarters to Jabalpur than to Nāśik district. Sāiśūka's invasion of Saurāstra is hardly a historical event. It may be passingly stated that not Antiochus but Demetrics or Menander had occupied the Gangetic plain and Pataliputra.

² E.I.; XIV, pp. 151- ff, Hirahadagalli plates of Sivaskandavarman issued in c. 250 A.D. also refer to Bellary district as Satahani-rattha.

CHAPTER 2.

Sātavāhana Empire
and its
Feudatories.

HOME OF THE SATAVAHANAS,

reign of Pulumāvi, who most probably was Vāsisthiputra Pulumāvi; very probably he had recently annexed Bellary district to the Sātavāhana dominion; and therefore it began to be called the district of the Sātavāhanas (Sātavāhani-hāra), in order to distinguish it from the kingdom of the neighbouring kings. During the British rule, it was customary to describe Sātārā as a British district as distinguished from its neighbour Kolhāpūr, which was under an Indian ruler. Sātārā however was not under the British from early times. The names British Borneo, Dutch Borneo, French Guiana, etc., given to different islands or provinces denote that they are under the British, the Dutch or the French. In the same way Satavahana-hara may have denoted a district recently annexed to the Sātavāhana empire. It is also possible that like the terms Govardhanāhāra, Māmalāhāra and Kodūrāhāra, the term Sātavāhanihāra may be due to a town named Satavahana being its headquarters. A village named Satunuru exists in Bellary district and its name may be a corruption of Sātavāhani1.

It is also not impossible that the capital of a branch of the Sātavāhana dynasty may have existed in Bellāry district, which may have given the name Sātavāhani-āhāra to it.

The origin of the name Sātavāhani-āhāra for Bellīry district is probably to be explained by one of these hypotheses. There is no evidence to show that it was the original home of the Sātavāhanas in c. 200 B.C., from which they extended their power to north-west and north-east.

The available evidence thus tends to show that the home of the Sātavāhanas was somewhere in Mahārāṣṭra rather than in Āndhra province. The Jain tradition mentions² Pratiṣṭhāna or Paiṭhaṇ in Marāṭhvāḍā as the capital of the Sātavāhanas. Nāṇeghāṭ and Nāśik are within about 200 miles to the west of Paiṭhaṇ and one can therefore well understand how the earliest Sātavāhana records are found inscribed at these places. It is not unlikely that some deity in the vicinity of Nāṇeghāṭ was the tutelary god of the Sātavāhanas, which induced them to have their statues and early records at that place. The queen of the third ruler of the dynasty was the daughter of a Mahāraṭhī chief and there is ample evidence to show that Berār and Mahārāṣṭra were studded with Raṭhika and Bhoja fcudatories. More than 75 per cent. of the Sātavāhana epigraphs have been found in Mahārāṣṭra; this renders it extremely probable that their home lay somewhere in that province.

The circumstance that the Sātavāhana king adopted Māhārāṣṭrī as their court language and extended their liberal patronage to the poets in it, lends additional support in the view that their home was somewhere in Mahārāṣṭra. It has no doubt been argued³ that just as the continuance of English as the official language by the Indian

¹ Sātavāhana Commemoration Volume, p. 26.

² The Kālakāchārya-kathānaka states how Kālaka had visited Pratisthāna, the city of Sātavāhana.

Satavahana Commemoration Volume, p. 23.

Republic does not show that it is the mother-tongue of Indians, so also the continuance of Prākṛt as the court language by the Sātavā-hanas would not necessarily show that they were not Telugu-and its speaking people. Prākṛt, it is contended, was the court language of all the early powers of the Deccan, the Satavahanas, the Iksvakus and the early Pallavas. Though the Satavahanas were Teluguspeaking people, they adopted Prakrt as their court language, because it was the fashion of the age.

There is not much force in this argument. It is claimed that the Deśī-bhāṣā, which is referred to in the story of Guṇāḍhya along with Sanskrt and Prakrt, was the mother-tongue of the Satavahanas. It Telugu language existed so early, if it was the mother-tongue of the Sātavāhanas, one fails to see why Telugu literature should not have flourished in their court. No Telugu work can be taken back to the Sātavāhana era. The language of the conqueror is continued during the transition period; English will not be the official language of India after some time. Why should Prakrt have been continued by the Sātavāhanas as their official language for more than 400 years? Why should king Hala have extended his patronage to the poets of Māhārāstrī Prākrt and not of Deśī-bhaṣā or Telugu, if it existed in his days and was his mother-tongue? The tradition that the Satavahanas had made a rule that Prakrt should be spoken even in their harem is no doubt recorded by a late poet (Rajasekhara), but this circumstance along with Hāla's patronage of the poets in the Māhārāṣṭrī tends to show that Māhārāstrī Prākrt was the mother-tongue of the Sātavāhanas. Their home also should, therefore, be placed somewhere in that province and not in Andhra country.

Where precisely this capital was, is not yet definitely known Pratisthana or Paithan in Marathvada appears to have the greatest claim to be regarded as the capital of the dynasty during the greater part of its rule.

What particular region in Mahārāşţra was the home of the Sātavāhanas is not yet possible to state. Prof, Mirashi has argued that we should consider Berar as the home province of the dynasty and Dr. D. C. Sircar has tried to controvert his view1. The evidence of the Hathigumpha inscription of Kharavela, on which Prof. Mirashi relies, is not, however, quite conclusive on the point. It no doubt describes king Sātakarņi as a western neighbour of Khāravela and describes how the armies of the Kalinga ruler marched to the Kanhabenna and harassed Musikanagara. It is true that the river Kanhān, which flows through Berar, was known as Kanhabenna, as Prof. Mirashi has pointed out. But Musikanagara2, which was harassed during the course of this campaign, was most probably situated on the bank of the Musi river, joining the Krsna on the outskirts of the Guntur district. The Kṛṣṇā also was known as Kanhabenna in ancient times. A power which ruled over the wide territory

¹ J.N.S.I., II p. 94, III, p. 61.

CHAPTER 2.

Feudatories.

HOME OF THE SATAVAHANAS.

The correct reading is Asikanagara as pointed out by Barua. Asika, Sanskrit, Rsīka, was the ancient name of Khāndes A.B.O.R.I. XXV, 40 (V.V.M.).

CHAPTER 2. and its Feudatories.

HOME OF THE SATAVAHANAS

including northern and central Hyderābād, Berār and parts of eastern Madhyapradeśa, could have been appropriately described as his Satavahana Empire western neighbour by Kharavela¹ and the home of its ruler could have been as well in Berär as in Prätisthana or modern Paithan. We cannot choose one of these places in preference to the other and maintain that it alone was positively the home of the Satavahanas.

> The mention of Gautamīputra as Benākaṭasvāmī or lord of the bank of the Benā, would suggest that eastern Vidarbha through which the Wainganga flows, may have been the home of the Satavahanas. This territory was known as Benākata, during the rule of the Vākātakas also. But another river also known as Vennā, flows through the Sātārā district, and this district also may quite possibly have been known as Benākaţa in the past.

> The occurrence of the earliest Satavahana inscriptions at Nasik and Naneghat may indicate that the Satavahana home was either in Pooņā or Nāśik district, while the circumstance that Pratisthāna was the capital of the dynasty may lend some weight to the view that the home of the rulers was located in its vicinity. We have as yet no evidence to decide this question.

> It is interesting to note that the Puranas nowhere describe the dynasty as Satavahana and inscriptions nowhere name it as Andhra. How are we to explain this paradox? K. Gopalachari advances an ingenious theory in this connection. He suggests that the Sātavāhanas were really Āndhras by ethnical extraction. Under Aśoka, we find a Greek governor, probably a native of Kamboja, appointed to rule over Kāthiāvād. In the same way some scions of the extinct Andhra dynasty may have been appointed as governors or district officers to rule in Mahārāştra. Later on when Aśoka's empire began to decay, Simuka, who was one of the Andhra officers governing at Pratisthana, declared independence and founded new dynasty. Purāṇas knew this real origin of Simuka and have given the correct name to his house².

> This theory is ingenious, but not convincing. We have similar parallels in later history. The Calukyas and Rastrakūtas established branches of their dynasties in Andhradesa and Gujarāt; the Senas from Karnāţaka established a dynasty in Bengal. There is, therefore, nothing impossible in one of the Andhra officers of Asoka having established house in Maharastra. But why should the real name of the dynasty not occur even in a single official record issued by it? The Calukyas of Vengi and the Rastrakutas of Gujarāt always called themselves as scions of the Cālukya or the Rāstrakūta family. They never use any other name. Why then should the Satavahanas have been so careful as to eschew their

¹ Kalinga which Kharavela ruled, extended from the Godavari to the Vaitarani and Baster State, Canda district and Berâr, and Adilabad, Karimnagar and Wārangal districts of the ex-Hyderabad State can all be described as situated to its west.

² Gopalachari, Early History of Andhra Country, pp. 25-26.

original name from all their official records? Surely, there was no provincialism running riot in those days. A name which was so carefully boycotted by the dynasty from all its official records is not saturahana Empirement likely to be known to the Puranic writers who probably hailed from the distant Gangetic plain.

The only probable explanation of the fact of the Puranas describing the Satavahanas as Andhras, would appear to be the assumption that they knew only of the later history of the dynasty, when the centre of its power was shifted to Andhradesa. The inscriptions of Aśoka and the account of Megasthenes show that the modern Andhradesa was known by that name in the 3rd century B.C. The Mayidavolu plates prove that the nomenclature continued down to the 4th century A.D.; for it refers to a district in Andhrapatha. A power which was ruling over the territory in c. 200 A.D. was naturally described as Andhra by the Puranas. The nomenclature has no connection with the Andhaka subdivision of the Yadavas, who had no connection with the Satavahanas. Nor does it seem to be connected with the rivulet Andhra flowing near Kārlī¹.

We have tried above to explain the derivation of the term Andhra Satavahana and as applied to our dynasty in the Puranas. But the derivation of the term Sātavāhana, as used for this house in inscriptions and literature is not easy to understand or explain. Rapson has observed that Satavahana was the name of a clan and Satakarni was the name of the dynasty². He has adduced no evidence in support of the theory. It may be pointed out that Sätavāhana is clearly a personal name, when it appears on the three early coins which have the legend ramno Sātavāhanasa. It is also a personal name when it is written under one of the statues at Naneghat. It is clear that Sătavāhana was the founder of the fortunes of his family as Sri-Gupta was in the case of the Gupta dynasty, and that the descendants in either case were known after the founder as the Satavahanas or the Guptas.

In later times Salivahana is used as a variant name for the dynasty, but it occurs nowhere in any contemporary records. The term is used in connection with the Saka era only after the 13th century, when it was believed to have been founded by a king named Sālivāhana. Rajawade's explanation that the dynasty was called Salivahana because its carts (vahanas) were full of rice (śāli), which is so plentiful in Andhra country, cannot be of much help to us, for the simple reason that the family was not known by that name at any time during its existence.

2 B.M.C.A., p. xv.

CHAPTER 2.

and its Feudatories.

> HOME OF THE SATAVAHANAS

Satakarni NAMES.

¹ S. A. Joglekar argues that the Sātavāhanas were called Andhras because they lived on the banks of the river Andhra flowing near Kārlā. A.B.O.R.I., XXIII, pp. 169-205. If the Satavahanas had got the name Andhra because of the association with the river Andhra, one wonders why their inscriptions should not have described them as Andhras at least in some places.

CHAPTER 2

Satavahana Empire
and its

Feudatories

SATAVAHANA AND SATAKARNI NAMES,

Several derivations have been suggested for the term Sātavāhana, but none of them can be regarded as convincing. The root san in Sanskṛt means to give and the term Sātavāhana can therefore be explained as those who used to give conveyances (liberally) (sātāni vāhanāni yaih), or as those to whom a conveyance was given (as a mark of honour by their overlords) (Sātāni vāhanāni yebhyah). Gopalachari has proposed the latter derivation and suggested that the Sātavāhanas were so called because they had received from their overlords, the Mauryas, conveyance as a mark of appreciation of their service. This is a possible explanation, but we do not know whether it is historically true. The first explanation refers to a legend recorded in the Tirthakalpa of Jinaprabhasūri as to how the founder of the dynasty was the son of a maiden through Seşa, how he was bred up in a potter's house where he used to make toy carts and horses for giving to his playmates, and how they were endowed with life by Seşa, the father of the boy in order to meet an invasion. This explanation is more interesting than historical. The same remark has to be made about another legend narrated in the Kathāsaritsāgara2 where we are told how a Yakşa named Sāta fell in love with a sage's daughter from whom he got a son; as his presence was disliked, he used to assume the form of a lion and carry the boy on his back; hence he was called Sātavāhana.

Przyluski thinks that Sāta and vāhana, the constituents of Sātavahana, are both Munda words; the former is the Sanskrtisation of the Munda word sadam meaning a horse and the latter of hapan meaning a son. Sătavāhanas were "sons of horse" as they believed themselves to be born of the chief queen with the sacrificial horse in the Aśvamedha sacrifice⁸. This derivation appears to be extremely fanciful. So many kings in the Purāņic dynasties as well as in historic ruling families were celebrated performers of the Asvamedha sacrifice; the descendants of none of them adopted the surname of Aśvaputras or Vājiputras. Why should the Sātavāhanas, who had championed the Vedic religion and the Prakrt language, accept a surname derived from the Munda language? The earliest Sātavāhana king to celebrate the horse-sacrifice was Sātakarņi I; but we find the founder of the dynasty bore this name, though he is not known to have performed any horse-sacrifice. The theory of Przyluski is thus hardly convincing.

Barnett identifies Sātavāhanas or Sātakarņis with Sātiyaputras of Aśoka's inscriptions⁴. The latter, however, were in the extreme south of India and were outside Aśoka's dominions along with the Colas, the Pāṇḍyas and the Keraļas. It may be, therefore, doubted whether any scion of the stock had migrated to the Deccan to found the Sātavāhana empire. Further, Barnett takes Sāta to be a proper name and vāhana as a descendant; Sātavāhana thus becomes the

¹ Gopalachari, Early History of the Andhra Country, p. 31.

² I. 67.

³ J.R.A.S., 1929, p. 273.

⁴ C.H.I., I., p. 599.

descendant of Sata. The Canarese word for the son is magana, but it becomes vagana, when it is the second member of the compound; Sātavāgana was later Sanskṛtised into Sātavāhana. Sātavāhana Empire and its Barnett derives the name Sātakarņi in the same manner. Kanyā, daughter, must have had a masculine form also as Kanya; Sātakanya or Sātakanna or Sātakanna would be a son or descendant SATAVAHANA AND of Sātai. On several coins Sāta appears as a proper name, and there is nothing improbable in Sātavāhana or Sātakarņi meaning descendant of Sata. But one does not feel quite certain when one has to postulate a Sanskrt word kanya for the son or when one has to accept vāhana as a natural transformation of the Canarese word magana.

It has also been suggested that vāhana and karņin both mean 'oars' and Sātavāhanas were so called because they had many ships with hundred oars2. It is a possible derivation, but we have no evidence of the Satavahanas being a great naval power. Jayaswal took Sāta as a corruption of Svātī meaning a sword and interpreted Sātavāhana as one who carried a sword, i.e. one who is a warrior3. The word Svāti for a sword is not in general use and the same should have been Sātavāhī and not Sātavāhana, if it was intended to denote a warrior.

The sun's carriage is drawn by seven horses and he can, therefore, be well described as saptavāhana, which can be easily transformed into sātavāhana. S. A. Joglekar has, therefore, argued that the Sātavāhanas were so called because they were the devotees of the sun4. We may, however, point out that the sun does not figure among the several deities to whom homage has been paid at the beginning of the larger Naneghat inscription.5 Among the numerous donations of the dynasty recorded in its inscriptions, there is none in favour of the sun or a solar temple. It is, therefore, far from certain as to whether the Satavahanas were really devotees of the sun and owed their family name to the circumstance.

The name Sätakarni appears frequently in the dynastic list and deserves a few remarks. Rapson's view that it denoted the dynasty is not at any rate true of its early period. The name is borne only by two early rulers before the time of Gautamīputra Sātakarni. It, however, becomes more common in later times. In the Tarhālā hoard we have the legends of Kana Satakarni, Kubha Satakarni, Khada Sātakarņi, and Saka Sātakarņi. It is likely that these later rulers may have used the term Sătakarni as a family name or surname, but there is so far no evidence of the earlier rulers having done so.

The derivation of the term Satakarni is as uncertain as that of Sātavāhana. A sage named Sātakarņi is referred to in the Raghuvaniśa XIII, 38-40; so the name was not uncommon. But what CHAPTER 2.

and its Feudatories

Satakarni NAMES.

¹ Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies, Vol. IX, p. 327.

² Aravamuthan, Kaveri, Maukhari and the Sangam Age, p. 63.

³ History of India, p. 168.

⁴ A. B. O. R. I., XXVIII, p. 237 ff.

⁵ [This is not correct. Homage is paid to both the sun and the moon in that inscription V.V.M.]

CHAPTER 2. Sātavāhana Empire and its Feudatories. SATAKARNI NAMES.

it means it is difficult to say. Barnett explains the term as the descendant of Sata, as pointed out already. But we do not know whether Sanskrt had really a word like kanna denoting the son. Rajawade has explained the word in a different way. Saptakarna SATAVAHANA AND means bulls or horses whose ears were marked with the figure seven; Sātakarnis were those who had several bullocks or horses whose ears were so marked. One, however, does not know why the Sātakarnis should have had bulls or horses marked with figure of seven only, and not with any other figure. It must be admitted that the proper derivation of the term Satakarni is not yet known to us. Sāta, Sāti and Svāti were its abbreviations and Sātakarņi, Sālakaņa and Svātikarņa were its variations.

> The Sātavāhanas were Brāhmaņas by caste. Gautamīputra is described in his mother's eulogy not only as ekabamhana, the pre-eminent or unique Brahmana, but also as Khatiyadapamānadamana, 'the destroyer of the pride and haughtiness of the Ksatriyas'. This would show that he was not a Ksatriya, but Brāhmana. Sātakarni I (or his widow) had celebrated a number of Sattras like gavāmayana, which could be performed by Brahmanas only. It is, therefore, evident that the Satavahanas were Brāhmaņas who had, like their contemporaries, the Sungas and the Kanvas, given up the sacrificial laddle for the sword.

KINGS OF THE PERIOD.

A few words are necessary at the outset about the number of DYNASTY AND THEIR the kings in the dynasty, their names, reign-periods and the total duration of the rule of the family. We have assumed that the dynasty consisted of 30 kings as stated in the Vāyu, the Brahmānda, the Bhagavata and the Visnu Purana. It must be, however, pointed out that though these Puranas agree with one another in giving the number of rulers as thirty, they do not give 30 names. Different manuscripts of the Väyu give 17, 18, or 19 names only; the Brahmanda gives 17, the Bhagavata 23 and the Vișnu 23 or 24. On the other hand, while the Matsya states that there were only 19 kings, three of its manuscripts give as many as 30 names. Shorter lists usually omit kings Nos. 4-5, 9-14 and 24-25 of the list of kings accepted in this work. On the other hand, there are at least half a dozen kings known from coins and inscriptions whose names do not occur in the Puranic list. The data at our disposal is thus far from satisfactory to determine either the number of kings or their relative order. We have assumed as a tentative hypothesis that the Puranic list of 30 kings may be taken as approximately correct and have given our account on that basis. The kings known from coins and inscriptions but not occurring in the Puranic list, may perhaps have belonged to collateral branches. Their problem will be discussed at the end in a separate section.

> There is considerable uncertainty also about the exact duration of the rule of the dynasty. We have already shown how the tradition in the Bhavisya Purāna of the Andhra rule lasting for 300 years cannot be accepted. The dynasty had obviously ruled for more than 400 years. Our authorities are not unanimous about the exact duration. According to the Matsya Purana, the dynasty

ruled for 460 years, according to the Brahmānda and the Viṣṇu for 456½ years and according to the Vāyu for 411 years. If we total together the reigns of the individual kings and accept the longer and its reign-periods where two are given, the duration of the dynasty is found to be 457% years. According to the hypothesis accepted by us, the dynasty ruled from c. 222 B.C. to 226 A.D. and thus ruled DYNASTY AND THEIR for 448 years.

CHAPTER 2. Feudatories. KINGS OF THE

We are not likely to be far wrong in this assumption. The Puranas appear to have had a fairly reliable tradition. In the case of four kings ruling almost successively,-Hāla, Maṇḍalaka, Sundara Svätikarna and Cakora Svätikarna,-they record very short reign periods of 5, 5, 1 and ½ year, respectively. This must be due to a definite and reliable tradition existing about their short rule. The Purāņas assign a rule of 29 years to Gautamīputra Yājñaśrī Satakarni, and we have found a record of his dated in the 25th year. Vāsisthīputra Puļumāvī ruled for 29 years according to Purāņas and we have one of his records dated in his 24th regnal year. In the case of Gautamiputra Sātakarņi, there is a discrepancy; the Purāņas give him a reign of 21 years, while epigraphs show that he ruled at least for 24 years. But the discrepancy is a small one and does not affect seriously our general conclusion that the reigns as given in the Purănic tradition may be accepted as correct as a working hypothesis. It will be further shown how most of the known facts of history as determined by epigraphical, numismatic and foreign sources are quite in consonance with the main outline of the Puranic chronology.

A few words of caution, however, are necessary about the names of individual rulers and their reign-periods. Sometimes there is considerable difference in the form and spelling of the names of individual kings. Thus Simuka appears as Sisuka and Sindhuka, Sātakarņi I as Mallakarņi, Pūrņotsanga as Pūrņasanga, etc. We have selected that spelling which appeared to be the most probable one; but there is no certainty about its absolute correctness. Individual reign-periods are given only in some Purāṇas and they often differ. In the case of the 2nd king, Krsna, the reign-period is 18 years according to some authorities and 10 years according to others. The 15th king Puloma I ruled for 36 years according to one authority and for 24 years according to another. Reign-periods of the 19th king Purindrasena and the 27th king Sivaskanda Satakarni are not given at all. In such cases, we have been mainly guided by known or probable incidents of history in determining their probable reign-periods. It should be clearly understood that the dates given by us are merely tentative.

According to the unanimous testimony of the Puranas, Simuka (Srimukha) was the founder of the dynasty. The dynasty, however, is expressly described as Sātavāhana-kula in several graphical records including the earliest ones. Just as the Gupta

Sätavähana and Simuka.

¹ His name is also spelt as Simuka, Sipraka, Sindhuka, etc. But Simuka may be taken to be the correct form, since it occurs in the Naneghat inscription, which is an almost contemporary and official record.

CHAPTER 2,

Sătavâhana Empire
and its
Feudatories,
Kings of the
Dynasty,
Sătavāhana and
Simuka.

dynasty owes its nomenclature to its progenitor king Gupta, who was undoubtedly a historical personage, it may well be argued that the Sātavāhana dynasty also owed its name to its founder bearing that name. In this connection it is worth noting that the Naneghat inscriptions expressly describe Simuka as Sātavāhana. The Nāśik inscription of Kṛṣṇa describes him as born in the Sātavāhana family. One of his grandsons bore the name of Satavahana. It is very likely that like king Gupta of the Gupta dynasty, king Satavahana of the Sātavāhana house occupied an humble status and was not an independent ruler of any consequence. He, however, probably laid the foundation of the future greatness of his house and posterity gratefully remembered him by naming the family after him. Some later princes of the family were given the founder's name as occurred in many other houses of ancient India. How much earlier than the time of Simuka, king Sātavāhana, flourished we do not know. But since Simuka calls himself Sātavāhana and his brother Krsna is described as born in the Satavahana family, it may not be improbable that he may have been the father of the two brothers1. In the phrase Simuka Sătavāhana of the Nāṇeghāt record, Sātavāhana may be a taddhita from Sātavāhana, meaning the son of Sātavāhana. As Aśoka's empire was more or less firmly rooted in the Deccan down to c. 240 B.C., it is not likely that Sātavāhana, the eponynous ancestor of the family, could have lived much earlier than Simuka. We may, therefore, well assume as a tentative hypothesis that Simuka's father was Sātavāhana. The Puranas may have omitted his name as he was eclipsed by his son Simuka, who established the independence of the family.

Recently, however, three coins have been found bearing the clear legend Sātavāhana. Two of them are in copper and the third in lead. On the obverse they have elephant with the legend Sirī Sādavāhanasa; on the reverse there is the Ujjayinī symbol. Prof. Mirashi, who published the first Sātavāhana coin, says that Sātavāhana preceded Simuka and Kṛṣṇa by some generations. The Purāṇas he argues, do not name him, probably because he was a local ruler who had not yet attained imperial status; that he had declared independence is, however, clear from his coins².

There are serious difficulties in accepting the above view. Prof. Mirashi places the rise of the Sātavāhanas under Simuka in c. 225 B.C. The time of Sātavāhana, who preceded him by a few generations, could not be earlier than c. 275 B.C. At that time the Mauryas were ruling over Northern India and the Deccan and even they had not started issuing inscribed coins. It is, therefore, difficult to imagine how a small feudatory of theirs, ruling in the far off Deccan, should have thought of issuing inscribed currency, which was then practically unknown in India. If, however, we do not attribute these Sātavāhana coins to the founder of the dynasty, we are faced with the inconvenient fact of there being no later ruler in the dynasty

¹ [Had Kṛṣṇa been a son of Sātavāhana, the inscription would have used Sātavāhana-pute (not Sātavāhana-kule) Kanhe rājani.—V.V.M.].

² J. N. S. I., Vol. VII, pp. 3-4,

who bore that name and who could, therefore, be regarded as their issuer. Nāņeghāt inscriptions no doubt refer to Kumāra Sātavāhana as one of the sons of Sātakarni, but he does not figure in the Purānic Sātavāhana Empire list. It is not unlikely that Kumāra Sātavāhana of the Nāneghāt inscriptions survived his elder brother, who died in his minority, and ascended the throne with the biruda of Pūrņotsanga, which alone is preserved by the Puranas. The time of this ruler was c. 175 B.C., when inscribed coins had begun to be issued in Mathura, Pañcala and Kauśāmbī. Sātavāhana alias Pūrņotsanga may also have started them in the Deccan and the three Satavahana coins may be ascribed to him. This theory, however, is a mere hypothesis and lacks positive

Sātavāhana, the father of Simuka was probably a mere feudatory under Aśoka. Sahāji paved the way of the future greatness of Sivājī, though he remained all along a feudatory. In the same way Sātavāhana may have helped the rise of his son Simuka to independence by the secret preparation he made in his life time. His time may be presumed to be c. 245 to c. 222 B.C.

Sālivāhana, the reputed founder of the Saka era, is undoubtedly confused in later tradition with Satavahana, the founder of the dynasty of that name. The latter, however, neither founded an era nor flourished at c. 78 A.D., when the era started. The Satavahana records use regnal years and not any era; the era of 78 A.D. began to be called Salivahana Saka only after c. 1300 A.D.1 The Sātavāhanas had nothing to do with its foundation; it was a Scythian era.

Sātavāhana was succeeded by his son Simuka, who may be presumed to have declared independence in c. 222 B.C., about ten years after the death of Asoka. The Puranas unanimously give him a reign of 23 years; we may, therefore, presume that he ruled from c. 222 to 199 B.C.

Western India and Mahārāstra were studded with Rathikas and Bhojakas even during the reign of Aśoka and they enjoyed a semiindependent status. When the Mauryan empire began to disintegrate, they must have declared independence. Satavahana and Simuka probably belonged to one such Rathika or Bhojaka family². The opposition to their founding a new kingdom must have proceeded partly from the Central Mauryan Government and partly from other Rathikas and Bhojakas, many of whom must have aspired to become the head of a new Deccan State. Simuka overcame this twofold opposition successfully, but how he did it we do not yet

Simuka is known from a relievo statue of his found in Nāņeghāt which bears the legend Simuka Sātavāhano under it. Whether his home and capital was somewhere² in the territory in which the

CHAPTER 2.

Feudatories. KINGS OF THE DYNASTY. Sātavāhana and Simuka.

^{1 [}The earliest record calling it as the era of Salavahana is dated A. D. 1251, E. I., XXVI, p. 210, V. V. M.].

² Those who hold that the Satavahanas were Andhras argue that the capital of Simuka was at Pithunda, and with that as his base, he proceeded to subjugate all the Rathikas and Bhojas and annexed all the territory up to Naneghāt. Sātavāhana Commemoration Volume, p. 55.

CHAPTER 2. Sātavāhana Empire and its Feudatories. KINGS OF THE DYNASTY. Sätavähana and Simuka.

Näneghät is situated, or whether it was near Pratisthana, which soon became the capital of the dynasty, we do not know, nor do we have any definite information about the extent of his kingdom. Probably it may have extended from Nāśik to Pratisthāna or Paithan.

The Puranas state that Simuka overthrew and killed Susarman, the last Kāṇva ruler and also mopped out the remains of the Sunga power. This would suggest that he advanced into the Cangetic plain, perhaps penetrated to Pātaliputra, and for some time occupied that imperial capital. Such an achievement for the founder of a ruling family in Western India is difficult to believe. In later times the Rāṣṭrakūṭas defeated the rulers of the imperial families of Northern India, but this feat became possible for them only during the 3rd and 4th reigns of their house. We have shown already that Simuka was not a contemporary of Susarman, who died in c. 25 B.C. A feat that was done by a later Sătavāhana king by the middle of the 1st century B.C. has been wrongly ascribed to Simuka by the Puranas. Simuka was too small a king even to venture an expedition in the Gangetic plain, much less to score a sensational victory in it.

There is a Jain tradition stating that the first Satavahana king built Tain temples, but that in the closing years of his reign he became wicked and was dethroned and killed1. Whether this tradition is trustworthy we do not know. The statues of Simuka, Kṛṣṇa and Sātavāhana which are preserved at Nāņeghāţ, would suggest that the three kings had normal careers and reigns. It does not appear probable that either Satavahana or his son Simuka was dethroned and killed.

The revolts of Cetis in Kalinga and Simuka in Mahārāṣṭra were almost simultaneous. It would appear that the Andhras, who had a powerful kingdom before the rise of the Mauryas² also revolted at about the same time and founded a kingdom of their own in the Kṛṣṇā-Godāvarī doab. This kingdom was, however, different from that of the Satavahanas and appears to have come to an end when Khāravela destroyed its capital Pithunda in c. 190 B.C.

Simuka probably had no son and was, therefore, succeeded by c. 199-189 B.C. his younger brother Kṛṣṇa. Unfortunately history knows very little about the career and achievements of this ruler. We may presume that he was co-operating with his elder brother during his reign³ and that he continued the work of expansion after the latter's death. Since Simuka had ruled for 23 years; it is not likely that Kṛṣṇa, who was his younger brother, had a long reign. We may, therefore, assume that the Vayu Purana which ascribes to him a reign of ten years, is likely to be more correct than the Matsya which makes him rule for

¹ J.B.B.R.A.S., Vol. X, p. 134.

² According to Pliny their army consisted of 1,00,000 infantry, 2,000 cavalry and 1,000 elephants. They had thirty towns defended by walls and towers. Natural History, Book VI, 21-3.

⁸ The absence of his statue at Naneghat may be accidental; we need not necessarily infer from it that the two brothers were not on cordial terms. It may be further pointed out that there is clear evidence to show that two statues have disappeared. One of these may have been that of Kṛṣṇa.

18 years. It is not unlikely that Kṛṣṇa may have added southern CHAPTER \$.

Mahārāṣṭra and Konkan to his ancestral dominion. This statement,
however, is based upon mere conjecture.

CHAPTER 3.

Sātavāhana Empire
and its
Feudatories,
Kings of THE
DYNASTY.
Kṛṣṇa
c. 199-189 B.C.

Kṛṣṇa's administration was to some extent modelled on that of the Mauryas. The only epigraph of his, known so far, refers to a cave excavated by a Nāśik official, who is described as Samanānam mahāmātra. Obviously this office of Samaṇānam mahāmātra was ana'ogous to Dharmanahāmātras of Aśoka. The officer was expected to look after the Buddhist establishments and meet their needs. The Sātavāhanas were Hindus, and yet we find them solicitous about the welfare of the Buddhists.

The cave excavated in Kṛṣṇa's reign is the earliest one at Nāśik and is therefore naturally of no high architectural grandeur. Pillars have no capitals; they are square at the top and bottom and octagonal in the middle.

The next ruler of the dynasty was king Sātakarņi. It is difficult to state whether he was the son or nephew of Kṛṣṇa. Purāṇas make him Kṛṣṇa's son, but the relievo figures at Nāṇeghāṭ however omit Kṛṣṇa altogether. First comes the statue of Simuka, then those of Srī Sātakarṇi, Nāganikā and Kumāra Bhāya. Then there is empty space of two statues now lost, after which follow the statues of Mahāraṭhī Tṛaṇakayira, the father of Nāganikā, Kumāra Hakuśiri and Kumāra Sātavāhana. Kṛṣṇa is emitted altogether. This is rather inexplicable, if Kṛṣṇa were the father of Sātakarṇi. The order of the statues suggests that Sātakarṇi was the son of Simuka. We have, however, assumed that the Purāṇic tradition is correct and taken Sātakarṇi to be the son of Kṛṣṇa.

A flood of light is thrown upon the Sātavāhana history of the time of Sātakarņi and his predecessors and successors by several inscriptions discovered at Nāṇeghāṭ. The inscriptions are, however, mutilated and lend themselves to several conflicting interpretations. Bühler, who last edited the Nāṇeghāṭ inscriptions, maintained that the larger inscription was engraved during the minority of prince Vediśrī, when his mother Nāganikā was ruling as queen-regent. This view has been recently challenged by Prof. V. V. Mirashi, who maintains that Vediśrī was not a minor but a ruling king at the time when the record was incised². Bhagwanlal Indraji, who first edited the inscriptions also thought that it was incised not during the regency of Nāganikā, but in the reign of her son Vediśrī³. Nāganikā is usually taken to be the widow of king Sātakarṇi, but since her relievo figure at Nāṇeghāṭ follows that of Simuka and precedes that of Sātakarṇi, it is possible to argue, as Dr. Katare

Sātakarņi I c. 189-179 B.C.

¹ Mallakarni and Santakarni are two other variations of the name of this ruler.

In.S.I., XIV, p. 26f. Prof. Mirashi does not construe the term Kumāravara with word Vedisri immediately following, but takes it to be the name of Kārttikeya, to whom homage is paid along with other deities,

⁸ J.B.B.R.A.S., Vol. XIII, p. 312.

CHAPTER 2. Feudatories. KINGS OF THE DYNASTY.

Sätakarņi I

c. 189-179 B.C.

has done, that Naganika was the wife of Simuka and mother of Sātakarņi. The Nāņeghāt inscriptions further refer to Vediśri and Sătavăhana Empire Sati, princes Bhāya, Hakuśrī and Sātavāhana. It is not yet possible to determine with certainty the relations of these princes either with Nāganikā or Simuka or Sātakarņi, nor can we identify them with any rulers mentioned in the Puranas.

Nāņeghāt inscriptions undoubtedly refer to a mighty ruler ruling over the entire Deccan. The inscription of Khāravela also refers to a king named Sātakarņi, ruling over the Deccan; he eventually succeeded in stemming in the tide of Khāravela's invasion. We. therefore, assume that it is king Sātakarņi, the third ruler of the dynasty, whose greatness and victories are described in the larger Naneghat inscription and that Naganika was his widow. The Puranas give I reign of only ten years to Sātakarņi and it is, therefore, quite possible that his widow Nāganikā may have survived him by several years. Possibly she was a regent in the beginning². Kumāra Bhāya may have been a brother of king Sātakarni or a son of his who died early. Vediśrī Hakuśiri and Sātavāhana⁸ were probably the sons of king Sătakarni and queen Năganikā. Vediśrī and Hakuśrī probably died in their childhood and Satavahana succeeded his father at the end of the regency with the biruda of Pürnotsanga. It should be however clearly understood that all these hypotheses are pure assumptions; we have no evidence to substantiate them, or any other rival theory, as proved facts of sober history.

Let us now revert to the career of king Sātakarni. Nāganikā's inscription at Naneghat describes him, as the first and the most prominent hero on the earth (pathaviya pāthamavīrasa), whose victorious army met no opposition (apratihatacakasa), who was the lord of Daksināpatha and who performed Rājasūya once and Aśvamedha twice. It is therefore, quite clear that Sātakarņi had a number of victories to his credit which eventually made him the lord of the Deccan. Who his opponents were, is, however, not known.

It is not, however, possible to determine the precise extent of his kingdom. Daksināpatha vaguely denotes the Deccan but this need not necessarily prove that the dominion of Sātakarņi covered the entire peninsula. In the first century A.D., we find the Periplus distinguishing Dachinabades (Daksināpatha) from Damarica, the extreme south of the peninsula. Daksināpatha, over which Sātakarni ruled obviously excluded that portion of the peninsula which was to the south of Mysore. Khāravela's record shows that in the Eastern Deccan there was a Dravida confederacy in c. 200 B.C. It would, therefore, appear that Sătakarni I did not rule over the eastern Deccan as well. We would not be far wrong if we assume that his dominions included the modern States of Mahārāstra and Mysore. His

¹ I. H. O., XXVII, p. 213.

² [This is not likely. See her description in the Naneghat inscription as one who used to fast for a month, lived in her house the life of an ascetic, was self-controlled etc.-V.V.M.].

³ It is possible to argue that Hakuśirī and Sātavāhana were the grandsons of Såtakarni and sons of Vediśri.

queen Nāgānikā belonged to Kaļalāya family, coins issued by which CHAPTER 2. no doubt at later date, have been found in Mysore. Kalalayas were Satavahana Empire Maharathis and therefore merely feudatories and we may then well and its presume that the former princely State of Mysore was also included in Satakarni's dominion. This is also suggested by his title Daksināpathapati. The conquest of Bombay, Karnāṭak and Mysore was probably the achievement of Sātakarni. He may have celebrated it by the performance of one of his two Aśvamedhas.

A fairly large number of copper coins have been found in Māļvā with the legend Siri Satasa, and it has, therefore, been assumed by some scholars that Mālvā might have been annexed by king Sātakarņi I1. Malva has always been a bone of contention between the imperial powers of the north and the south and had changed hands frequently in the course of Indian history. There is, therefore, nothing improbable in Sātakarni having annexed it to his dominion in c. 180, when the Mauryan power had collapsed and the Sungas had not yet succeeded in firmly establishing themselves. It is, however, not unlikely that king Sata of the Malva coins may be Satakarni II. If Sātakarni I had conquered Māļvā, it could be retained by his house only for a short time. For we find Agnimitra, the crown-prince of Pusyamitra Sunga, ruling there as Viceroy in c. 160 B.C.

According to the chronology accepted by us, king Khāravela of Kalinga was a contemporary of Satakarni I and gave him considerable trouble. In the second year of his reign he sent an expedition to the West defying the power of Satakarni and attacked Musikanagara, situated on the confluence of the Kṛṣṇā and the Musi, about 100 miles south east of the city of Hyderabad. Two years later he penetrated perhaps further west, as he claims to have received allegiance from a number of Rathikas and Bhojakas, who were Sātavāhana feudatories ruling in Mahārāstra. The humiliation of these feudatories must have been a blow to the prestige of Sātakarņi. It appears that he was taken by surprise by these unexpected invasions and lost his ground in the beginning. He, however, soon managed to put his eastern frontier in a proper state of defence. Kharavela does not claim to have undertaken any further expedition against Satakarni later than his 4th year. We may, therefore, well presume that Satakarni soon succeeded in re-establishing his authority right up to the eastern border of the former State of Hyderabad.

Sātakarni was a devout orthodox Hindu and celebrated a number of Vedic sacrifices. These are all enumerated with due pomp by his widowed queen in her famous inscription at Naneghat. Two of these, Rajasuya and Asvamedha (which was performed twice) undoubtedly had political significance and probably commemorated important victories or achievements. Others were purely religious. Among these were Agnyādheya, Āptoryāma, Daśarātra, Bhagāladaśarātra, Travodaśarātra, Angirasatrirātra, Satātirātra and Chandopavamānatrirātra. Gavāmayanasattra was performed twice. Only Brāhmanas are entitled to perform this sattra; this would show that the Sătavāhanas belonged to that caste.

Feudatories.

KINGS OF THE DYNASTY. Sātakarņi I 189-179 B. C.

CHAPTER 2. Sătavâhana Empire and its Feudatories.

KINGS OF THE DYNASTY. Sātakarni I 189-179 B. C.

Honoraria to the presiding priests were given on these occasions in a liberal way. In the Asvamedha sacrifice for example the daksinā consisted of an elephant, a horse with its silver accourrement, a village and 14,000 Kārṣāpaṇas¹. In Gavāmayana, the honorarium consisted of 10,000 cows.

The Naneghat record opens with a salutation to Prajapati, Dharma, Indra, Sankarşana and Vasudeva of Candravamsa, and the four Lokapālas-Yama, Varuņa, Kubera and Vāsava. It is interesting to note that at the time of the record Vasava was distinguished from Indra and Yama from Dharma. Satakarni had also a leaning towards the Bhagavata school, which was becoming popular at this time; for Sankarşana and Vāsudeva, mentioned in the record, are the special deities of that school. Whether the last deity referred to in the record is Kumāra or Kārtikeya is not quite certain2.

The Puranas unanimously allot a reign of only ten years to this ruler. It seems to be rather short for his numerous achievements. But the short reign is confirmed by the Naneghat inscription, which shows that his queen Naganika had to act as regent for a long time after the death of her illustrious husband3. The king left behind him not more than three sons, again showing that his life was cut short in its prime. The Naneghat records make distinct reference to three princes, Kumāra Vediśrī, Hakuśarī and Sātavāhana. The Purānas, however, unanimously state that the successor of Sātakarņi was Pūrņotsanga. Pūrņotsanga was probably a biruda of one of these princes, most probably Satavahana. One of the Nasik records mentions a donation by a lady who is described as a daughter of the royal minister and a grand-daughter of Mahāhakuśrī. Scholars have identified the grand-father of this lady with prince Hakuśari, the son of Sātakarņi. This, however, appears to be extremely improbable. The characters of the record definitely belong to the 1st and 2nd century A.D. The record gives the titles of all other relations of the lady; some of them are seen to be Amatyas (ministers or officers) and some Bhandagarikas (treasurers). But it is strange that Hakuśari, the grandfather, has no title whatsoever. This would prove that he was a mere commoner and not a king or a prince. The Jain tradition refers to a Sātavāhana king named Saktikumāra, who is described as a lascivious king. But whether Saktikumāra, can become Hakuśarī, is not certain. It appears that princes Vediśrī and Hakuśarī though elder ones, did not ascend the throne.4 They probably died before attaining majority. The youngest prince Kumāra Sātavāhana seems to have succeeded his father with the biruda of Pūrnotsanga. We feel inclined to make this assumption because the coins bearing the legend Sătavāhana undoubtedly belong to the 2nd century B.C. and Kumāra Sātavāhana, the younger son of Sātakarni, is the only king

¹ Kārṣāpaṇas were silver pieces weighing about one-third tola. They are described as punch-marked silver coins in modern numismastic works.

² (See S.I., Vol. I, pp. 121 f. V.V.M.). ⁸ (Loc. cit V.V.M.).

^{4 (}It seems, on the other hand, that Vodisri was reigning at the time. See S. I., Vol. I, pp. 121 f. V.V.M.).

with the name Sātavāhana who could have issued these pieces1. We, therefore, suggest the identification of Prince Sātavāhana, the Sātavāhana Empire younger son of Satakarni, with Purnotsanga, mentioned as his successor in the Puranas.

The next ruler of the dynasty was Pürnotsanga2 of the Puranic list and we have tentatively identified him with Kumāra Sātayāhana of the Naneghat record. He is not known to us from any epigraphs and Puranas do not give his relationship with his predecessor, Sātakarni I.

If the time allotted to this ruler is correct, he may well have come into hostile contact with the Sungas. The Sunga crown-prince Agnimitra was ruling at Vidīśā (modern Besnagar near Bhopāļ) and the Mālavikāgnimitra refers to his conflict with Yajñasena, a king in Berār. The latter had imprisoned his cousin Madhavasena and had refused to set him free, unless his own brother-in-law, who was a minister under the Mauryas was released by Pusyamitra. Agnimitra then invaded Berar, defeated its king Yajñasena and got Madhavasena released. Kālidāsa tells us that he then ordered that Berär should be divided between Yajñasena and his cousin Mādhavasena.

The plot of the drama, as given by Kālidāsa, refers to Yajñasena as an independent king. It is, however, not unlikely that he was under the sphere of influence of the Sätavähanas. Otherwise, it would appear improbable how an insignificant king should thus boldly challenge the power of Agnimitra and his father Pusyamitra who was the lord paramount of northern India. The plot of the drama would suggest that Berar was not being directly administered by the Sātavāhanas by c. 150 B.C. It was in the interest of Purnotsanga to give diplomatic and military support to Yajñasena, who was a partisan of the Mauryas. For his immediate northern neighbours, the Sungas, who were his rivals in the Deccan, were the deadliest enemies of the Mauryas. This probably was the beginning of the long struggle between the Satavahanas and Sungas.

If our suggestion that Kumāra Sātavāhana of the Nāņeghāṭ inscription is identical with Pürnotsanga is correct, the three coins bearing the name Satavahana should be attributed to this ruler. At this time c. 150 B.C., coins with the legend giving the king's name had become common in the north. Agnimitra, the Sātavāhana's rival at Vidiśä, had issued coins bearing his own name. Sātavāhana Pūrņotsanga might have emulated his example. These coins have an elephant

Purnotsanga appears to be the correct reading.

CHAPTER 9.

and its Feudatories.

KINGS OF THE DYNASTY. SATAVAHANA Purnotsanga c. 179-161 B.C.

¹ Professor V. V. Mirashi has attributed these coins to king Satavahana, the founder of the dynasty. He flourished in c. 250 B. C. and at that early period the pattern of inscribed coins was not adopted even by the kings of northern India, who were in closer contact with the Greeks. It, therefore, seems more probable that king Satavahana of the three coins was a later ruler and identical with the prince of the name mentioned at Naneghat. It may be pointed out that we have a similar case in the Vakataka history. The regent Prabhavatigupta had three or at least two sons Divakarasena, Damodarasena alias Pravarasena or Damodarasena and Pravarasena; of these Pravarasena, the youngest succeeded to the throne at the end of the regency.

Purnotsanga and Purnasangha are other variations of this name.

CHAPTER 2.

Sâtavāhana Empire
and its
Feudatories.

Kings of the Dynasty. Skandastambhi 161-143 B.C.

Satakarni II. 143-86 B.C. on one side and the Ujjayinī symbol on the other. One of them was found in Kondāpūr excavations and two others were purchased in the former Hyderābād State. It is likely that the type was intended for circulation in the home province of the Sātavāhana empire.

The next ruler Skandastambhi (c. 161-143 B.C.) is a shadowy personality. He is not only not referred to in the inscriptions, but those Purāṇas which give the shorter list of about 18 kings of this dynasty, also usually omit him. His relationship with his predecessor is also not stated. We do not know of any events in his reign. The Purāṇas state that he was succeeded by Sātakarṇi II, but the relationship of the two kings is not given.

Sātakarņi II (c. 143 B.C. to 87 B.C.) had the longest reign in the dynasty; the Purāṇas unanimously state it to be of 56 years. During the long reign of Sātakarṇi II, the Suṅga power was on the decline. It is but natural that Sātakarṇi should have taken advantage of this situation and pushed his frontiers further to the north. It appears that after defeating the Suṅgas, he annexed Mālvā—Jabalpūr region to the Sātavāhana empire in c. 90 B.C. The Suṅga king, Bhāga was probably his opponent.

This inference is based almost entirely on the evidence of coins. A large number of coins have been found in Malva and Western India bearing the legend Siri Sāta (or Śri Sāti) or Siri Satakaņiśa. The provenance of the coins published by Rapson was vaguely known as Western India; some of them had elephant with trunk upraised on one side and Ujjayini symbol on the other2, while others substituted the elephant by the lion. In 1942, five more coins of Sata were published by the present writer; 4 of them had an elephant on one side while the fifth had a lion. Other symbols were similar to those occurring on the Māļvā coins. In some cases the legend was Sāta, in some Sātakarnī and in some Raño Sirī Sātakanisa³. The precise provenance of these coins was not known. Prof. Mirashi published in 1947 a lead round coin of the Bull type with the legend Ramño Sara Satakanisat. In 1951 Dr. Katare published a new Sātakarņi coin found in Hośangābād district of the usual Eran type but having the clear legend Siri Sātasa. In 1952 a large number of copper coins collected in Malva have been published, which have the usual Satavahana motifs like Elephant, Lion etc., but are uninscribed⁵.

Rapson, Mirashi and Katare are all inclined to ascribe these coins to Sātakarņi I. This king was a powerful ruler and there is nothing improbable in his having issued some of these coin-types, even

¹ J.N.S.I., VII p. I; XI p. 5.

[■] B.M.C.A.K. Pl. 1-5-6. Quite recently (in 1952) a large number of copper coins have been published, collected in Mālvā hy Mr. N. R. Advani, which have the usual Sātavāhana motifs of Elephant, Lion, etc., but are uninscribed. One of them contains a fragmentary legend, probably standing for [Sāta] kaṇi, J.N.S.I. XIII.

³ J.N.S.I., IV., pp. 25-28.

⁴ Ibid VIII 18.

⁵ Ibid., XIII, 209.

though he had a short reign of ten years. Inscribed coins had, however, not become common in his time (c. 189-179 B.C.) and were rare even in the Northern India. Tree within railing, river with fish saturations and its and Ujjayinī symbol, which occur on most of the coins of Sātakarni, are characteristically Mālvā symbols and their occurrence on these coins may presuppose the conquest of that province, which had not taken place at the time of Satakarni I; the Sungas were firmly entrenched in Malva in 170 B.C. and were trying to interfere with the politics of the Deccan. It is difficult to understand how the coins of their opponent Satakarni I could have become current in their dominion of Mālvā. The coin of Sātakarņi published by Katare was actually found in Mālvā. It is true that on the strength of palaeography, it has been argued that the Sātakarni of the coins should be identified with Satakarni I. But the difference between Satakarni I and II is only about fifty years, and palaeography, especially on coins, will not be able to give any decisive clue. For instance the form of ta on the coin of Sata published by Rapson (Pl, I, 1-2) is almost Aśokan, while that of the same letter on the coin published by Katare shows a round lower limb suggesting a later date. All things considered, I am inclined to attribute most of the early coins1 having the legend Sāta or Sātakaņi to Sātakarņi II2. A few of them might have been issued by Sātakarņi I.

A short record on one of the Sanci gateways (toranas) refers to its erection by Ananda, a foreman of king Satakarni. This record renders it probable but not certain that Sātakarņi, the master of Ananda, was ruling over Sañcī. This probably is rendered almost certain by the discovery of the coins of king Sata or Satakarni in Mālvā. For the reasons, already discussed above, we prefer to identify the king Sātakarņi of the Sāñcī record with king Sātakarņi II. Towards the end of the rule of this king (143-87 B.C.) the power of the Sungas had declined, and Malva could well have been wrested from them by the Sātavāhanas. According to our view, the Sāncī gateway was erected some time between 100 and 75 B.C.

Recent numismatic discoveries tend to show that after occupying Mālvā. Sātakarni II marched eastwards and occupied Dāhala or Jabalpūr area also. Two copper coins, one with the name Sātakarņi and the other with the name Sāti, were found in a village at Tewar near Jabalpur. A third coin of this king was found in the excavations at Tripuri in 1952, in a definitely Sunga stratum. Copper coins usually do not travel long and the discovery of these three coins near Jabalpur makes it fairly certain that their issuer Satakarni II had occupied the province of Dahala also. This may be a step towards the march on Pataliputra.

> Lambodara, c. 87-69 B.C. Apilaka, c. 69-57 B.C. Meghasvāti, c. 57-39 B.C. Svāti, 30-21 B.C.

CHAPTER 2.

Feudatories. KINGS OF THE DYNASTY. Satakarni II 1.43-86 B.C.

¹ King Satakarni of the coins published in B.M.C.A., VII, 179 to G. P. 4, is a ruler of the second century A.D.

Smith had assigned these paints to king Svätikarni or Sätakarni, the 10th ruler in the Puranic list, Z.D.M.G., 1903, p. 607.

CHAPTER 2.

Sătavāhana Empire
and its
Feudatories,
KINGS OF THE
DYNASTY.
Sătakarņi II
(143-86 B.C.)

The Purāṇas expressly state that Lambodara was the son of Sātakarṇi II and that he was succeeded by his son Āpīlaka. The relationship of the next two rulers with each other or with Āpīlaka is not stated. There is divergence among the Purāṇas about the duration of the reign of the last king. We have assumed that he ruled for 12 years rather than 18. The name of this ruler Svāti or Svātikarṇa may have been an abbreviation and corruption of Sātakarṇi.

Very little is known about the political events in the Sātavāhana history of this period, but there are clear indications that the Sātavāhanas were extending their sphere of influence in the east and north-east at this time. There is some evidence to suggest that the Sătavāhanas had annexed Āndhra province during this period. A coin of Meghasvāti, the third ruler of the above group was found in Andhra province. The legend on the coin is fragmentary and reads only Ghasada: but it can hardly stand for the name of any other ruler than Meghasvāti. Its palaeography also suggests that it was issued in the 1st century B.C., and according to our chronology the time of Meghasvāti is 57-39 B.C. A coin of Apīlaka, the 2nd ruler in the above group, was picked up in the Mahānadī, in the Chattisgad division of Madhya Pradesa1. The find-spot of this coin would tend to show that by c. 60 B.C. the Sātavāhanas were gradually advancing north-east perhaps with Pataliputra as their ultimate goal. They had already occupied Jabalpur in the reign of Sātakarni II. It is true that the evidence for the spread of the Satavahana rule over Chattisgad and Jubbulpore is very slender; it consists of only the find-spots of solitary coins. But it is confirmed by the Purānic tradition which ascribes the conquest of the Sungas and Kanvas to the Sātavāhanas at c. 50 B.C. The Sātavāhanas must have used Chattisgad and Jubbulpore as spring-boards for the invasion of the Gangetic plain.

The power of the Sungas and the Kānvas was declining during c. 87-21 B.C., when these rulers were ruling. With Chattisgad and Jabalpur in their possession, the Sātavāhanas could well have penetrated into the Gangetic plain. We may therefore well believe the Purāṇic tradition in this respect, which suggests but does not prove that sometime between 75 B.C. and 25 B.C., the Sātavāhanas crossed sword with both these powers and perhaps penetrated right up to Pāṭaliputra. The occupation of Mālvā and Jabalpur in the time of Sātakarṇi II would also have helped the northern

¹ See J.A.S.B., 1937 N. p. 93 for the coin of Āpīlaka. Its legend is Ramno Sivasiris Āpllakassa. K. N. Dikshit, who published this coin, thought that its palaeography would place it in the 1st century A.D. rather than in the 1st century B.C. Since no Āpīlaka is known to have ruled in the 1st or 2nd century A.D., it is best to attribute the coin to Āpīlaka of the 1st century B.C., Palaeography of coins cannot be decisive when the difference is of 100 years only. The coin of Āpīlaka is blank on one side, suggesting that it must be fairly early. The spelling of the king's name on the coin as Āpīlaka would show that the variations of this king's name as Āpītaka, Āpadava, Āpistava are all due to the textual corruption.

CHAPTER 2

and its Feudatories.

KINGS OF THE DYNASTY

Sätakarpi II

(143-86 B.C.).

expedition. In later times we find that when the Rāṣṭrakūṭas got a foothold in Māļvā, they used it as a spring-board for marching Sātavāhana Empire into the Gangetic plain.

We have so far discovered no Sātavāhana coins or inscriptions in the Gangetic plain or at Pataliputra. The reason seems to be the short duration of the Satavahana occupation of the Gangetic plain. The Bhavisya Purana distinctly says that the base-born Andhra king, who will kill the Kanva ruler Susarman will enjoy the earth (i.e. Pāṭaliputra or Kāṇva dominion) only for a short time¹. The Yuga-Purana in the Gargi-samhitā states that the excellent Sata king will frustrate the efforts of the Sakas, desirous of conquering Kalinga and Sătavāhana kingdoms, and then rule the earth for ten years only2. This statement may, however, refer to the Kuṣāṇa occupation of Kalinga in the days of Wimā Kadphises and Kaniska and an attempt to invade the Deccan from the east.

We have marshalled above such evidence, no doubt very slender, as is available at present to suggest the invasion of the Gangetic plain by the Satavahanas sometime between c. 50 B.C. and 25 B.C. It is far from conclusive, but renders the Puranic account not altogether unbelievable. We cannot state which king or kings are to be credited with this achievement. It may very probably have been Sväti or Svātikarņa,3 the last ruler of this group, who ruled for eighteen years, from c. 39 to 21 B.C.

The Jain tradition, which states that Satavahana was the son of a maiden born from Sesa, narrates how king Vikramaditya attacked Paithan in order to kill Sātavāhana. We do not know whether king Vikramaditya, the reputed founder of Vikrama era, was a historic king at Ujjavini, and if so, whether he was at war with the Satavahanas. If there was a war between the two, we shall have to place it sometime during c. 40 and 30 B.C. The Malavas who were at this time occupying Jaipur-Ajmer area, may not have liked the Satavahana occupation of Avanti and Akara (Malva) and this may have been the cause of the war. Satavahanas, however, retained their hold on Malva, it may be after a short expulsion by Vikramaditya. The history of the whole period is extremely obscure and we can only suggest some tentative reconstruction on the above lines. Future archaeological discoveries alone will enable us to reconstruct it with confidence and certainty.

The relationship of these four kings is not given by the Puranas. They had very short reigns. Together they ruled for 20 years only. This would suggest disputed succession, internal commotion or foreign invasion. It is not unlikely that there was a revolt in the south

Skandasvāti, Mrgendra Svātikarņa, Kuntala, Svātikarņa, and Pulomā I (21 B.C.-22 A.D.)

¹ Hatvā Kānvam Sušarmānam tad-bhṛtyo vṛśalo balī Gam bhoksyaty Andhra-jätiyah kaficit-kalam a-sattamah ||

D.K.A., p. 38.

2 J.B.O.R.S., XVI, p. 22.

8 It is quite likely that Svätikarna occurring in the name of the king may have been a corruption of Satakarni.

CHAPTER 2.

Sătavāhana Empire and its
Feudatories.
KINGS OF THE DYNASTY.
Skandasvāti,
Mrgendra
Svātikarņa,
Kuntala
Svātikarņa,
and Pulomā I

during the reigns of Skandasvätī and Mṛgendra Svätikarna, in which the province of Kuntala was lost and Mṛgendra lost his life. His successor may perhaps have reconquered this province and taken the title Kuntala Svātikarna. If we are to believe the tradition recorded in the Kāmasūtra, this king put an end to the life of his chief queen by a pair of scissors¹. His successor Svātikarna had a very short reign of only one year. What was the cause of his quick exit, we do not know.

It is very probable that these short reigns are concealing a number (21 B.C.-22 A.D.) of sordid facts; we, however, get no clue to their nature. Political turmoils and internecine wars might have been rampant. If Pāṭaliputra had been really occupied at c. 25 B.C., it must have been lost during this troubled period. We can therefore well believe in the Purāṇic tradition of a short rule of the Sātavāhanas in the Gangetic plain.

The Puranas give no clue to the relationship of Puloma I, the 4th king in the above list, either to his predecessor or to his successor. His name has been frightfully distorted in different manuscripts of the Puranas; some of them credit him with a reign of 24 years and others with 36 years. We have accepted the former alternative. Since this king had a long reign, we may well presume that he restored stability to the empire after the period of anarchy through which it had passed.

Arishtakarna.

Pulomā's successor was Ariṣṭakarṇa², and he had also a long reign of 25 years. It was towards the end of his reign that Bhūmaka, the Saka Kṣatrapa, succeeded in establishing his rule in Gujarāt and Kāṭhīavād. These provinces did not belong to the Sātavāhana dominions, but towards the end of Ariṣṭakarṇa's reign in c. 45 A.D. Bhūmaka invaded Māļvā. Ariṣṭkarṇa was unable to oppose Bhūmaka and the Sātavāhanas appear to have lost Māļvā towards the end of his reign (c. 47 A.D.).

Hāla Mantalaka, Purīndrasena, Sundara, Sātakarņi, Cakora Svātikarņa, and Sivasvāti (47—86 A.D.) The next period of about 40 years, during which as many as six kings mentioned above came to throne was undoubtedly a dark period in the history of the Sātavāhana dynasty. The Purāṇas do not enlighten us about the mutual relationship of these six rulers. Their short reigns tell their own tale. The first two kings Hāla and Maṇṭalaka^s ruled for five years each. The reign period of the next king Purīndrasena is not recorded in the Matsya-purāṇa, and is variously given as 12 or 21 years in others. We have assumed it

¹ Kartaryā Kuntalaḥ Sātakarnih Sātavāhano Mahādevīm Malayavatīm jaghāna— Kāmasūtra,

² Nemikṛṣṇa, Nemikamsa, Ariṣṭavarṇa are some of the important variations of the name of this ruler.

³ Mundulaka, Kundalaka, Pantalaka and Pattallaka are some of the important variations of the name of this ruler.

to be one year only since most of the reigns of this period are of short duration. The next king Sundara Sātakarni ruled for one year Sātavāhana Empire and its and his successor Cakora Svātikarņa¹ for six months only. Purānas must be relying on a definite tradition when they give short reigns of one year and six months. These short reigns may be due to disputed successions or foreign invasions and internal revolts, consequent disruption. There is ample evidence to show that the last is the correct hypothesis in the present case. It will be shown in Chapter VI how the date of Nahapana can be shown to be c. 60 to 110 A.D. His predecessor Bhūmaka had already conquered Gujarāt and Kāthiavād. Nahapāna conquered Māļvā and then proceeded to attack the Satavahana dominion in its home province. There was a long struggle between the two rival houses; one Jain tradition records how the Satavahana king used to invest Broach every year. In the earlier phase of the struggle the Sakas inflicted several defeats on the Sātavāhanas; it is not improbable that some of the six kings of the above group had short reigns, because they were killed in war. The defeat on the battle field may have encouraged revolts at home. There may have been also disputed succession owing to sudden deaths of the ruling kings. During this period the Sātavāhanas lost Konkan, Northern and Central Māhārāṣṭra and Māļvā. Some kind of stability may have been restored by Sivasväti who could maintain himself upon the throne for twenty-eight years, from c. 58 to 86 A.D.

The first king of the above group, Hala, is the reputed author of a Prākrt anthology of erotic verses named Gāthāsaptaśatī. A later tradition, as known to Rajasekhara, asserted that the Satavahanas had issued a regulation that Prakrt alone should be used in their court. All their official records are in Prakrt; it is therefore no wonder that one of the kings of the dynasty should have completed an anthology of Prakrt verses. It is likely that some of the poets, whose verses have been selected by Hala, may have received patronage at his court. A tradition known to Merutunga asserted that he paid fabulous sums for the verses he selected. The Gathasaptasati in its present form is a redaction of the 4th century A.D.,2 but its kernel goes back to the 1st century A.D. and may be assigned to king Hala. Tradition asserts that Guṇāḍhya, the author of the original Bṛhatkathā, as also Sarvavarman, the author of the Katantra grammar, were the ministers of king Sātavāhana of Pratisthāna. Smith has identified this Sătavāhana with Hāla³ but the identification is by no means certain. Hala had a short and troubled reign and one may wonder whether it was marked by an extensive literary activity.

A recently published Prakrt work named Lilavai credits king Hala with an effort to invade Ceylon4. The adventure eventually became unnecessary as the king of Ceylon offered his daughter CHAPTER 2

and its Feudatories. KINGS OF THE DYNASTY. Hāla, Mantalaka, Purindrasena, Sundara, Svātikarni, Cakora Svātikarņa, and Sivasvāti

(47-86 A.D.)

¹ Cakora is one of the mountains which was included in the kingdom of Gautamīputra Sātakarni. Whether Clakora Sātakarni was connected with it we do not know.

⁽It is of a still later age. See S. I., Vol. I, pp. 76 f.-V. V. M.)

³ Z.D.M.G., 1902, p. 660.

⁴ Sătavāhana Commemoration Volume, p. 100.

CHAPTER 2.

Sātavāhana Empire
and its
Feudatories,
Kings of the
Dynasty,
Hāla,
Mantalaka,
Purindrasena,
Sundara,
Sātakarni
Cakora
Svātikarna,
and Sivasvāti
(47-86 A.D.)

Līlāvatī in marriage to Hāla. Hāla had ■ short reign of five years and the rise of the Saka power under Bhūmaka and Nahapāna must have rendered any military expedition to Ceylon almost impossible. Sober history is unaware of any Sātavāhana king having ever undertaken an expedition to Ceylon. The feat is not ascribed even to Gautamīputra Sātakarņi, the greatest military genius of the dynasty. We need not therefore attach any historical value to the political events casually and cursorily mentioned in the Līlāvaī.

Sivasvāti¹ the last king of this group, had a fairly long reign of 28 years from c. 58 to 80 A.D. He seems to have succeeded in establishing a stable rule and reorganising the administration in what remained of the old empire. Smith has identified this ruler with Māṭharīputra Sivalakura of the Kolhāpūr coins². This identification is, however, untenable; it will be shown later how the Kolhāpūr kings who issued the bow-and-arrow type of coins do not belong to the Sāṭavāhana dynasty. It is also very doubtful whether he can be identified with king Sakasena of Kānherī inscriptions Nos. 14 and 19.

The Yugapurāna of the Gārgi-samhitā describes the Saka occupation of Pāṭaliputra and then narrates how the greedy Saka king will attack the Kalinga and Sata (i.e. Satavahana) kingdoms and perish in the attempt. Whether this prophecy has any historical foundation, we do not know. The Sakas never reached Pațaliputra. It is possible that Wima Kadphises, who had penetrated right up to Pațaliputra in c. 70 A.D. may be the king referred to as the Saka invader. The discovery of the Puri Kuśana coins in large numbers in Orissa renders the invasion of Kalinga either by Wima Kadphises or Kaniska very probable. It may be that Kaniska launched an attack on the Sātavāhanas from Kalinga, while his Satrapa Nahapāna was harrying them from the north and the west. Sivasvāti and possibly his successor Gautamiputra Sătakarni had thus to fight the Scythian war on several fronts. We are only suggesting these possibilities without claiming any definite historicity for them. The evidence available is too slender to warrant a definite conclusion.

Gautamiputra Sātakarņi, c. 86-110 A.D. Gautamīputra Sātakarņi³ ascended the throne in c. 86 A.D. and ruled for about 24 years. His relationship with his predecessor is not given in the Purāṇas. The fortunes of his family had reached the lowest ebb at the time of his accession. Nahapāna had conquered a number of Sātavāhana provinces and was firmly entrenched there. Kaniṣka was perhaps trying to penetrate from the east. Before the end of his reign, Gautamīputra not only reoccupied all the lost provinces, but also carried the war into Nahapāna's dominions and conquered some of his provinces like Kāṭhiāvāḍ and Kukura (south-

¹ Z.D.M.G., 1902, p. 602.

² Sivasvāmi is another variation of this name. Sivasvāti may also have stood for Siva Sātakarņi.

³ The Purāṇas assign him a period of 21 years only; the postscript to Nāsik Inscription No. 10 is however dated in the 24th year of his reign. We may therefore presume that he ruled for 24 years.

east Răjputānā). He may, therefore, well claim to be the establisher CHAPTER 2. of the glory of the Sātavāhana dynasty, as he is actually described by his mother in her well-known record at Nāśik. Gautamīputra and its combined an attractive and majestic personality with rare personal courage and remarkable power of military leadership¹. How he reorganised his forces after their successive defeats in the earlier reigns, and how he reconquered provinces after provinces we do not know. Obviously he must have reconquered Central and Northern Mahārastra first and Konkan thereafter. Eastern and Western Maļva (Akara-Avanti) and south-east Rājputānā (Kukura) must have been then occupied. A Jain tradition records that the Satavahana forces used to invest Bharukacha, the capital of king Naravahana (obviously Nahapāna) every year for a long time, but without success. It is obvious that the struggle between the two dynasties was a long and protracted one and seems to have lasted for the greater part of the reign of Gautamiputra. Each side tried to weaken the other by diverting the ships to its main port-Kalyan in the case of the Sātavāhanas and Broach in the case of Nahapāna. Eventually not only was Nahapāna overthrown, but his whole Kşaharāta family was uprooted2. Apparently there were some Saka and Parthian feudatories of Nahapana in Kathiavad; they shared the same fates and that province was also annexed. Gautamiputra celebrated his memorable victory over Nahapāna by recalling his silver currency and overstamping it with his own symbols and legend. A large hoard of such coins was found at logathembi near Nāśik in 1907.

The precise extent of Gautamiputra's entire dominion is not easy to determine. The question whether his mother's inscription describes his entire dominion or names only the provinces he had conquered is hotly debated. That all the provinces of the kingdom are not mentioned would be clear from the circumstance that southern Mahārāstra, and Karnāṭaka which undoubtedly formed part of Gautamīputra's kingdom are omitted from the list. The provinces mentioned are probably the important ones in the kingdom of Gautamiputra: they included Aśmaka (district watered by the lower Godavari), Mūlaka (Paithan district), Vidarbha (Berār), Akara and Avanti (Māļvā), Kukura (south-eastern Rajputānā), Suratha (Kāthiāvād) and Aparanta (Konkan). That Gautamīputra's empire extended much further to the south and the east is shown by the inclusion of the mountain Siritana (Sristana or Srisaila in Kurnool district) and mountain Mahendra which was situated between the Krsnā and the Godāvarī. The inclusion of Mahendra mountain and Asmaka would show that Andhradeśa formed an integral part of the empire. We have shown already how it was conquered as early as 75 B.C. during the reign of Satakarni II.

Feudatories. KINGS OF THE DYNASTY. Gautamīputra Satakarni c. 86-110 A.D.

¹ Cf. Patipunnacandamandalasasirikapiyadasanasa varavāranavikamacāruvikamasa aparimitam anekasamarāvajita-ripu-saghasa, ... ekasūrasa Nāśik Iscr. No. 2

² Khaharatavansa-niravase sakarasa.

⁸ Saka-Yavana-Pallava-nisudanasa. It is doubtful whether there were also Some Yavana principalities in the Deccan or Central India which Gautamiputra could have crushed. The mention of Yavanas is probably conventional.

CHAPTER 2.

Sātavāhana Empire and its
Feudatories,
Kings of the Dynasty.
Gautamīputra
Sātakarņi.
c. 86-110 A.D.

The view that it was conquered only in the days of the next king Vāśiṣṭhīputra Pulumāvī, seems untenable. The non-discovery of the coins of Gautamīputra in that province is purely accidental. The description of Gautamīputra as one whose draft animals had drunk water of the three oceans² would also suggest that Andhradeśa was included in his kingdom.

The exact southern extent of the kingdom of Gautamīputra is not easy to determine. Ptolemy mentions as the contemporaries of Polemaios (Pulumāvī, the successor of Gautamīputra), Baleokuros of Hippokoura, Kerolothros (Keralaputra) of Karoura (Karur) and Pandion of Modoura (Madurā). It is doubtful whether Pulumāvī had made any fresh conquests in the south. Srīstana hill in Kurnool district is expressly included in Gautamīputra's dominion. It may have included part of the Coromandal coast. But the territories to the south and south-west of Mysore were excluded from it.

The prosperity and stability of the reign of Gautamīputra is fairly reflected in his coinage³. When he exterminated the Kṣaharāta family, he recalled the silver currency of Nahapāṇa and counterstruck it with the legend giving his name; he also introduced the symbols of his dynasty on the coins like Caitya above the river, Ujjayinī symbol etc. Whether Gautamīputra imitated the example of Nahapāna and issued his own silver currency is difficult to state. The Jogathembī hoard, which contained more than 10,000 silver coins counterstruck by Gautamīputra, contained not a single silver coin which was his own issue. The coins in the hoard were in circulation for more than twenty-five years, and if they contained no silver coins of Gautamīputra, the presumption is that he issued none. We have however recently found a few rare silver coins, having the legend Gautamīputra only. They are most probably the issues of Gautamīputra Yajñaśrī Sātakarṇi.

Gautamīputra however issued a large number of potin coins with Elephant on the obverse and the Caitya on the reverse. In the Tarhāļā hoard of about 1,200 decipherable coins, 573 were of Gautamīputra Sātakarņi. The attribution of large round potin coins with Elephant on the obverse and Tree with large leaves on the reverse to Gautamīputra is doubtful, as there is no full and clear legend upon them. The term Gautamī is there on these coins, but they could as well have been issued by Gautamīputra Yajñaśrī Sātakarņi who also had occupied southern Gujarāt. It is now definitely proved that these coins were circulating in Gujarāt⁵. It is therefore clear that during their short occupation of this province, the Sātavāhanas had issued their own currency for the use of their new subjects.

¹ [As a matter of fact, some coins of Gautamīputra have been found in Andhra.—V.V.M.]

Tisamudtoyapīta-vahanasa,

³ D. R. Bhandarkar held that Gautamīputra Sātakarni was himself defeated by Rudradāman, I.A., 1918, p. 154. This view presupposes the joint rule of the father and the son, which is very improbable. About the identity of the king defeated by Rudradāman, see Chapter VI.

A See J.N.S.L., VIII, p. III. For a contrary view, see Ibid., IX p. 93, X, p. 23.

⁵ J.N.S.I., XII, p. 26.

We shall now discuss a number of incidental problems connected with Gautamīputra. R. G. and D. R. Bhandarkar have argued that Gautamīputra Sātakarņi and his son Vāsisthīputra Puļumāvī were Sātavāhana Empire ruling conjointly. This theory is untenable. In Nāśik inscription No. 5 inscribed in the 24th year of Gautamiputra, his mother is described as mahādevī and rājamātā; in Nāśik inscription No. 2, issued in the 19th year of her grandson Pulumavi's reign, she is in addition described as mahārājapitāmahī, obviously because her grandson was then on the throne. If we assume that the description of a lady as mahādevi and rājamātā justifies the inference that she was the wife and mother of a king at the same time, showing thereby that her husband and son were ruling jointly, will it not follow that the description of Balaśrī also as mahārāja-pitāmahī would show that her husband, son and grandson were ruling together at one and the same time? And yet the Bhandarkars do not accept this conclusion. The argument that Nāśik inscription No. 10 issued in the 18th year of Gautamīputra's reign refers to a cave donated in the second year of Pulumavi in inscription No. 2, and thus shows that the two kings were ruling together at the end of the father's reign is also untenable. The inscription in question refers to an enlargement of the cave donated in the 18th year of Gautamiputra, which was carried out in the second year of the reign of Vāśisthīputra. It does not prove that the second year of Pulumavi was earlier than the 18th year of Gautamiputra. There is thus no ground to assume that Gautamiputra was ruling with his son. A king named Gautamīputra Viļivāyakura is known from the Bow and Arrow type coins found in Kolhapur. It will be shown later that this prince cannot be identified with Gautamiputra Sātakarņi.

It is from the time of Gautamiputra Sātakarni that we notice inscriptions giving metronymics to many of Satavahana kings. It has been argued that this was due to matrilinear succession, the crown passing in the Sātavāhana dynasty, not to u ruler's son but to his sister's son. In several cases, however, the Puranas expressly state that the successor was the son of the predecessor. Gautamiputra Satakarni himself was succeeded by his own son and not his sister's son. There is in fact not a single known case in the Satavahana family of a sister's son succeeding the predecessor.

The custom of giving the metronymic was popular in Kauśāmbī, Central India, Mahārāstra and the Eastern Deccan from c. 100 B.C. to c. 300 A.D. Not only the kings but also the commoners are seen following it. It may be probably due to polygamy. Thus Ajātaśatru was called Vaidehīputra to indicate that he was the son of a Vaidehī princess, and not of a Kosala one, both of whom were among his father's spouses. It is also possible that the custom of mentioning the gotra of the mother may have originated in families where not only the father's but also the maternal uncle's gotra was avoided in selecting bride or bridegroom as is the case with the Yajurvedī Brāhmaņas of Mahārāstra even today. It is however not yet possible to give any convincing reason for the adoption of this nomenclature

CHAPTER 2.

Feudatories. KINGS OF THE DYNASTY. Gautamīputra Sātakarņi c. 86-110 A.D.

CHAPTER 2. Sātavāhana Empire and its Feudatories.

KINGS OF THE DYNASTY. Cautamīputra Satakarni c. 86-110 A.D.

Väsisthiputra Pulumāvi c. 110-138 A.D. by a number of families during the centuries preceding and following the Christian era. The custom in a restricted sense goes back to the Vedic age. We find Kausikīputras and Kautsīputras mentioned in the Vedic literature. But why it died down soon after the beginning of the Gupta age, is a mystery.

Gautamiputra died after a reign of about 24 years in c. 110 A.D. He was the greatest ruler among the Sātavāhanas and had the reputation of being a just and efficient ruler also. It is interesting to note that he owes the recognition of his place in history to his devotion to his mother. The latter had the misfortune to survive her son, and records his glorious achievements in a eulogy which she had got inscribed in a cave which she had jointly dedicated with her son. Had not this eulogy been composed, we could hardly have known much about the achievements of this distinguished ruler.

Gautamīputra was succeeded by Vāśiṣṭhīputra Puļumāvi in c. 110 A.D. Purānas expressly describe him as Gautamīputra's son and inscriptions confirm this information. The Puranic statement that he ruled for 28 years is rendered probable by one of his inscriptions being dated in his 24th year. We may, therefore, place his reign from c. 110 to 138 A.D. He is identical with king Polemaios of Baithana mentioned by Ptolemy and was the contemporary of Tiastenes or Castana of Ujjayini who ruled from c. 115 A.D. to 125 A.D., as will be shown in Chapter VI.

Rapson has advanced the view that king Sātakarņi, the overlord of the Deccan, who is claimed to have been defeated by Rudradaman twice before the year 150 A.D., should be identified with Vāśisthīputra Pulumāvī. He further identifies this ruler with, Vāśiṣṭhīputra Šrī Sātakarni of the Kānherī inscription, who was the son-in-law of a daughter of Mahākṣatrapa Rudradāman². There are almost unsurmountable difficulties in accepting this view. It is difficult to believe that Rudradaman would have comitted the mistake of misnaming the king, who was his near relation and whom he had defeated twice. How could he have confounded a Satakarni with a Pulumavi who ascended the throne in c. 110 A.D. It is not very likely that Pulumāvī could have married a grand-daughter of his contemporary Castana. In the Nāśik praśasti (eulogy) of his grandmother, issued in his 19th regnal year, there is nothing to suggest that the extensive conquests of her son had already evaporated before the 19th year of her grandson's reign³. The silence of the record about the achieve-

² B.M.C.A.K., Introduction pp. xxxviii.

¹ Avipana-mātu-susūsākasa. Rapson thinks that in the Post-script of Naśik inscription dated in the 24th year of Gautamiputra's reign, the queen mother is associated with him probably because she was taking an active part in the administration owing to her son's failing health. This does not seem probable. If Gautamiputra was rather too old to administer the kingdom unaided, the case of his mother might have been worse. The association of the mother must obviously have been due to the charity in question being sanctioned at her

⁸ Rapson thinks that Pulumavi had been already defeated before the 19th year of his reign because the territorial titles which Gautamiputra won by this conquests are not seen inherited by him. The construction of the prasasti, however, did not make it possible to again describe Vāsiṣṭhīputra as the ruler of the provinces, ruled over by his father.

ments of Pulumāvī is obviously due to its express purpose being to eulogise Gautamīputra who was associated with the original dedica-Sātavāhaṇa Empire tion of the cave. Rudradaman claims to have wrested Konkan from the Satavahanas; we have got some records of Vasisthīputra at Känheri, which was certainly included in it. We have a large number of inscriptions of Pulumāvī at Nāśik and Kārlī, and none of them suggests that he had been defeated.

There are serious chronological difficulties in assuming that Gautamiputra continued to rule down to c. 130 A.D. and that his son was defeated by Rudradaman. These will be indicated in Chapter VI. In order to overcome them, R.G. Bhandarkar and D.R. Bhandarkar assumed that the father and the son were ruling together. We have however, already shown above how this theory of joint rule is untenable.

Political events in the reign of Pulumāvī are shrouded in mystery. Castana was sent down from the north to reconquer the Deccan for the Scythians. From his outpost at Ajmer, he conquered Ujjayini and then proceeded to occupy Cutch and Northern Gujarāt. Vāsisthīputra Puļumāvī reconciled himself to the loss of Mālvā but decided to oppose any further expansion. In the meanwhile Castana died and was succeeded by his son Jayadaman. It seems very probable that towards the end of his reign, Pulumavi defeated Jayadāman and reduced him to the status of a mere Kşatrapa¹. It is not improbable that the marriage of a daughter of Rudradaman with his younger brother Vāśiṣṭhīputra Sātakarņi was dictated on the battle-field by Pulumāvī.

The discovery of the coins of Pulumavi in Andhra country and of an inscription of his at Amravati afford clear evidence of his holding a firm sway over that province. Several scholars have argued that it was Pulumāvī, who for the first time conquered Andhra province2. But we have already shown above how it is very likely that the province was annexed to the Satavahana kingdom in the reign of Apilaka and Meghasväti by the middle of the 1st century B.C., if not even earlier. As shown in the last section there is no doubt that Gautamīputra was ruling over it. It was once argued that Puļumāvi's sway extended over Coromandal coast also8. The coins with the motif of ship with two masts found near Coromandal coast, which were once doubtfully attributed to Pulumāvī, have now been proved to be the issues of Śrī Yajña Sātakarņi4. A record of Puļumāvi has been found in Bellary district of Madras State. But whether he is this ruler or the last king of the dynasty, it is difficult to decide.

CHAPTER 2.

and its Feudatories_ KINGS OF THE DYNASTY. Väšisthīputra Pulumāvi c. 110-138 A.D.

¹ The other alternative is to hold that Jayadaman is seen using the lower title Ksatrapa on the coins, because he predeceased his father Castana. Chapter VI.

² J.B.B.R.A.S., N.S.I., pp. 10-11; Early History of Andhra Country, pp. 62-63.

 ⁸ B.M.C.A.K., pp. xxxix.
 4 J.N.S.I., Vol. III, pp. 43 f.

CHAPTER 2.

Sātavāhana Empire
and its
Feudatories,
Kings of the

Kings of the Dynasty, Vasisthīputra Puļumāvi c. 110-138 A.D. The record does not give the characteristic epithet of Pulumāvi to him, viz. Vāśiṣṭhīputra. On the other hand it is dated in the eighth year of the king's reign, whereas the Purāṇas state that the last king Pulomā ruled for seven years only. Whether the record belongs to Vāśiṣṭhīputra Pulumāvī or not, there can be no doubt that his dominions included the ceded district of the Madras State.

The belief long entertained by scholars that Vāśiṣṭhīputra Pulumāvī was the king crushed by Rudradāman has prevented the proper appreciation of his career and achievements. It was no doubt true that he could not retain trans-Narmadā territories conquered by his father. But it must be admitted that very few Deccan states have succeeded in doing so in Indian history. There is no doubt that Pulumāvi continued to hold northern Mahārāṣṭra and southern Gujarāt. It appears that he succeeded in inflicting a crushing defeat if not on Caṣṭana at least on his son Jayadāman. A portrait silver coin of his discovered in 1952 shows that his features showed an aquiline nose and grim determination. He was a worthy successor of his father. He continued the toleration policy of his dynasty; we find him making several donations to Buddhist establishments, though he himself was an orthodox Hindu.

Sivaśrī Sātakarņi c. 138-145 A.D.

According to the Purāṇas Vāśiṣṭhīputra Puļumāvi was succeeded by Sivaśrī Sātakarṇī, who is credited with a short reign of seven years. Purāṇas do not give the metronymic in any case; it would therefore appear very probable that this Sivaśrī Sātakarṇi is identical with Vāśiṣṭhīputra Sātakarṇi of the Kānherī record who had married daughter of king Rudradāman. We may well infer from the common epithet Vāśiṣṭhīputra that Vāśiṣṭhīputra Puļumāvī and Vāsiṣṭhīputra Sātakarṇi were uterine brothers; some weight is lent to this view by the circumstance of [Vāśiṣṭhīputra] Sivaśrī Sātakarṇi having short reign of 7 years only. He had succeeded a brother who had a long reign of 28 years, and so his own reign was naturally not long. Purāṇas do not give the relationship between these two rulers. King Srī Sivamaka Sāta of the Amrāvatī record may perhaps be identical with this ruler.

Vāśiṣṭhīputra Śiva Śrī Sātakarni was the son-in-law of the Śaka King Rudradāman who ascended the throne in c. 140 A.D. The long standing rivalry between the two houses may have been probably kept under check for some time by this circumstance.

It appears that some Saka chiefs entered the service of the Sātavāhanas as their generals and were granted the feudatory status with the right to issue coins. The coins of ■ Saka king named Māna who was the son of Bharadvāja have recently come to light¹. His family was ruling in south Hyderābād.

¹ J.N.S.I., VII, p. 90; J.N.S.I. XI, p. 59.

The marriage of Väśiṣṭhīputra Sātakarņi with the Saka princess had curious numismatic consequence. The son-in-law took a fancy for the Kṣatrapa coinage and issued some silver pieces, having the bust of the king on the obverse as on the Saka coins. One such coin KINGS OF THE of this ruler, existing in the Prince of Wales Museum collection in Bombay, has been recently published¹.

CHAPTER 2.

DYNASTY. Sīvasrī Sātakarņi c. 138 to 145 A.D.

Numismatic and epigraphical evidence shows that this ruler was ruling over most of the Satavahana empire. The discovery of his record at Känheri shows that he held Konkan. The Tarhālā hoard, which contained 32 coins of this ruler, proves that he was holding sway over Berär. The lead coins with the legend Väsisthīputra Siva Srī Sātakarni found in Andhra country attest to his rule over it.

This king ruled down to 145 A.D. and it does not appear that Rudradāman launched any attack on him. The Junāgad inscription describes the Satavahana king defeated as not a distant relation and surely that is not the phraseology to be used for a son-in-law.

Purānas mention Sivaskanda Sātakarņi as the next ruler. He was the son of his predecessor Sivaśrī Sātakarni, as stated in the Purāņas. Sivaskanda Sātakarņi may have been abridged into Skanda Sātakarņi, which in Prakrt would appear as Khada Satakarni. The present ruler may thus be identical with king Khada Sātakarņi, 23 of whose coins were found in Tarhāļā hoard2. On some coins in Andhra districts we have the name of the king as Väsisthiputra Srī Canda-Sātakarni. It is not unlikely that the issuer of these coins may also be identical with the present ruler. Skanda can also become Canda in Prākrt. Letters ca and kha are undistinguishable at this period and ca on the coins of Andhradesa can also stand for Kha. We therefore tentatively suggest the identity of Siva Khada Sātakarņi with Srī Canda Sātakarņi. Rapson has suggested that Vāśiṣṭhīputra Sīva Canda (=Sivaskanda) Sātakarņi may have been a brother of Vāśiṣṭhīputra Puļumāvī, as suggested by common metronymic. But there is nothing against a nephew of Vāśisthīputra Puļumāvī having married a bride of Vāsistha gotra like his uncle.

Sivaskanda Sātakarni. 145-175 A.D.

King Sātakarņi, defeated twice by Rudradāman I before 150 A.D., was most probably Sivaskanda Satakarni. Polygamy was common among kings and therefore Sivaskanda Sātakarni may well have been a son of Siva Śrī Sātakarņi, but born of a queen other than the Saka princess. He would thus be a step son of Rudradaman's daughter and the Junagad record may well describe him as not distantly related with the Saka conquerer. Rapson has assumed that the king

¹ A king named Rudra Satakarni is known from some coins found in Andhradeśa, B.M.C.A.K. pp. 46-7. The name does not occur in the Puranic list and it is not impossible that he may be identical with Siva Sri Satakarni, Siva and Rudra are synonyms.

² J.N.S.I. II. p. 83.

CHAPTER 2.

Sătavāhana Empire and its Feudatories.

KINGS OF THE

d its Feudatories
Kings OF THE
DYNASTY.
Sivaskanda
Sätakarni
145-175 A.D.

defeated was Vāśiṣṭhīputra Puļumāvī who was Rudradāman's son-in-law, but we have already shown how this suggestion is untenable. All the known facts of history are very well explained by assuming that it was Śivaskanda Sātakarṇi who was defeated by Rudradāman. The defeated ruler is described as a Sātakarṇi and Śivaskanda Sātakarṇi had that name. He is shown above to be a contemporary of Rudradāman. He was most probably his daughter's step son, and is therefore naturally described as a not-distant relation.

The Sătavāhanas had probably lost Māļvā and Northern Gujarāt earlier. As a result of the two defeats suffered now, they lost Kāthiāvād and Northern Konkan. Their sway over Mahārāṣṭra, Berār and Āndhra country was not affected by these defeats. Sivaskanda Sātakarṇi is represented by 23 coins in the Tarhāļā hoard and a large number of his coins are found in Āndhra country.

Purāṇas do not give the duration of the rule of Sivaskanda Sātakarṇi, and it is not therefore easy to determine it. One Ms. of the Vāyupurāṇa, however, omits king Sivaśrī Sātakarṇi and mentions a Sātakarṇi as the immediate successor of Vāśiṣthīputra Pulumāvi and credits him with a long reign of 29 years. We have therefore assumed that this ruler is identical with Sivaskanda Sātakarṇi and assigned him a reign of 29 years. This however is a pure hypothesis, to be proved or disproved by later discoveries.

One of the Kānherī records is dated in the 13th year of a king named Vāśiṣthīputra Chatarapaṇa Sātakarṇi. It is clear that the ruler belonged to the Satavahana dynasty but his identity is difficult to determine. The earlier view that he is to be identified with the father or son of Yajña Śrī Sātakarni is no longer tenable; for it is now clear that the legend does not at all contain the name of Chatarapana. The identity of the ruler would be difficult to determine until the meaning of the mysterious term Chatarapana is known. If however our assumption that Sivaskanda Satakarni ruled for about 29 years is tenable, it is not unlikely that he may be identical with the king Vāśiṣṭhīputra Chatarapaṇa Sātakarṇi of the Kānherī record. We have shown above how it is quite likely that this ruler may have had the epithet of Vāśiṣṭhīputra. The ruler of the Kānherī record cannot be identified with Gautamīputra Sātakarņi and Yajñaśrī Sătakarni, because they were both Gautamīputras. He cannot be identified with Väsisthīputra Puļumāvi, because he a Sătakarni. He therefore may be tentatively identified with Vāsisthīputra Sivasrī Sātakarņi.

The reason why we have credited this ruler with a long reign of 29 years may be indicated here. His successor Gautamiputra Yajña Srī Sātakarņi is known to have wrested some of the lost provinces from the Sakas. There was an internecine war in the Saka dynasty from c. 181 to 196 A.D. It is likely that this struggle rendered the conquests of Yajña Śrī possible. We have therefore to place his reign between c. 174 and 203 and thus prolong that of his predecessor to c. 174 A.D.

CHAPTER 2.

KINGS OF THE DYNASTY.

Gautamiputra Yajña-Śrī

Satakarni, c. 174-203 A.D.

Sivaskanda Sātakarņi was succeeded by Gautamīputra Yajña Srī Sātakarņi as the Purānas do not mention the relationship between the two rulers. Yajñaśri's inscription found at Chinna Gajam is dated and its Feudatories in his 27th year; we may therefore well presume that he ruled for 29 years, as stated in most of the Purāṇas¹.

Yajñaśrī Sātakami was an able and ambitious prince; he considerably retrieved the fallen fortunes of his dynasty. A war of succession arose between Saka Kṣatrapa Jīvadāman and his uncle Rudrasimha in c. 180 A.D. Yajñaśri took its full advantage and attacked the Sakas from the south. There is no doubt that he wrested back northern Konkan from them, for two records of this ruler are found at Kanheri, giving endowments to the monks staying there. One of these is dated in his 16th year; this would show that the reconquest of Northern Konkan took place by c. 190 A.D. One silver coin of Gautamīputra Yajāaśrī Sātakarņi was found in Kāthiāvād and another in Besnagar. But it would be hazardous to conclude from this that he had succeeded in reconquering Kāthiāvād and Māļvā. The solitary coins may have travelled there through commerce.

This king continued to rule over the territory from Konkan to Andhradeśa. His inscriptions have been found at Känheri in Konkan, Nāśik in Mahārāṣṭra and Chinna Gajam in Āndhradeśa. In the Canda and Tarhala hoards he is richly represented, showing that he had a long and prosperous reign. In Andhradesa, his coins are found in large numbers at several places. The ship-mast type of coins which were for a long time attributed to Vāśiṣṭhīputra Puļumāvī, have now been shown to be the issues of Gautamīputra Śrī Yajña Sātakarni. The findspot of these coins would suggest, but not prove, the extension of the Satavahana power to Coromandal Coast. The Sātavāhana empire under this rule extended practically over the whole of Deccan to the south of the Narmada and the north of the Pennār river3.

Our knowledge of the Sătavāhana history is very meagre subsequent to the death of Gautamīputra Yajñaśrī Sātakarņi. According to the Vijaya Sātakarņi. Puranas, three kings mentioned above succeeded him in the stated order. Of these the second is stated by the Purānas to be the son of the first, but his relationship to the third ruler is not given. He is on the other hand described as some one among the Andhras. He may have been a distant scion who usurped the throne. Bhandarkar had thought that the rule of the last rulers was confined only to the Eastern

Candra Srī Satakarni, Pulumāvī III.

¹ Some Mss. assign him a reign of 19 years only. One Matsya Ms, changes the tense into the present and says Nava varṣāṇi Yajñaśrih kurute Satakarnikah. Pargiter, Dynasties of the Kali Age p. 42. This suggests that the Purana was written in the 9th year of this monarch's reign.

² The Tarhālā hoard of about 1225 coins had 250 issued by this ruler,

³ A silver coin of this ruler was found in 1951 near Jabalpur; it may lend some weight to the view that the upper Narmada valley was also included in his empire. We cannot however exclude the possibility of the coin having gone there with a pilgrim or a trader, J.N.S.I., XIII, p. 46.

CHAPTER 2.

Sātavāhana Empire and its Feudatories
Kings of the Dynasty.

Vijaya Sātakarņi.
Candra Srī
Sātakarņi.

Pulumāvī III.

Deccan, where the coins of Candra Śrī¹ have been found. But four coins of Vijaya and Pulumāvī each were later found in the Tarhāļā hoard, suggesting that the dominion included both Āndhradeśa and Berār and the adjoining territories.

How the mighty Sātavāhana empire dissolved in less than thirty years after the death of Yajāaśrī Sātakarņi is not clearly known. We do not get any records of the successors of Yājāa Śrī in Końkan and northern Mahārāṣṭra. On the other hand we begin to get inscriptions of the Ābhīras there towards the end of the 2nd century. These Ābhīras were building their power carefully. We find them playing the part of the king-makers at the Kṣatrapa court at c. 175 A.D. It appears that they eventually became strong enough to oust the later Sātavāhana rulers from Northern and Central Mahārāṣṭra.



¹ The Kaliyugarājavrttānta states that Āndhra kings Candraśrī and Pulomāh were in the occupation of Pātaliputra just before the accession of Candragupta I in c 300 A.D. There was a difference of at least 75 years between Pulomā III and Candragupta I and so they could not have been contemporaries. The Sātavāhanas are not at all likely to have held Pātaliputra towards the fag end of their dynasty, when their power had become extremely feeble. The Kaliyugarājavrttānta is more probably a late forgery. See J.N.S.I., VI p. 34.

CHAPTER 3

THE SUCCESSORS OF THE SATAVAHANAS IN MAHARASTRA*

CHAPTER 8

the Sătavăhanas,

AFTER THE BREAK-UP OF THE SATAVAHANA EMPIRE ABOUT THE MIDDLE OF THIRD CENTURY A. D. several small kingdoms arose in the different The Successors of parts of Mahārāṣṭra. The Purāṇas mention the Andhras, Ābhīras, Gardabhins, Yavanas, Tuṣāras, Śakas, Muruṇḍas, Maunas and Kilakilas as the successors of the Andhras (i.e. the Sātavāhanas)1. This statement has not been fully borne out by the records discovered so far; but there is no doubt that some of these families were ruling in the Deccan after the downfall of the Satavahanas. That the Abhīras rose to power in Northern Mahārāstra is shown by the inscription of the Abhira Rajan Isvarasena in a cave at Nāsika. The names of some other Abhira kings are known from inscriptional and literary records. The Andhras were evidently identical with the Sriparvatiyas mentioned by the Puranas in the same contest later on. They were undoubtedly the kings of the Ikşvāku family whose records have been found in the lower Kṛṣṇā valley at Nagarjunīkonda and neighbouring places3. 'The Sakas were probably the descendants of the Mahāsenāpati Māna, who declared his independence in the country of Māhişaka4. No records of the remaining dynasties such as the Gardabhins, Yavanas, Tusāras, Murundas, Maunas and Kilakilas have yet been discovered. We have indeed some references to the king Vikramāditya of the Gardabhilla family in late literary works, but he belongs to a much earlier age, viz., the first century B.C., in which, however, his existence is rendered doubtful on account of the farspread Empire of the Sātavāhanas. One other family, on the other hand, which the Puranas mention as having risen to power after the Kilakilas is known from inscriptions and Sanskrt and Präkrt literature. This is the illustrious family of the Väkätakas, whose founder Vindhyasakti, the Purāṇas tell us, succeeded the Kilakilas or Kolikilas. The Purănic account of the successors of the Sātavāhanas cannot therefore be accepted in toto, but to a certain extent it is corroborated by the

^{*} This chapter is contributed by Mahamahopadhyaya Dr. V. V. Mirashi, M. A D. Litt., University of Nagpur.

^{**} D.K.A., p. 45 f.

2 Insor. No. 1, C.I.I., Vol. IV.

** Ep. Ind., Vol. XX, p. 1 f.

4 Mirashi, Studies in Indology, Vol. II, pp. 98 f. D.K.A., p. 48.

The Successors of the Sātavāhanas.

ABHIRAS

existing sources. We are here concerned only with the dynasties that were ruling in Mahārāṣṭra.

The Abhīras were an ancient race whose original habitat lay in the north-western parts of India. The Mahābhārata mentions three divisions of the Abhīras, viz., those who lived on the bank of the Sarasvatī, fishermen and mountaineers1. In this part of the country lay the holy place called vinasana, where the sacred river Sarasvatī is said to have gone underground through hatred of the Sudras and Abhiras living there. Elsewhere, the Punjab is stated to be the strong-hold of the Abhiras. It was in that part of the country that Arjuna was attacked by the Abhīras as he was escorting the wives of the Yādavas after the death of Krsna. These and other references indicate that the part of the Punjab between the Satlaj and the Yamunā was their home-land. Like some other tribes of the Punjab, they appear to have spread from there to the east and the south. Ptolemy places their country Abiria in Central Sindh. The Brhatsamhitā of Varāhamihira mentions the Ābhīra and Konkan countries among the Janapadas of the South. Some Abhiras occupied influential positions in Saurāstra in the early centuries of the Christian era. Puranas they are classed with the people of the southern countries like Mahārāşţra, Vidarbha, Aśmaka and Kuntala. Gradually Khāndeś became their stronghold. Even now the Abhīras or Ahīrs predominate in that part of Maharaştra.

The Abhīras generally followed the profession of cowherds. They were consequently associated with the Śūdras. Patañjali discusses in his Mahābhāṣya whether Ābhīra was a sub-caste of the Śūdras and concludes that it is a different caste. In the Kāśikā, a commentary on Pāṇini's Aṣṭādhyāyī, the Ābhīras are called Mahāśūdras or superior Śūdras. A Mahāśūdra was one of the functionaries at the coronation ceremony of kings. Commentators explain the term Mahāśūdra as 'a Commander of the Śūdra army'. This shows that the Ābhīras from very early times occupied positions of power and vantage at the royal courts.

Like other tribes of the Punjab, the Ābhīras had a republican form of government. In the Allāhābād stone pillar inscription of the Gupta Emperor Samudragupta they are mentioned together with such other well-known republican tribes of the North as the Mālavas and the Ārjunāyanas. Unlike these latter tribes, however, they are not known to have struck any coins in the name of their gaṇa or republic.

Some Ābhīras are known to have occupied high political position under the Western Kṣatrapas. An inscription found in Saurāṣṭra mentions an Ābhīra General named Rudrabhūti who was serving under the Western Kṣatrapa Rudrasimha. According to the Purāṇas, the Ābhīras who rose to power after the Āndhras (i.e. the Sātavāhanas) were Āndhrabhṛtyas, i.e., servants of the Āndhras. They were therefore occupying influential positions in the State. One of them, Iśvarasena, usurped power after the downfall of the last Sātavāhana king Puļumāvī IV.

¹For this and other references see C.I.I., Vol. IV, p. xxxi f.

THE ABHIRAS c & sc

Very few inscriptions of the Abhīras have been discovered so far. The earliest of them is in a cave at Nāśik¹. It is dated in the ninth The Successors of regnal year of the Abhīra king Iśvarasena, the son of the Abhīra the Sātavāhanas. Sivadatta. Iśvarasena, following the custom of the Sātavāhanas, called himself Māḍharīputra, i.e., son of a lady who belonged to the Māḍhara gotra. Like the earlier Kṣatrapas and the Sātavāhanas, he bore the simple title Rajan, but there is no doubt that he was independent as he mentions no suzerain. His father Sivadatta bears no royal title, which shows that Iśvarasena himself was the founder of the Abhīra dynasty.

Isvarasena founded an era which continued in use for nearly a thousand years and became known in later times as the Kalacuri or Cedi Sainvat2; for it was then used by the Kalacuri kings of Tripuri, who were ruling over the Cedi country. It was started in A.D. 249-50. So its epoch for a current year is A.D. 248-49 and that for an expired year is A.D. 249-50. Its year began on Kārttika śukla pratipadā. Its months were amānta in Mahārāṣṭra and Gujarāt and pūrņimānta in Madhya Pradeśa including Chattisgadh.

The Nāśik cave inscription is the only known record of the reign of the Abhīra king Iśvarasena. He did not strike any coins. At least none have been discovered so far. So it is not possible to say how far his rule extended. But judging by the spread of his era which must have been consequent on his conquests, his kingdom probably comprised Gujarāt, Konkaņ and Western Mahārāṣṭra³.

According to the Purāṇas, ten Ābhīra kings ruled for sixty-seven years. The Puranas do not, however, mention any royal names. Vātsyāyana's Kāmasūtra mentions one Ābhīra Koṭṭarāja, who was murdered in another's house by a washerman at the instigation of his brother4. Yaśodhara, a commentator of the Kāmasūtra, states that he was ruling at Koṭṭa, but Koṭṭarāja was probably his personal name. He may have been one of the successors of Isvarasena.

Recently another Ābhīra king named Vasuṣeṇa has become known from an inscription discovered at Nāgārjunakoṇḍā. It is dated in the year 30, which is referred to the Abhīra era founded by Iśvarasena⁵. The date, therefore, corresponds to A.D. 279-80. It records the installation of the image of Aṣṭabhujasvāmin on Svetagiri.

¹ Inser. No. 1, C.I., Vol. IV,
² C.I.I., Vol. IV, p. xxii.
³ Ibid., Vol. IV, p. xxxiv.
⁴ Kâmasūtra (Kashiram Series), p. 260, C. I. I., Vol. IV, p. xxxiv, n. 1.
⁵ Ep. Ind. Vol. XXXIV pp. 197 f. This is, however, very doubtful.

The Successors of the Sätavähanas. THE ABURAS c & Sc

The period of sixty-seven years assigned by the Puranas to the rule of ten Ābhīra kings appears to be too short. Perhaps the expression sapta-şaşţi-śatān-īha stating the period of Ābhīra rule, which occurs in a manuscript of the Vāyupurāņa¹, is a mistake for sapta-ṣaṣṭim śatañ-ch-eha. In that case Ābhīra rule may have lasted for 167 years, i.e. till A.D. 416.

The Feudatories of the Abhīras,

Though the names of Abhīra kings have passed into oblivion, of their feudatories have become known those inscriptions discovered in Central India, Gujarāt and One of these was Iśvararāta, whose fragmentary copper-plate inscription was discovered some years ago at Kalachala near Choță Udaipur in Gujarăt2. Only the first plate of the grant has been found. It mentions Isvararata as meditating on the feet of a lord paramount (paramabhattāraka-pādānudhyāta). The were issued from Pracakāśa, which seems to be identical with Prakāśa on the Tāpī in North Khāndeśa. They record the grant of the village Kupikā, situated in the paṭṭa of Vankikā. The donated village cannot now be traced, but Vankika, the head-quarters of the territorial division in which it was situated, may be identical with Vankad, about 20 miles from Choță Udaipur. Isvararăta seems, therefore, to have been ruling over Central Gujarāt and some portion of North Khāndeśa.

The names of three other feudatories, viz., Mahārāja Svāmidāsa (Year 67), Mahārāja Bhuluṇḍa (Year 107) and Mahārāja Rudradāsa (Year 117), have become known from their copper-plate grants³. Those of the first two were discovered at Indore and so their dates were referred to the Gupta era when they were edited by R. C. Majumdar. But their close similarity to the third grant found at Sirpur in Khändeśa in respect of characters, phrascology and mode of dating leaves no doubt that they, like the latter grant, originally belonged to Khandesa. Their dates must therefore be referred to the Abhīra era and taken to correspond to A.D. 316-17, 356-57 and 366-67 respectively. All of them were issued from Valkha, which was evidently their capital. This place has not yet been definitely identified, but may be identical with Vāghlī, now a small village, about 6 miles north by east of Cāļisgānv in the Jalgānv District.

¹ D. K. A., p. 46, n. 37. ² C. I. I., Vol. IV, p. 603 f. ³ Ibid., Vol. IV, Inser. Nos. 2-4.

Svāmidāsa, Bhulunda and Rudradāsa, though they bear the title Mahārāja, describe themselves in their grants as parama-bhaṭṭārakapādānudhyāta, i.e., 'meditating on the feet of the lord paramount'. The Successors of They were therefore feudatories of the contemporary Abhira Emperors.

CHAPTER 3.

One other feudatory family ruling in Khāndeśa, which had similar names ending in dāsa1, has become known from an inscription in Cave XVII at Ajintha. It gives the following genealogy:-



The elder son of Kṛṣhṇadâsa whose name is lost became overwhelmed with sorrow at the premature death of his younger brother Ravisāmba. He began to lead a pious life and got the Vihāra cave XVII and the Caitya Cave XIX excavated at Ajintha for the use of the Buddhist Bhiksus during the reign of Harisena, 'the moon among the princes'. This Harisena was the last known Vākātaka king who was ruling in circa A.D. 475-500. The elder son of Kṛṣṇadāsa was thus a feudatory of the Vākāṭakas. He was preceded by ten princes, the first of whom must have been ruling in circa A.D. 275-300. In its earlier period the family evidently owed allegiance to the Abhiras, but later on it seems to have transferred it to the Vākātakas.

The Abhīras seem to have soon extended their sway to Central India also. One of their feudatories in this part of the country was the Saka king Srīdharavarman, whose inscriptions have been found at Kānākhedā near Sāñcī² and at Eran in the Saugor district.³

SOME OTHER FEUDATORIES.

Inser. No. 27, C. I. I., Vol. V.
 Inser. No. 5, C. I. I., Vol. IV.
 Inser. No. 119, C. I. I., Vol. IV.

The Successors of the Satavahanas,

SOME OTHER FEUDATORIES

The former bears a date which has been variously read. The present writer has shown elsewhere that the correct reading of it appears to be the year 102, which, on the evidence of palaeography, must be referred to the Ābhīra era. It therefore corresponds to A.D. 351-52. The title Mahādanḍanāyaka which is prefixed to the name of Śrīdharavarman indicates that he began his career as a military officer of the contemporary Ābhīra king. Later, he seems to have risen to the status of a feudatory. As the power of the Ābhīras declined, he declared his independence and assumed the title Rājan and Mahākṣatrapa, which are noticed in his other inscription discovered at Eran.

The Eran inscription is incised on a pillar called *yaşti*, erected by Satyanāga, the Ārakṣika and Senāpati of the Saka king Śrīdharavarman as a memorial to the Naga soldiers who had laid down their lives in a battle fought at the adhisthana of Erikina (Eran). In this inscription Satyanāga, who hailed from Mahārāstra, expresses the hope that the yaşti, raised by the Nagas themselves, would inspire future generations to perform similar brave deeds; for it was a place where friends and foes met together in a spirit of service and reverence. Satyanaga's hope was fulfilled in later times; for another inscription on the same pillar has recorded that the brave king Goparaja, the ally of the Gupta Emperor Bhanugupta, died at the same place, fighting bravely against the enemy who was probably the Hūna king Toramāna and that his wife immolated herself on his funeral pyre. The aforementioned inscription of Srīdharavarman is also noteworthy as containing the earliest epigraphical reference to the name Mahārāstra.

Another feudatory of the Abhīras was Subandhu, who was ruling from Māhişmatī, modern Maheśvar in Madhya Pradeśa. Only two grants of this king have been discovered so far, one of them being from some place in the former Badwani State1 and the other from the famous Bagh Caves². The former bears the date 167, which in view of the close resemblance of the grant to those of the Mahārājas of Khāndeśa mentioned above in respect of characters, phraseology and royal sign manual, must be referred to the Abhira era. It is therefore equivalent to A.D. 416-17. Unlike the Mahārājas of Khandesa, Subandhu does not refer to any suzerain even in general terms, which shows that he had declared his independence. It is noteworthy that Abhīra rule ended just about this time according to the Puranas. Subandhu's kingdom which lay between the flourishing Gupta Empire north of the Narmada and the rising Traikūṭaka power in the south may have served as a buffer State. Subandhu ruled from Māhişmatī. His successors may have continued to hold the country until it was annexed by the Vākātaka king Harisena in the last quarter of the fifth century A.D.

¹ Inser. No. 6, C. I. I., Vol. IV.

² Inser. No. 7, C. I. I., Vol. IV.

The Traikūṭakas derived their name from Trikūṭa, the Three-peaked Mountain or the district in which it was situated. From Kālidāsa's reference to this mountain in the description of Raghu's digrijaya The Successors of the Satavahanas it was clear that it was situated in Aparanta or North Konkan, but The Trankutakas its exact location was uncertain for a long time. Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji identified it with Junnar in the Poona district, is encircled by three ranges of hills2. Rai Bahadur Hiralal proposed its identification with the Satpuda hills,3 but this is precluded by the fact that the inscriptions and coins of the Traikūṭakas have been found only in South Gujarāt, North Konkan and Mahārāṣṭra. The matter is now finally settled by the mention of the Purva-Trikūta-Visaya or the Eastern Trikūta district in the Anjaneri plates of the Hariscandriya King Bhogasakti4 which shows that Trikuta was the name of the range of hills bordering the Nāśik district on the west. A tax levied on the residents of that district was assigned for the worship of the god Bhogesvara whose temple was situated at Jayapura near Nāśik.

CHAPTER 3.

The names of the known Traikūtaka kings end in either datta or sena and thus resemble those of the Abhīras Sivadatta and his son Isvarasena mentioned in the Nāsik cave inscription. Bhagwanlal Indraji therefore thought that the Traikūţakas were identical with the Abhīras. He suggested that Abhīra was the racial and Traikūţaka the territorial designation of the dynasty. The Candravalli inscription of the Kadamba king Mayūraśarman⁵, which, on palaeographic grounds, can be referred to the beginning of the fourth century A.D., mentions Trekūţa (i.e. the Traikūţakas) separately from Ābhīra. It shows, therefore, that the two dynasties, though contemporary, were different. The Abhira was an imperial family to which the Traikūtaka owed allegiance. Khāndeśa was the stronghold of the Ābhīras as the Nāśik district was that of the Traikūtakas.

The Traikūtakas seem to have risen into prominence soon after the downfall of the Sātavāhanas, but we have no records of the family during the first two centuries of their rule. The first known Traikūtaka king is Mahārāja Indradatta, whose name is mentioned only in the legends of the coins of his son Mahārāja Dahrasena⁶. The coins of the Traikūṭakas are closely imitated from those of the Western Kşatrapas which were previously current in Mahārāstra. They have, on the obverse, the king's bust as on the Kşatrapa coins but without any date, while, on the reverse, they have the usual Kşatrapa symbols, the caitya, the sun and the moon inside a circularly written legend.

¹ Raghuvamija, Canto IV, v. 59.

² Bom. Gaz., Vol. I (Old ed.), Vol. I, Part i, p. 57.

³ A. B. O. R. I., Vol. IX, pp. 283-84.

⁴ Inser. No. 31, C. I. I., Vol. IV.

A. R., A. S. M., (1929), p. 50.

⁶ U. I. I., Vol. IV, p. clxxix f.

the Sātavāhanas. THE TRAIKUTAKAS

From inscriptions and coins we get the following genealogy of The Successors of the Traikūṭaka kings :-

Indradatta (son) Mahārāja Dahrasena (K. 207 = A.D. 456-57) (son) Mahārāja Vyāghrasena (K. 241 = A.D. 490-91).

As stated above, no records of the reign of the first king Indradatta have yet been found. He is known only from the coins of his son Dahrasena. These coins have been found at Daman and Kamrej in South Gujarāt, Karhāḍ in the Sātārā district and Kāzad, in the Indapur taluka of the Poona district. His copper-plate inscription found at Pārdī in the Surat district mentions his Asvamedha or horse-sacrifice, which shows that he had declared his independence after the downfall of the Imperial Abhūras. The Pārdī plates were issued from the king's victorious camp at Amraka and record the grant of a village in the Antar-Mandali visaya, which evidently included the territory on both the banks of the Mandalī or Mindholā river. Dahrasena was a worshipper of Visnu as he calls himself, parama-vaisnava on his coins and Bhagavat-pāda-karmakara in his copper-plate grant. His empire comprised southern Gujarat, Konkan and Northern Mahārāṣtra. He may have reigned from circa A.D. 440 to A.D. 456.

His son and successor Vyāghrasena is known from a copper-plate inscription found at Surat² and silver coins found at Kāzad and other places. The plates were issued from Aniruddhapura, which has not yet been satisfactorily identified. They record the grant of a village in the āhāra or territorial division of Ikṣarakī, which has been identified with Accharan, about 9 miles north of Surat. Like his father, Vyāghrasena was a devout worshipper of Viṣṇu. He ruled from circa A.D. 465 to A.D. 492.

One more inscription of the Traikūţakas, inscribed on a single copper plate, was found deposited inside a Buddhist Stūpa at Kanheri near Bombay³. It is dated in the year 245 (A.D. 494-95) and records the construction of a Caitya (i.e. Stūpa) which a pilgrim from Sindh dedicated to Sāradvatīputra (Sārīputra), a famous disciple of the Buddha. The inscription does not mention any king, but refers in general terms to the victorious reign of the Traikūtakas. The king ruling at the time must have been the successor of Vyaghrasena. About this time the Traikūṭaka kingdom was invaded by the mighty Vākāṭaka king, Hariṣeṇa. As in other cases, he did not probably annex the territory but was content with exacting a tribute. About fifty years thereafter the country was overrun by the Kalacuri king

Inser. No. 8, C. I. I., Vol. IV.
 Inser. No. 9, C. I. I., Vol. IV.
 Inser. No. 10, C. I. I., Vol. IV.

Kṛṣṇarāja or his father. Kṛṣṇarāja's coins have been found all over the territory which was previously under the rule of the Traikūṭakas. He therefore seems to have brought Northern Mahārāṣṭra and Konkan The Successors of under his rule by the middle of the sixth century A.D.

CHAPTER 3.

the Sătavăhanas. THE VAKATAKAS.

The Vākātakas occupy the same position of eminence in the ancient history of South India that the Guptas do in that of North India. At one time their empire extended from Malva in the North to the Tungabhadrā in the South and from the Arabian Sea in the west to the Bay of Bengal in the east. They were great patrons of art and literature. The liberal patronage which they extended to Sanskrt and Prākṛt poets made the Vaidarbhī and Vachchhomī rītis famous throughout the country. They themselves composed Prakrt kāvyas and Sanskrt and Prakrt subhāsitas which have evoked unstinted praise from poets and rhetoricians. Some of the most magnificent Vihāras and Caityas at Ajinthā were excavated and decorated by their ministers and feudatories. There is therefore no doubt that they exercised most profound influence on the culture and civilization of the Deccan.

Still the history and even the name of this illustrious dynasty had passed into oblivion. The Puranas no doubt mention Vindhyaśakti and his son Pravīra¹ (who is evidently identical with Pravarasena I), but they place the former after the Kilakilas or Kolikilas, who succeeded the Satavahanas. The Visnupurana states that these Kolikilas were Yavanas or Greeks. Dr. Bhau Daji thought that Vindhyaśakti also belonged to the same race and so he remarked in 1862 that "the Vākāṭakas were a dynasty of the Yayanas or Greeks who took the lead in the performance of Vedic sacrifices as well as in the execution of most substantial and costly works for the encouragement of Buddhism2". It is now accepted that Vindhyaśakti was a Brāhmaṇa of the Viṣṇuvṛddha gotra3. This well illustrates the great strides that research has made in the history of the Vākāṭakas during the last hundred years.

Even the period during which the Vākāṭakas flourished was long uncertain. All their records are dated in regnal years which afford no clue to their age. Their grants are written in box-headed characters which soon became stereotyped. Experts therefore differed widely in interpreting their palaeographic evidence. While Bühler placed the Vākātakas in the fifth century A.D.4, Kielhorn and Sukhtankar relegated them to the eighth century⁵. The latter estimate of their age appeared to be supported by the mention, in the Vākāṭaka grants, of Mahārājādhirāja Devagupta, the maternal grandfather of Vākātaka Prayarasena II, whom Fleet identified with

¹ D. K. A., pp. 48 and 50.

J. B. R. A. S., Vol. VII, p. 69 f.
 Inser. No. 3, C. I. I., Vol. V.
 A. S. W. I., Vol. IV, p. 119.
 Ep. Ind. Vol. III, p. 213 f.

The Successors of the Sātavāhanas.

VAKATAKAS.

Mahārājādhirāja Devagupta of Magadha¹, who flourished towards the close of the seventh century A.D. Bühler's of the age of the Vākāṭakas was, however, proved to be correct by the discovery, in 1912, of the Poona plates of Prabhāvatīguptā², which showed for the first time Prābhāvatīguptā, the chief queen of Vākāṭaka Rudrasena II and mother of the crown-prince Divakarasena, was the daughter of the illustrious Gupta king Candragupta II. Further progress in our knowledge of the history of the dynasty was made by the discovery, in 1939, of the Basim plates of Vindhyasakti II, which proved that the Vākātaka family branched off as early as the end of Pravarasena I's reign. The plates thus corroborated the statement in the Purāņas that Pravīra (i.e., Pravarasena I) had four sons, all of whom came to the throne. Two of these sons viz., Gautamīputra and Sarvasena have now become known from the records of their descendants; the names of the remaining two are still unknown. Still, the progress so far achieved in our knowledge of the history of the Vākātakas is not inconsiderable.

Chronology,

The chronology of the Vākātakas is still more or less conjectural and there are wide differences of opinion in regard to the interpretation of available evidence. Jayaswal's view that the Vākāṭaka king Vindhyaśakti was the founder of the so-called Kalacurī-Cedi era is untenable; for the Vākāṭakas themselves did not use it in dating their own records. Still, like the Abhīras, they may have risen to power in circa A.D. 250.4 We may tentatively assign a period of about twenty years to Vindhyaśakti's reign (A.D. 250 to 270). His son Prayarasena I is stated in the Purānas to have ruled for sixty years⁵. This does not appear improbable in view of his performance of four Aśvamedhas and several Vājapeya and other Śrauta sacrifices. He may therefore have ruled from about A.D. 270 to A.D. 330. The Väkätaka family branched off after the death of Pravarasena I. The Purānas tell us that Pravarasena I had four sons, all of whom founded separate kingdoms⁶. Only two of these have so far become known viz. one ruling from Nandivardhana near Nagpūr and the other from Vatsagulma, modern Bāśim in the Akolā district. As Pravarasena had a long reign of sixty years, his eldest son Gautamīputra predeceased him. He was therefore succeeded in the Nandivardhana branch by his grandson Rudrasena I. The latter may have ruled for about twenty years (A.D. 330-350). Vākāṭaka grants tell us that when his son Prthivisena I succeeded him, his treasure and army had been accumulating for a hundred years7. He may therefore have begun to reign in A.D. 350. He seems to have had a long reign; for he is said to have lived to see a succession of sons and grandsons. Besides, his son Rudrasena II was a junior contemporary of the Gupta Emperor Candragupta II (A.D. 380-413),

Ep. Ind, Vol. XVII, p. 13.
 Inser. No. 2, C. I. I, Vol. V.
 Inser. No. 23, C. I. I, Vol. V.
 History of Ind. a 150 A.D. 350 A.D. pp. 108 f.

⁵ D. K. A. p. 50.

⁶ Loc. cit .

⁷ See Inser. No. 3, C. I I., Vol. V.

whose daughter Prabhāvatīguptā was married to him. Prthivīseņa I may therefore have had a long reign of about fifty years (A.D. 350-400). The Successors of Rudrasena II, who succeeded him, had a short reign; for his wife Prabhāvatī was acting as a regent for his son Divākaramitra for thirteen THE VAKATAKAS. years at least1. Rudrasena II may therefore have ruled for about 5 years (circa A.D. 400-405). So far there is not much difference of opinion as regards the periods of rule of the Vākāṭaka kings.

R. C. Majumdar has tried to determine subsequent chronology as follows2:-

"The Rddhapur plates dated in the 19th regnal year of Pravarasena II describe the dowager queen Prabhavatīguptā as sāgravarşa-śata-diva-putra-pautrā. This passage means that Prabhāvatīguptā lived for more than a hundred years and had sons and grandsons. She appears to have survived her brother Kumāragupta, whose reign came to an end in A.D. 455. She was probably born about A.D. 365. She became a widow about A.D. 420, when she had three minor sons Divākarasena, Dāmodarasena and Pravarasena. She acted as regent for Divakarasena for thirteen years. As the 100th year of Prabhāvatīguptā fell before the 19th regnal year of Pravarasena II, working backwards, we get the following approximate years of accession of her three sons-Divākarasena A.D. 420, Dāmodarasena A.D. 435, and Pravarasena A.D. 450".

The main plank in the chronological structure raised Dr. Majumdar is the description of Prabhāvatīguptā in the Rddhapur plates as sāgravarsa-śata-diva-putra-pautrā, which he has altered into sāgra-varṣa-śata-jīva-putra-pautrā and translated as 'one who lived for a full hundred years and had sons and grandsons living at the time?. As the compound stands, it seems to connect the expression sagra-varşaśata-jīva with putra-pautra, the intended meaning being that Prabhāvatīguptā had sons and grandsons living a life of full hundred years. This is not of course to be understood literally. The intention is to express the wish that they would be long-lived, as when such adjectives as dirghāyu or āyusmat are used in the description of small children. The expression must therefore be taken to mean that Prabhavatīguptā had at the time sons and grandsons who, it was hoped, would be longlived. It does not refer to the long life of Prabhāvatīguptā at alla. To a widow like Prabhāvatīguptā a long life of a hundred years would be most distasteful. She is not likely to have boasted of it in her own grant.

Besides, Majumdar's interpretation of the expression in question would lead to an absurd position. Mujumdar supposes that the Vākātaka gueen had three sens, Divākarasena, Dāmodarasena and

CHAPTER 3.

the Satavahanas. Chronology,

¹ Inser. No. 2, C. I. I. Vol. V.

² J. R. A. S. B., VI. XII, p. 1 f.

³ To have living sons is regarded as a sign of good fortune and so the epithet fivaputra is often noticed in the description of women in literature and inscriptions. The preceding expression indicating long life must evidently be connected with fiva. For fivaputrā used in the description of women, see Rgveda, X, 36, 9; Mahābhārata, V, 144, 2; Rāmāyaṇa IV, 19, 11. See also the Nāśik Cave inscription of Gautamī Balaśrī Ep. Ind., Vol. VIII, p. 73.

CHAPTER 3. The Successors of the Sātavāhanas, THE VAKATAKAS. Chronology.

Pravarasena. This is against the evidence furnished by the wording in the Rddhapur plates¹. Again, Dr. Majumdar says that Prabhāvatīguptā was born about A. D. 365 and became a widow in A.D. 420, i.e., when she was in the advanced age of 55 years. Her eldest son was then about six years old; for she was acting as Regent for him for at least thirteen years. We shall therefore have to suppose that Prabhāvatī had no male children till she was nearly fifty years old, or that all her sons born before had died and that after that age she had these three sons in close succession. Such a supposition does not appear reasonable. It does not therefore appear that Prabhāvatī was a hundred years old in the nineteenth regnal year of Pravarasena II when she issued her Rddhapur plates.

We have shown above that Rudrasena II died in circa A.D. 405. Thereafter Prabhāvatī was acting as Regent for her son Divākarsena for at least thirteen years. The young prince also seems to have been short-lived. He appears to have died soon after Prabhavati's Poona plates. So he may be referred to the period A.D. 405-420. He was succeeded by his younger brother Dāmodarasena alias Pravarasena II who had a long reign of about thirty years (A.D. 420-450)2. His son Narendrasena and grandson Prthivisena II may each have reigned for about twenty years - the former from A.D. 450 to A.D. 470, and the latter from A.D. 470 to A.D. 490. The period thus conjecturally assigned to Prthivişena II, is corroborated by the date of his feudatory, the Uchchakalpa prince Vyāghra, whose stone inscriptions have been found at Nahnā and Gañj in Central India³. He was probably ruling from G. 150 to G. 170, i.e., from circa A.D. 470 to A.D. 490 and was thus a contemporary of the Vākāṭaka Pṛthivīṣeṇa II, who flourished in the same period.

As regards the Vatsagulma branch, its founder Sarvasena was a contemporary of Rudrasena I of the Nandivardhana branch. He may therefore have flourished from c. A.D. 330 to A.D. 350. His son Vindhyaśakti's Bāśim plates are dated in the 37th year4. So he had evidently a long reign of about 45 years. He may therefore have reigned from A.D. 355 to A.D. 400. His son Pravarasena II seems to have died young; for on his death his son ascended the throne at the early age of 85, Pravarasena II of this branch may have therefore reigned from A.D. 400 to A.D. 410 and his son, whose name is unfortunately lost, from A.D. 410 to A.D. 450. Devasena, who succeeded the latter may have ruled from A.D. 450 to A.D. 475 and his son Harişena from A.D. 475 to A.D. 500. The story in the eighth chapter of the Daśakumāracarita seems to have had a historical

¹ In the Rddhapur plates the expression Väkäṭakānām Mahārājaḥ, which is invariably used in Vākātaka records in connection with the names of ruling kings, is used with the name of Damodarasena, but not with that of Pravarasena II, who was actually reigning at the time. This would be strange unless the two were identical.

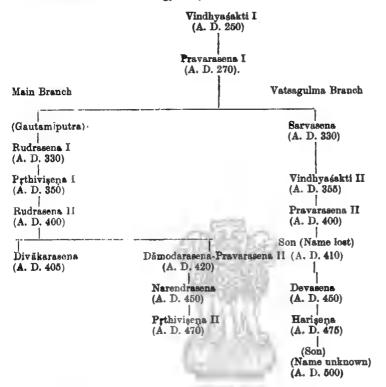
² His Pāṇḍhurnā plates (No. 14, C. I. I., Vol. V) are dated in his twentyninth regnal year,

C. I. I., Vol. III, p. 233 f.; Ep. Ind., Vol. XVII, p. 12.
 Inser. No. 23, C. I. I., Vol. V.
 Inser. No. 25, C. I. I., Vol. V.

basis. If so, Harisena was succeeded by his son who may have ruled for a short period of ten years (A.D. 500 to A.D. 510). Soon thereafter the country was conquered by the Kalacuris.

CHAPTER 3. The Successors of the Sātavāhanas. THE VAKATAKAS. Chronology.

The Vākāṭaka chronology may therefore be stated as follows 1:-



The original home of the Vākāṭakas is generally believed to have The Home of the Vākātakas, been in North India. Vincent Smith thought that the origin of the family must be sought somewhere in the area known as Central India2. With this clue, Jayaswal derived the dynastic name Vākātaka from Vākāta, which he identified with Bāgāt, village in the northernmost part of the former Orchha State, six miles east of Cirgaum in the District of Ihansia. The following arguments are

(1) The Purānas mention Vindhyasakti I, the founder of the Vākātaka dynasty, and his son Pravīra (i.e. Pravarasena I), towards the close of the section dealing with the kings of Vidiśā. Vindhyaśakti and Pravīra were therefore ruling somewhere in Central India, not far from Vidiśā.

generally advanced to prove the northern origin of the Vakāṭakas:-

(2) Rudradeva, mentioned in the Allāhābād pillar inscription of Samudragupta as a king of Aryāvarta exterminated by Samudragupta⁵, is identical with Rudrasena I of the Vākāṭaka family. He is

The years in the brackets give the approximate years of accession.

J. R. A. S., (1914), p. 317 f.

History of India 150 A. D. to 350 A.D., p. 67.

⁴ D. K. A, pp. 49-50. ⁶ C. I. I., Vol. III, p. 7.

Vf 3010-8

The Successors of the Sātavāhanas. THE VAKATAKAS. The Home of the Vakatakus,

one of the very early kings of the family and as he ii mentioned as a king of Aryavarta, the family must have been ruling north of the Narmada in its early period.

- (3) Two stone inscriptions of a prince named Vyaghradeva, who describes himself as 'meditating on the feet of Vākātaka Prthivīșena' have been found in Central India, at Nacne-ki-talăi in the former Jaso State and at Ganj in the former Ajayagadh State1. This Prthivisena must on the evidence of palaeography be identified with the first Vākātaka king of that name, who was the son and successor of Rudrasena I. That this Vyaghra flourished in this period is also shown by the mention of his name among the princes exterminated by Samudragupta.
- (4) Some records and coins of the Vākātakas have been found in North India. A set of plates issued by Pravarasena II was found Coins of Pravarasena and Rudrasena bearing the dates 76 and 100 have been found in North India³. [ayaswal has shown that these dates refer to the so-called Kalacuri-Cedi era. which was really started by the Vākāṭakas.

On these grounds the Vākāṭakas are believed to have originally hailed from North India. We shall now examine these grounds critically.

(1) The names of Vindhyasakti I and Pravīra (i.e. Pravarasena I) occur in the Purāņas not in connection with the history of Vidiśā, but with reference to the rulers of Purika. This is shown by the preceding verse which mentions Sisuka, the daughter's son of the king of Vidiśā, who ruled at Purika4 viz.,

> दौहितः शिश्को नाम पुरिकायां नृपोभवत् । विन्ध्यशक्तिस्तरचापि प्रवीरो नाम वीर्यवान। भोध्यते च समाः विष्ट प्रिका चनकां च वै।।

The Puranas next proceed to state that thereafter Pravira, the son of Vindhyaśakti, ruled from two capitals Purikā and Canakā for sixty years. Purikā, we know from the Harivamśa, was situated at the foot of the Rksavat mountain which is usually identified with the Sātpudā range6. The town was, therefore, situated south of the Narmadā. Pravīra annexed the kingdom of Sisuka and made Purikā n second capital of his empire which then extended to the Vindhya mountain. This Puranic passage is therefore no indication that the Vākāṭakas were ruling north of the Narmadā in the early period of their history.

¹ Ibid Vol. III, p. 233, f; Ep. Ind., Vol. XVII, p. 71 f.
² Inscr. No. 9, C. I. I., Vol. V.

² Jayaswal, History of India, 150 A. D .- 350 A. D., pp. 71 f.

D. K. A., pp. 49-50.

⁵ Fargi'er's critical text reads bhoksyate ca samah sastim purim Kancanakam ca vai; but Jayaswal very ingeniously conjectured Purikām canakām, which also sugges'ed by a MS. of the Vayunurana, See D. K. A., p. 60 note 33.

⁶ See Harioamsa Visnuparvan, 38, 22. For the identification of Rksavat with the Satpuda mountain, see Raghuvamśa canto V, v44. The Visnupurana mentions the Rksavat mountain as the source of the Tapi, Payosni, and Nirvindhya, which take their rise in the Satpuda mountain.

- (2) Rudradeva mentioned in the Allahabad pillar inscription as exterminated by Samudragupta cannot be identified with the Vākāṭaka king Rudrasena I; for the former was a king of Aryavarta whereas no inscriptions of the latter have been found north of the Narmada. The only stone inscription of Rudrasena I's reign discovered so far was at Deotek in the Canda District. He was therefore ruling in Vidarbha. Besides, as Dr. Altekar has pointed out¹, if Rudrasena I had been exterminated by Samudragupta, it is extremely unlikely that his son Prthivisena I would ever have selected a Gupta Princess (Prabhāvatiguptā) to be his daughter-in-law. The argument based on the identification of Rudradeva with Rudrasena I has thus no weight.
- (3) Prthivisena whose feudatory's inscriptions have been discovered in Central India is probably identical with Prthivisena II, not with Prthivisena I; for we have no indication of the spread of Vakataka rule north of the Narmada in the earlier age. On the other hand, in the later period of their history the Vākātakas are known to have extended their supremacy north of the Vindhyas. The Balaghat plates of Prthivisena II state that his father Narendrasena's commands were honoured by the king of Mekalā, (the country round Amarakantaka)2. This is also shown by the covert references to Narendrasena in the Bamhani plates of Bharatabala who was ruling over this territory8. Narendrasena's son Prthivişena II seems to have extended his rule still further in the North. His feudatory Vyāghradeva is probably identical with the Uccakalpa prince of the same name, who was ruling over the territory in c. A.D. 470-4904. This Vyāghradeva cannot be identified with Vyāghrarāja, the ruler of Mahākāntāra, who was defeated by Samudragupta; for the latter was a prince of Daksināpatha. The inscriptions of Vyāghradeva at Nacne-ki-talăi and Gani do not therefore evidence early rule of the Vākātakas, much less their home-land, north of the Narmadā.
- (4) Almost all the records of the Vākāṭakas have been discovered in South India. The only record which is said to have been found in North India is the Indore copper-plate grant of Pravarasena II. It was in the collection of Pandit Vāmanaśāstri Islāmpurkars. The Pandit used to collect Sanskrt manuscripts and historical records from different parts of the country. Two other grants found in his possession at Indore belong to the Mahārājas of Khāndeśa6. The Indore plates of Pravarasena therefore probably belonged to some part of Vidarbha. Some of the places mentioned in them can be traced in Vidarbha.

As for the coins said to have been issued by the Vākātaka king Pravarasena I and Rudrasena I, Dr. Altekar has shown that Jayaswal's readings and interpretations of their legends are

CHAPTER 3.

The Successors of the Sātavāhanas,

THE VAKATAKAS. The Home of the Vākātakas,

N. H. I. P., Vol. VI, p. 105.
 Inscr.! No. III C. I. I., Vol. V.
 Inscr. No. 19, C. I. I., Vol. V.
 Inscr. Nos. 20 22 C. I. I., Vol. V.
 Ep. Ind., Vol. XXIV, p. 52.
 C. I. I., Vol. IV, pp. II and 8.

Vf 3010-8a

CHAPTER 3. Vākātakas,

incorrect1. The coin ascribed to Pravarasena II really of Virasena. The Successors of The symbols which Jayaswal read as 76 are the branches of a tree. the Sátaváhanas. As for the coins of Rudrasena, what Jayaswal read as Rudra is really THE VAKATAKAS. the tri-ratna symbol. The symbol supposed to denote the number The Home of the 100 is really a svastika. Besides, the figures on the coin, supposing they are correctly read, cannot refer to the Kalacuri-Cedi era; for the era was not started by the Vākāṭakas and has not been used by them in dating their own records.

> There is thus not an iota of evidence to prove the northern origin of the Vakatakas. On the other hand there are several indications which point to the Deccan as their home-land. Some of them may be noted here.

- (1) The earliest mention of the name Vākātaka occurs in a pilgrim's record at Amaravati in the Guntur taluka of the Andhra State². It records certain donations of a grhapati named Vākāṭaka. Most of the inscriptions at Amaravati mention countries, rivers and places of South India. The name of the native village of this grhapati Vākātaka is unfortunately lost, but it must have been situated somewhere in South India, perhaps in the neighbouring country of the Deccan. This Vākāṭaka was probably the founder of the family which later adopted his name even as Gupta was the progenitor of the Gupta family and Sātavāhana was of the Sātavāhana family.
- (2) Several technical terms which occur in the land-grants of the Vākāṭakas are noticed in those of the Pallavas also8. They are, however, conspicuous by their absence in northern records. This points to the southern origin of the Vākāṭakas.
- (3) Some of the titles which the Vākātakas assumed in their early records e.g., Hārītīputra and Dharmamahārāja are noticed only in the grants of southern dynasties such as the Vinhukada Satakarnis, the Pallavas, the Kadambas and the Early Calukyas. They are not noticed in northern grants4.
- (4) A ministerial family which served the Väkāṭakas loyally for several generations hailed from Vallura in the Southern region⁵. This place has not yet been definitely iden'ified, but may be identical with modern Velur, which lies about 30 miles north by east of Hyderābād. The royal family also may have belonged to a place in South India, not very far from Vallūra.

The evidence adduced above clearly points to the southern origin of the Vākātakas.

Early Rulers.

Vindhyasak'i I is the earliest known king of the Vākātaka dynasty. According to the Puranas, he rose to power after the Kilakila or Kolikila Yavanas⁶. The inscription in Cave XVI at Ajintha glorifies

¹ J. N. S I., Vol. V, pp. 130 f.

² See Amrāva'i Sculptures in the Madras Government Museum., p. 304.

⁸ C. I. I., Vol. V, p. xv.

⁴ Ibid., Vol. V, p. xv.

⁵ Inscr. No. 26, C. I. I., Vol. V.

him as 'the banner of the Vākāṭaka family' and gives the valuable information that he was a dvija, which usually means a Brahmana. Later Vākātaka inscriptions mention Visnuvrddha as the gotra of the Vākātakas. How Vindhyaśakti was related to the grhapati Vākātaka mentioned in the Amaravati inscription we do not know, but it is not unlikely that like the Mahāsenāpati Māna who founded an independent kingdom in the country of Māhişaka, he occupied an influential position under the last Sātavāhana king, which facilitated his rise to power.

According to some scholars, Vindhyaśakti originally hailed from Central India. His name occurs at the end of a passage which enumerates the kings of Vidiśā. It is therefore supposed that he was ruling at that city. This is, however, a mistaken view. The passage mentions not him but his son Pravīra (i.e. Pravarasena I) as the ruler of Purika, which was previously governed by the daughter's son of the king of Vidiśā. As shown above, Purikā was situated at the foot of the Rksvat or Satpuda mountain. Vindhyasakti I may have belonged to the Central Deccan. The Puranas state that Pravarasena I had two capitals Canakā and Purikā. The former may have been the original capital of the Vākāṭakas1. It has not yet been definitely identified, but may have been situated in the Deccan not far from Vallūra, the home of a ministerial family which served the Vākāṭakas for several generations.

Vindhyaśakti is mentioned only in one record viz., the inscription in Cave XVI Ajintha2. He is said to have increased his power by fighting great battles. When enraged, he was irresistible. He defeated all enemies by the might of his arms. He had a large cavalry, by means of which he exacted submission from his foes. We have no information about the extent of his kingdom. His name is supposed to indicate that he spread his rule to the Vindhya mountain; but according to the Puranas, this was achieved not by him but by his son Pravîra who overthrew the king of Purikā. Vindhyaśakti may however have extended his power to Vidarbha. His name is generally omitted in the Sanskrt and Prakrt charters of his descendants. Even in the Ajintha inscription no royal title is prefixed to his name. From this it is argued that he received no formal coronation8. This is hardly convincing. The reason for the omission of his name in subsequent charters is that not he but his son Pravarasena I was the real founder of the Vākātaka Empire. No royal title is prefixed to his name in the Ajintha inscription because that record is in verse. It may be noted that it mentions no such title in the case of other rulers also who were undoubtedly crowned. In fact the Visnupurana explicitly states that Vindhyasakti was murdhabhisikta or crowned. So there is no reason to doubt that he reigned as an independent king. He probably flourished in the

CHAPTER 3.

The Successors of the Sătavăhanas. THE VARATARAS. Early Rulers.

¹ D.K.A., p. 50. Jayaswal sugges's Purikām canakām ca vai in place of purim Kāñcanakām ca vai, as already stated,

² Insor. No. 25, C. I. I., Vol. V. ³ N. H. I. P., Vol. VI, p. 12.

D, K. A., p. 48, No. 84,

The Successors of the Sātavāhanas.

THE VALATAKAS. Early Rulers.

period A.D. 250-270. The Puranas credit him with a long reign of 96 years1 but this period, if correct, may represent his long life, not his reign.

Vindhyaśakti I's successor Pravarasena I was the most powerful king of the Vākātaka family. He is invariably mentioned at the head of the royal genealogy in all Vākāṭaka grants. He invaded and annexed the kingdom of Purikā where a scion of the Naga king of Vidisā was reigning, and thus extended the northern limit of his empire to the Narmada. He then seems to have made Purika his second capital. We have no further knowledge of his conquests; but it is not unlikely that he raided Daksina Kosala (Chattisgadh), Kalinga and Andhra. Definite proof of these conquests is, however, lacking. He may also have conquered parts of North Kuntala comprising the Kolhapur, Satara and Solapur Districts of Maharastra, but of this also we have no definite proof. That he had a large kingdom is shown by his performance of four Asvamedha sacrifices, indicative, perhaps, of the extension of his political power in the four directions of his kingdom.

It is suggested by some scholars that Pravarasena I, carried his arms north of the Narmada and succeeded in extending his suzerainty over the Saka Kşatrapas of Mālvā and Saurāstra. It is pointed out in support of this view that the Ksatrapas Rudrasimha II and Yasodaman II, who were the contemporaries of Pravarasena I, did not, unlike their predecessors, assume the title Mahāksatrapa.2 This may, however, be due to the rise of another powerful Saka prince in Central India, viz., Sridharavarman, whose inscriptions have been found at Kānākheḍā near Sāñcī and Eran in the Saugor District8. layaswal's view4 that Pravarasena I had a large empire in North India is also untenable; for we have no vestiges of Vākāṭaka rule north of the Narmadā in this early period. The only proof of Vākāṭaka suzerainty in North India is furnished by the lithic records of Vyāghrarāja, the feudatory of the Vākāṭaka Emperor Prthivīṣeṇa, at Nacnā and Ganj in Baghelkhand, but as shown elsewhere, these records belong to a much later age, Prthivisena mentioned therein being the second king of that name who flourished nearly two centuries after Pravarasena I.

Pravarasena I was a pious man and a staunch supporter of the Vedic religion. He performed, besides the four Asvamedhas already mentioned, all the seven Soma sacrifices5. The Puranas make a special mention of his Vajapeya sacrifices which, they say were marked by munificent gifts to Brahmanase. Thereafter he assumed the unique

¹ D.K.A., p. 48. ² N. H. I. P., Vol. VI, p. 58 f. ³ Inser. Nos. 5 and 119, C. I. I., Vol. IV. ⁴ History of India, 150 A. D.—350 A. D., p. 93 f.

⁵ The seven Soma sacrifices (sapta-soma-samstha) are usually named as

Agnistoma, Atyagnistoma, Uk!hya, Şodasin, Vājapeya, Atirātra and Aptoryāma. Vākātaka inscriptions generally name all these except Atyagnistoma and add Brhaspatisava and Sådyaskra to them. See inscr. No. 3, C, I, I., Vol. V.

⁶ D. K. A., p. 50. One MS. of the Vayupurana mentions Vajimedhas (i.e. Aśvamedhas) in place of Vājapeyas

Imperial title Samrat or Emperor. He is the only known king of historical times who assumed this title. The Bāśim plates¹ menhistorical times who assumed this title. The Basim plates men the Successors of tion two other titles of his viz. Dharmamahārāja and Hārītīputra, the Sātavāhanas. which indicate his association with the Southern Kings like the THE VARATARAR Paliavas and the Kadambas.

CHAPTER & Early Rulera

It is not possible to state the exact limits of the Empire of Pravarasena I. That Vidarbha, Northern Kuntala, and Dakşina Kosala were under his rule seems pretty certain. His sphere of influence may have extended to Kalinga and Andhra. By his Asvamedha sacrifices he proclaimed his supremacy in the Deccan. He sought to strengthen his position still further by a matrimonial alliance with the Bhāraśivas, the powerful Naga rulers of Padmāvatī. The Bhāraśivas originally belonged to Vidarbha; for a stone inscription2 of the second century A.D. mentioning the Bhara king Bhagadatta has been found at Pauni in the Bhandara District of Vidarbha. Later, they seem to have inigrated to North India where they carved out an independent kingdom for themselves at Padmävati, modern Padam Paväyä in the former Gwalior State. Padmāvatī is mentioned in the Purānas as one of the four principal seats of Naga power. Copper coins of Bhavanāga, the Adhirāja of the Bhārasivas have been found at Padmāvatī³. The Vākātaka grants givo considerable information about the Bhāraśivas4. They were so called because they carried on their shoulders the emblem of Siva (perhaps his trisula or trident) and believed that they owed their royal power to his grace. They performed as many as ten Aśvamedha sacrifices and got themselves crowned with the water of the Ganga which they had obtained by their valour. The description plainly indicates what prominent part the Bhārasivas played in the liberation of the country from the yoke of the Kuśanas. The Bharasivas drove the foreigners away from North India and recovered the holy places of Prayaga and Banaras from their grip. Jayaswal conjectured that the Daśāśvamedha ghāt at Banāras was reminiscent of their performance of ten Asvamedhas. Bhavanaga, the Mahārāja of the Bhārasivas was a powerful king. He gave his daughter in marriage to Gautamiputra, the eldest son of Pravarasena I. This matrimonial alliance seems to have greatly increased the power and prestige of the Vākātakas; for it is invariably mentioned in the grants of the descendants of Gautamiputra even as the Licchavi alliance is mentioned in the records of the Guptas. The Puranas assign a period of sixty years to the rule of Pravarasena I. whom they call Pravira. This is not unlikely in view of his performance of four Asvamedhas and several Vajapeya and other Soma sacrifices. He reigned probably from A.D. 270 to A.D. 330.

The Ghatotkaca cave inscription mentions Deva, a very active, learned and pious Brahmana, by whose influence the whole country together with the king performed religious duties. He seems to have been the Prime Minister of Pravarasena I and was mainly responsible for the phenomenal religious activity noticed in the latter's reign.

* Inser. No. 3, C. I. I., Vol V.

Inser. No. 23, C. I. I., Vol. IV.
 Ep. Ind., Vol. XXV, p. 11 f.
 See Catalogue of the Coins of the Naga Kings of Padmavati. p. 27 f.

The Successors of the Sātavāhanas THE VARATAKAS. Early Rulers.

According to the Puranas, Pravarasena I had four sons, all of whom became kings. It seems therefore that the extensive Empire of Pravarasena I was divided among his sons after his death. Until recently this statement of the Purānas appeared incredible; for there was no evidence that the Vākāṭaka family had branched off so early. All the discovered records were therefore assigned to the same line, notwithstanding apparent discrepancies in the genealogy noticed in them. The discovery of the Bāśim plates in 1939 showed for the first time that besides Gautamiputra mentioned in several land-grants, Pravarasena I had another son named Sarvasena. The present writer next showed that his name was also mentioned in the inscription in Ajintha cave XVI, but had been misread by the earlier editors of the record¹. We may therefore well believe the statement in the Purānas that Pravarasena had four sons, though the names of only two of them viz., Cautamiputra and Sarvasena have so far become known. extensive empire of the Vākātakas was divided among them. eldest son Gautamiputra had predeceased Pravarasena I, but his son Rudrasena I seems to have continued to reign from Purika. The second son Sarvasena established himself at Vatsagulma, modern Bāśim in the Akolā District of Vidarbha, which had long been known as a holy place. The names of the other two sons are not yet known as no records of their families have been discovered so far. One of them may have been ruling over the upper Kṛṣṇā valley, comprising the modern districts of Kolhāpūr, Sātārā and Solāpur. This branch seems to have been soon overthrown by Mānānka, the founder of the Early Rāstrakūta dynasty, who rose to power about A.D. 3752. The fourth branch may have been holding Daksina Kosala (or Chattisgadh). It was also ousted by a king named Mahendra, who was ruling over the territory when Samudragupta invaded it in the course of his southern digvijaya⁸.

The Main Branch.

As stated above, Gautamiputra, the eldest son of Pravarasena I. predeceased his father; for in the records of his successors the expression Vākātakānām Mahārājah, which invariably precedes the name of every ruling prince, is not applied to him. His son Rudrasena I succeeded Prayarasena I and ruled over northern parts of Vidarbha probably from the old capital Purika. In later Vakataka records of this branch he is invariably described as the daughter's son of Bhavanāga, the Mahārāja of the Bhāraśivas. This plainly indicates that he had the powerful support of the Naga rulers of Padmavati. Only one inscription of his reign has been discovered so far viz, that at Deotek in the Canda District. It is not dated, but its palaeographic evidence4 leaves no doubt that Rudrasena mentioned in it was the first Vākātaka king of that name.

The Deotek inscription⁵ records the construction of a Dharmasthäna or temple by Rudrasena at Cikkamburi, modern Cikmärä near

5 Loc. cit.

¹ Mirashi, 'The Vatsagulma Branch of the Väkāṭaka Dynasty', P. I. H. C. IV. p. 79. f.

Mirashi, Studies in Indology, Vol. I, p. 178 f.
 C. I. I., Vol. III, p. 7.
 Inser. No. 1, C. I. I., Vol. V.

Deotek. It is incised on a large slab of stone after chisclling off an earlier record, issued probably by a Mahāmātra of Asoka, prohibiting the capture and slaughter of animals. Rudrasena I was a devout the Sătavâhanas. worshipper of Mahābhairava, the terrific god created by Siva for THE VARATARAS. the destruction of Daksa's sacrifice. He had therefore no regard for The Main Branch. the ahimsā doctrine of Aśoka. He caused the earlier inscription of the great Buddhist Emperor to be chiselled off to make room for his own record.

CHAPTER 3

Rudrasena I was a contemporary of the mighty Gupta Emperor Samudragupta. His age was therefore a period of great convulsion in North India. Soon after his accession, Samudragupta, with the powerful support of the Licchavis of Viśālī, embarked upon a career of conquest and annexation in North India. He overthrew a large number of princes of Āryāvarta. Among them is mentioned one Rudradeva¹, who, according to some scholars, is identical with Vākātaka Rudrasena I; but as shown above, the Vākātakas were not ruling north of the Narmada in this early period. Rudrasena I can therefore hardly be described as a ruler of Aryavarta. Perhaps Rudradeva was the Western Kşatrapa Rudrasena III, who flourished in that period. Among other kings exterminated by Samudragupta were the Naga princes Nagadatta, Ganapatinaga and Nagasena. Of these, Ganapatināga was probably a ruler of Padmāvatī; for his coins have been found there2. He seems to have succeeded Bhavanaga. The other Naga princes may have been ruling over small states in Central India. Their overthrow by Samudragupta must have deprived Rudrasena I of the powerful support of the confederacy of Naga kings of North India and greatly lowered his power and prestige.

After these northern conquests Samudragupta led an expedition to the South. His way lay through Daksina Kosala, the ruler of which was probably a feudatory of the Vākāṭakas. It is not known what measures Rudrasena adopted for his aid, but the prince Mahendra was defeated and had to acknowledge Gupta suzerainty3. He had to allow Samudragupta to pass through his territory for the conquest of other southern kingdoms. His successors continued to acknowledge Gupta supremacy and dated their records in the Gupta era as shown by the Ārang plates of Bhīmasena II of G. 182 (A.D. 501-02).

Samudragupta continued his victorious march and subjugated Vyāghrarāja of Mahākāntara (Bastār District), who probably belonged to the Nala family, Maṇṭarāja of Kurāļa, Mehendragiri of Piştapura and several other kings of Kalinga and Andhra. These kings were previously under the sphere of influence of the Vākāṭakas. They now threw off the Vākāṭaka yoke and acknowledged the suzerainty of the Guptas.

¹ C. I. I., Vol. III, p. 7.

² Catalogue of the Coins of the Naga Kings of Padmavati, p. 49 f.

⁸ C. I. I., Vol. III, p. 7.

⁴ Ep. Ind, Vol. IX, p. 342 f. I have shown that the correct reading of the date of this inscription is 182 (A. D. 501) not G. 282 as read by Hiralal.

CHAPTER 3. The Successors of the Sătavāhanas.

Though the kingdom of Rudrasena I was thus much reduced in size, he maintained his independence and did not submit to the mighty Gupta Emperor. Perhaps Samudragupta prudently avoided THE VARATARAS. a direct conflict with the Vākāṭaka king. The latter's kingdom The Main Branch occupied a strategic position with regard to the dominion of the Western Kşatrapas, whom he had not yet been able to overthrow. He therefore thought it wise to maintain friendly relations with the king of Vidarbha. There are no signs of Gupta supremacy in the Vākāṭaka records of that age. Some scholars have drawn attention to the use of the title Mahārāja applied to early Vākāṭaka kings as contrasted with the dignified title Mahārājādhirāja used in connection with the Gupta king Devagupta (i.e. Candragupta II), from which they have inferred that the Vākāṭaka kings were occupying a subordinate position¹. This view is untenable. Grandiloquent royal titles were not in vogue in South India. Isvarasena, the founder of the Abhīra dynasty, has only the ordinary title Rājan prefixed to his name in the Nāśik cave inscription. The Vişņukuṇḍin king Mādhavavarman I, who performed as many as eleven Aśvamedhas, uses only the title Mahārāja in his records2. The powerful Kalacuri Emperors Kṛṣṇarāja, Śankaragaṇa and Buddharāja, whose dominion comprised Māļvā, Gujarāt, Konkan and Mahārāstra including Vidarbha, have no title prefixed to their names in their own records8. Pravarasena I, no doubt, assumed the imperial title Samrāt, but that was because he had performed the Vājapeya sacrifices, which entitled him to do sor. The drafters of Vākāṭaka records were therefore following the current practice when they prefixed the title Mahārāja to the names of the Vākāţaka kings and Mahārājādhirāja to that of the Gupta king Candragupta II. The titles do not indicate any subordinate status of the Vākātakas.

> That the Vākātaka kings were not feudatories of the Guptas is also indicated by the fact that they did not adopt the Gupta era, but dated all their records in regnal years. As they did not themselves strike any coins, they were not loth to use Gupta currency as they had previously been using Saka coinage⁵. but that was no indication of Gupta suzerainty. Their relations with the Guptas seem, however, to have been very friendly.

> Rudrasena I was succeeded in cira A.D. 350 by his son Prthivisena I He is highly eulogised in the grants of his successors as possessing the noble qualities of truthfulness, compassion, self-restraint and charity, besides heroism and political wisdom. He is compared with Yudhisthira, the great Pandava hero of the Mahabharata fame, who was well known for such virtues. Prthivisena I followed a peaceful policy which brought happiness and contentment to his people. The contemporary Gupta kings Samudragupta and Candragupta II were follow-

H. C. I. P., Vol. IV, p. 180.
 J. A. H. R. S., Vol. VI, p. 25; Ep. Ind., Vol. XVII, p. 338.
 Inser. Nos. 12, 14 and 15, C. I. I., Vol. IV.
 Inser. No. 3, C. I. I., Vol. V; D. K. A., p. 50.
 Several hoards of Saka coins have been found in the Chindavada District of Madhya Pradeśa and Wardha and Akola Districts of Vidarbha.

ing an aggressive policy in the north, subduing their neighbours and annexing their kingdoms. Prthivisena I wisely refrained from being entangled in these wars and devoted himself to the consolidation of his position in the south and ameliorating the condition of his subjects. THE VARATARAS. The results of his policy are summed up in the following words in The Main Branch. the official records - "Prthivişena I had a continuous supply of treasure and army which had been accumulating for a hundred years."

Prthivişena lived to a good old age. The description in the Vākāṭaka grants shows that he had sons and grandsons when he died. He may therefore have reigned for about fifty years from A.D. 350 to A.D. 400. It was previously supposed on the evidence of some readings in the inscription in Ajintha cave XVI that he defeated the king of Kuntala and annexed his kingdom1. It has since been pointed out that the inscription describes Vindhyasena (or Vindhyasakti II) of the Vatsagulma branch, not Prthivisena of the main branch2. The latter, however, took part in another campaign which took place a few years before the close of his reign. In circa A.D. 395, Candragupta II, who by that time had become the lord paramount of a large part of North India, launched his attack on the Western Kşatrapas of Māļvā and Saurāstra. The causes of this war are not known. The Ksatrapas were ruling over these provinces for more than three hundred years and had grown very powerful. It is therefore not unlikely that in this campaign Candragupta II sought the alliance of the Vākāṭaka Emperor Pṛthiviṣeṇa I, whose country bordered on that of the Kşatrapas. The combined strength of the Guptas and the Vākātakas was sufficient to wipe out the Western Kşatrapas, who disappeared from history about this time. Candragupta II then annexed the provinces of Malva and Saurastra to his dominion and made Ujjayini his second capital. He is the prototype of the legendary Vikramāditya who exterminated the Sakas, ruled from Ujjayini and was a great patron of art and literature. To cement the political alliance formed on this occasion, Candragupta gave his daughter Prabhāvatīguptā in marriage to the Vākāṭaka prince Rudrasena II, the son of Prthivisena I. This matrimonial alliance between the ruling houses of Māļvā and Vidarbha recalled a similar event which had occurred some five centuries before in the time of the Sungas. Kālidāsa's Mālavikāgnimitra which has for its theme the marriage of Agnimitra, the king of Vidiśā, with the Vidarbha princess Mālavikā, was probably staged at Ujjayini on the occasion of this royal wedding³.

Like his father Prthivişena I was a devout worshipper of Siva. During his time the Vākāṭaka capital seems to have been shifted from Purika to Nandivardhana, modern Nandardhan or Nagardhan, about 28 miles from Nagpur. This place is surrounded by strongly fortified forts such as Bhivgadh and Ghughusgadh, which may have been the reason for its selection as the royal capital.

CHAPTER 3.

The Successors of the Sātavāhanas.

¹ A. S. W. I., Vol. IV, pp. 124 f.

² Mirashi, 'The Vatsagulma Branch of the Vakataka Dynasty', P. I. H. C. IV, p. 79 f; No. 25, C. I. P, Vol. V.

⁸ Some Sanskrt plays such as the Viddhasalabhanijika of Jayasekhara and the Karnasundari of Bilhana were first staged on similar occasions.

The Successors of the Sătavāhanas. THE VARATAKAS.

Prthivisena I was succeeded by his son Rudrasena II in circa A.D. 400. Unlike his ancestors who were all Saivas, this prince was a Vaisnava; for he ascribed his prosperity to the grace of Cakrapāņi (Viṣṇu1). This change in his religious creed was evidently due to he Main Branch the influence of his wife Prabhavatigupta, who, like her father Candragupta II, was a devout worshipper of Bhagavat (i.e., Vișnu). She greatly venerated the pāda-mūlas of Rāmagirisvāmin i.e., Rāmacandra on the hill Rāmagiri, modern Rāmţek, which lies just three miles from the then Vākāṭaka capital Nandivardhana. Both of her known grants were made near the foot-prints (pādamūlas) of the god after fasting on the Karttika-śukla-pratipada2.

> Rudrasena II died soon after his accession, in A. D. 405, leaving behind two sons Divakarasena and Damodarasena. The former was about five years old at the time. At this crisis in the history of the Vākātakas, Candragupta II came to the help of his daughter. He sent some of his trusted generals and statesmen to help her in governing her kingdom. Prabhāvatīguptā's Pooņā plates³ which were issued from the capital Nandivardhana in the thirteenth year, evidently of the reign of the boy prince, revealed for the first time that she was a daughter of the famous Gupta Emperor Candragupta II and thus placed Vākāţaka genealogy on a sound footing. Unlike other charters of the Vākāṭakas, this grant is inscribed in nail-headed characters and gives in its initial portion the genealogy, not of the Vākāṭakas, but of the Guptas. Gupta influence was evidently predominent then at the Vākāṭaka court. Among the Officers who visited the Vākāṭaka court at the time was the great Sanskṛṭ poet Kālidāsa. He composed his world famous lyric Meghadūta while in Vidarbha; for he makes Rāmagiri (modern Rāmtek) near the Vākātaka capital the place of the exiled Yakşa's residence4. The route of the cloudmessenger from Rāmagiri to Vidišā, described in the Meghadūta suits only Ramtek and no other place. Kalidasa's graphic description of the six-year old Sudarsana in the 18th canto of Raghuvamsa was probably suggested by what the poet saw at the Vākātaka court.

> Divakarasena also was short-lived. He was succeeded in circa A.D. 420 by his younger brother Dâmodarasena, who, on coronation, assumed the name of Pravarsena II. Several land grants of this prince have come down to us. They record his donations of fields or villages in the modern districts of Amaravatî, Wardha, Nagpur, Betül, Chindwada, Bhandara and Balaghat. The latest of these grants is dated in the 29th regnal year. Pravarasena II had therefore a long reign of about thirty years (A.D. 420-450).

> The earlier grants of Pravarasena II were made at the old capital Nandivardhana. The latest of these is that recorded in the Belora plates and belongs to the 11th regnal year. The next known grant

^{1 (}nser. No. 3, C. I. I. Vol. V.

Inser. Nos. 2 and 8, C. I. I. Vol. V.
 Inser. No. 2, C. I. I. Vol. V.

Mirashi, Location of Ramag'ri, Studies in Indology, Vol. I. pp. 12 f.

⁵ Inser. Nos. 3-16, C. I. I. Vol. V.

is of the 18th regnal year, issued from Pravarapura. It seems therefore that he founded a city named Pravarapura and shifted his capital there some time between his 11th and 18th regnal years. This the Satavahanas. Pravarapura is probably identical with Pavnār in the Wardha District THE VARATARAS. where some interesting sculptures of the Vākāṭaka age have recently The Main Branch. come to notice1.

CHAPTER 3.

Pravarasena II was a devout worshipper of Sambhu (i.e. Siva), by whose grace he is said to have established on earth the Krtayuga or Golden Age. He was a very liberal king. More than a dozen landgrants of his have been discovered so far. He was also a poet of no mean order. Some of his Sanskrt verses have been preserved in Sanskrt anthologies. He composed also several Prākrt gāthās, some of which have been incorporated in the Gāthāsaptaśatī. The well-known Prakrt Kāvya Setubandha is also ascribed to him2. Some scholars doubt his authorship of this kāvya on the ground that its theme is Vaisnava, while the king was a devotee of Siva3. The argument has little force. We might as well doubt Kālidāsa's authorship of the Raghuvamsa, for he also was a Saiva while the theme of that kāvya is the glorification of the family of Ramacandra, an incarnation of Visnu. Pravarasena may have undertaken to compose the Setubandha at the instance of his mother who was a devotee of Visnu. From stanza 9 of the first Canto of this kāvya it seems that Pravarasena began to compose it soon after his accession and evidently received considerable help from Kalidasa in case of difficulties. Hence in the colophons of the different cantos the authorship of the kāvya is ascribed to both Pravarasena and Kālidāsa. Pravarasena built a magnificent temple of Rāmacandra at Pravarapura when he shifted his capital there. He decorated it with beautiful panels illustrating various incidents in the story of Rāma. Some of these panels have recently been discovered at the site of the temple on the bank of the river Dhām near Pavnār.

Pravarasena II was succeeded by his son Narendrasena in circa A.D. 450. The Bālāghāt plates state that he enticed the royal fortune by means of the confidence which he had produced in her by his good qualities4. Dr. Kielhorn took this description as suggesting that he superceded his elder brothers. It has also been supposed that there was a division of the kingdom between him and his elder brother whose name is lost in the inscription in Ajintha Cave XVI. Both these suppositions have been proved to be baseless; for the princes mentioned in the Ajintha inscription belonged to the Vatsagulma branch which had already been separated from the main branch of the Vākāṭaka family. Narendrasena is also referred to

Mirashi, 'Prayarapura, An Ancient Capital of the Vākātakas', Sarūpa-Bhārati,

² Mirashi, 'Some Royal Poets of the Vākāṭaka Age', Studies in Indology, Vol. I. pp. 96 f.

⁸ H. C. I. P., Vol. IV, pp. 183 f.
6 Inser. No. 18 C. I. I., Vol. V.
5 Ep. Ind., Vol. IX, p. 269.
6 Inser. No. 25, C. I. I., Vol. V.

CHAPTER 8. The Successors of the Sātavāhanas. THE VAKATAKAS. The Main Branch and

covertly in the Bahmani plates of the Pandavavamsi king Bharatabala who was his feudatory1,

Narendrasena followed an aggressive policy in the north and east made some conquests. The Balaghat plates state2 that his commands were obeyed by the rulers of Kosala, Mekala and Malava. Since the time of Rudrasena I the country of Kosala (or Chattisgadh) was being ruled by a feudatory family which owned the supremacy of the Guptas. It used the Gupta era in dating its records. At this time, however, Gupta power was tottering on account of the onslaughts of the Hunas. The ruler of Daksina Kosala, who was probably Bhimasena I mentioned in the Arang plates⁸ seems to have submitted to the Vākāṭaka king.

Mekalā is the country near Amarkantak, where the Narmadā called Mekalasutā takes its rise. Before the rise of the Guptas this country was under the Maghas. When Samudragupta defeated the Maghas and annexed their territory, he seems to have placed a Pandavavamsi feudatory in charge of this country. The Bahmani plates give the following genealogy of this family - Jayabala, his son Vatsarāja, his son Nāgabala and his son Bharatabala. Of these, the first two owned the suzerainty of the Guptas. Nagabala, who was reigning when the Gupta Empire was convulsed by the Huna invasions, declared his independence and assumed the title Mahārāja. He tried to increase his power by forming matrimonial alliance with the contemporary king of Dakşina Kosala. His son Bharatabala was married to Lokaprakāśā, the daughter of the afore-mentioned king Bhīmasena I of Chattisgadh. Narendrasena seems to have forced him to acknowledge his suzerainty. Bharatabala makes a veiled reference to it in his Bahmanī plates.

Malava the third country whose ruler is said to have honoured the commands of the Vākāṭaka king Narendrasena, was under the direct rule of the Guptas ever since it was conquered from the Western Kşatrapas. The Hūna invasions seem to have weakened the power of the Guptas in this part of the country. The Mandasor inscription4 of V. 529 (A.D. 473-74), states that during the short period of 36 years (between V. 493 and 529) several princes held the country of Dasapura (modern Mandasor) which lies only a few miles north of Ujjayini. The Mandasor inscription of V. 524 also indicates that there were several uprisings of the enemies of the Guptas which were quelled by their feudatory Prabhākara ruling at Dasapura. Some of these hostile princes might have sought the aid of the Vākāṭaka king in throwing off the Gupta yoke.

Towards the end of Narendrasena's reign, the Vākāṭaka territory was invaded by the Nala king Bhavadattavarman. The Nalas were ruling over the Bastar State and the adjoining territory where their

Inser. No. 19, C. I. I., Vol. V.

Inser. No. 18, C. I. I., Vol.
 Ep. Ind. Vol. IX, p. 342 f.
 C. I.I., Vol. III, p. 83.

inscriptions1 and coins2 have been found. Bhavadattavarman pressed as far as Nandivardhana, the former capital of the Vākāṭakas, which he occupied for some time. A copper-plate inscription issued the Satavāhanas. from Nandivardhana records his grant of a village in the Yeotmal THE VAKATAKAS. District in Vidarbha. It plainly indicates that the Nalas had occupied The Main Branch a considerable portion of the Vākātaka dominion.

CHAPTEN 8.

The Vākātakas also admit this disaster to their arms. The Bālāghāt plates3 state that Narendrasena's son Prthivīseņa II raised his sunken family. He seems to have been forced to shift his capital from Pravarapura to Padmapura, now small village near Amgānv in the Bhandara District. This place is mentioned as the place of issue in an unfinished copper-p'ate inscription found in the Durg District of Madhya Pradeśa. Here Prthivişena consolidated his power. He then raided the enemy's territory and devastated their capital Puskarī⁵. The Nalas were then forced to abandon Vidarbha and return to their home province.

Prthivişena was the son of Narendrasena from Ajjhitabhattārikā, a princess of Kuntala⁶. Some scholars identify her family with the Kadambas of Vanavāsī, but it is more likely to be the Rāstrakūta family of Manapura. This latter family was founded by Mananka, who is described in the Pandarangapalli plates discovered near Kolhāpūr as the ruler of the prosperous Kuntala country8. This family appears to have wielded considerable power and often came into conflict with the Vatsagulma branch of the Vākāṭakas. Ajjhitabhattārikā married to Narendrasena, was probably a daughter of the Rästraküta king Avidheya, who flourished in circa A.D. 440-455.

Prthivisena II, who succeeded his father in circa A.D. 470, was an ambitious prince. He not only retrieved his position in Vidarbha. and regained his kingdom but carried his arms even farther than his father. Two stone inscriptions of his feudatory Vyaghradeva, who expressly mentions the suzerainty of the Vakataka Maharaja Prthivisena have been discovered at Nācnā and Gañj in Central India? As shown above, this Prthivisena must be identified with the second Vākāṭaka king of that name10. His feudatory Vyāghradeva was evidently identical with the Uccakalpa prince Vyaghra who flourished in the same period (A.D. 470-490) in that part of the country. The Uccakalpa kings were previously the feudatories of the Guptas whose era they used in dating their records. When the power of the Guptas declined in the second half of the fifth century A.D. they seem to have transferred their allegiance to the Vākātakas.

^{*} Ep. Ind., Vol. XXI, p. 153 f.

* J. N. S. I., Vol. I, p. 29 f.

* Inscr. No. 18, C. I. I., Vol. V.

* Inscr. No. 17, C. I. I., Vol. V.

* Ep. Ind., Vol. XXI, pp. 155 f.

* Inscr. No. 18, C. I. I., Vol. V.

* N. H. I. P., Vol. VI, p. 108; H. C. I. P., Vol. IV, p. 184.

* Mirashi, * The Rāṣṭrakūṭas of Māṇapura*, Studies in Indloogy, Vol. I p. 178 f, Inser Nos. 20 22 (./.I. Vol V .

¹⁰ Mirashi, 'Vākātaka Pri hivīsena, the Suzerain of Vyāghra', Belwalkar Felicitation Volume, p. 286 f.

The Successors of the Sātavāhanas.

Unlike most of his ancestors, Prthivīseņa II was a devotee of Visņu. He is the last known member of this main branch of the Vākātaka family. He may have closed his reign about A.D. 490. Thereafter, THE VAKATAKAS, his kingdom was incorporated in the dominion of Harisena of the The Main Branch. Vatsagulma branch.

The Vatsagulma Branch,

The existence of the Vatsagulma branch was unknown until the discovery of the Bäsim plates in 1939. Several members of it were indeed mentioned in the inscription in Cave XVI at Ajintha, but owing to a sad mutilation of that record their names were misread by its previous editors. These names have since been restored and it has been conclusively shown that the princes of this branch ruled over South Vidarbha stretching from the Indhyadri range in the north to the Godavari in the south1.

The founder of this family was Sarvasena, who is mentioned in the Bāśim plates as the son of Pravarasena I. His name occurs also in the mutilated Ajintha inscription but it was misread as Rudrasena and taken to refer to Rudrasena I, though the latter was not the son but was the grandson of Pravarasena I. Sarvasena made Vatsagulma, modern Bāśim in the Akolā District, the capital of his kingdom. In course of time this place became a great centre of learning and culture and gave its name to Vachhomi, the best poetic style2.

From the Bāśim plates³ we learn that Sarvasena continued the title Dharmamahārāja which his father Pravarasena I had assumed in imitation of southern kings. In extending his kingdom Sarvasena was assisted by his minister Ravi, the son of the Brāhmaņa Soma from a Ksatriya wife. The descendants of this Ravi served this branch of the Vākāṭakas loyally for several generations4.

Sarvasena is known as the author of the Prakrt Kāvya Harivijaya, which has been highly eulogised by Sanskrt poets and rhetoricians. This kāvya has unfortunately not yet come to light, but from quotations in rhetorical works its theme seems to be the removal, by Krsna, of the Pārijāta tree from heaven for the appearement of his wife Satyabhāmā. The theme is embellished with the descriptions of the city Dvārakā, the hero Kṛṣṇa, the season spring, sunset, horses, elephants, etc., as required in a Mahākāvya. It is one of the earliest kāvyas in Sanskrt and Prakrt literatures. It seems to have served as a model for the later Sanskrt and Prakrt kāvyas of Kālidāsa and Pravarasena II. Sarvasena also composed several Prakrt gathas, some of which have been incorporated into the Prakrt anthology Cathasaptasati.

¹ Inser. No. 26, C. I. I., Vol. V.

Rajośekhara, Karpūramañjari, Act I, v. 1; Kāvyamīmāmsā (First Ed. G.O.S.) p. 10.

³ Inser. No. 23, C. I. I., Vol. V.

⁴ Inser. No. 26, C. I. I., Vol. V.

⁸ Mirashi, 'Some Royal Poets of the Vākāṭaka Age', Studies in Indology, Vol. I, p. 96 f.

Sarvasena flourished in the period circa A.D. 330-355. He was tollowed by Vindhyasakti II. His name in the form Vindhyasana The Successors of occurs in the Ajintha cave inscription, but it was misread as Prthivisena by the editors of the record. The correct name has since been THE VAKATARAS. restored.

Vindhyasena came into conflict with the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Mānāṅka, who was just then rising to power in the upper Kṛṣṇā valley. The Ajinthā inscription states that Vindhyasena vanquished the ruler of Kuntala, while the Rastrakūta inscriptions record Mananka's victory over Vidarbha and Asmaka¹. As both Vindhyasena and Mānānka claim a victory over each other, neither of them seems to have emerged completely victorious from this war. The relations of the two families appear to have improved later on when Mānānka's successor Devarāja came under the political influence of the Gupta emperor Candragupta II.

The Bāśim plates, which brought the existence of this branch to notice for the first time, are dated in the 37th regnal year of Vindhyaśakti II. They were issued from the royal capital Vatsagulma, and register the grant of village situated in the territorial division of Nāndīkata, modern Nānded in Marāthvādā. The genealogical portion of the grant is written in Sanskrt and the formal portion in Präkrt. This grant shows how Sanskrt was gradually asserting itself. Other inscriptions of both the branches of the Vākātaka family are all in Sanskrt. Vindhyaśakti also assumed the title Dharmamahirāja like his father and grandfather. He may have closed his reign in circa A.D. 400.

Vindhyasena was succeeded by his son Prayarasena II, about whom little is known. He receives only conventional praise in the Ajinthā Cave inscription. He had probably a short reign (A.D. 400-415); for when he died his son was only eight years old. The name of this boy prince has not been preserved in the Ajinthā inscription. He was followed in circa A.D. 450 by Devasena, whose fragmentary inscription, found somewhere in Vidarbha, has been preserved in the British Museum². It was issued from Vatsagulma, which shows that the city continued to be the capital of this branch to the last.

Devasena had a very pious and capable minister named Hastibhoja. The Vākāṭaka king entrusted the government entirely to him and gave himself up to the enjoyment of pleasures. Hastibhoja is eulogised in the Ajinthā³ and Ghatotkaca Cave inscriptions⁴ which were caused to be incised by his son Varāhadeva.

Devasena was succeeded in circa A.D. 475 by his son Harişena, who is the last known Vākāṭaka king. He was I brave and ambitious king who extended the limits of his Empire in all directions. The

CHAPTER 3

the Sātavāhanas. The Vatsagulma Branch,

¹ Mirashi, 'The Rastrakūtas of Mānapura', 'Studies in Indology, Vol. I, p. 178 f.

² Inser. No. 24, C. I. I., Vol. V. Another inscription of this King has recently come to notice near Bāsim

Inser. No. 25, C. I. I., Vol. V. ¹ Inser. No. 26, C. I. I., Vol. V.

CHAPTER 3

The Successors of the Sătavāhanas. Branch.

inscription in Cave XVI at Ajintha, which is unfortunately very much mutilated, mentions in lines 14-15 several countries which Harisena had conquered or made to pay tribute. They lay in all THE VAKATAKAS, the four directions of Vidarbha viz., Avanti (Mālvā) in the North, The Vatsagulma Kosala, Kalinga and Andhra in the East, Lata and Trikūta in the West and Kuntala in the South. Hariseya thus became the undisputed suzerain of a vast Empire extending from Mālvā in the North to Kuntala in the South and from the Arabian Sea in the West to the Bay of Bengal in the East. All this vast country was not under the direct administration of Harisena. The rulers of most of these countries were probably allowed to retain their respective kingdoms on condition of regular payment of tribute. Since Harişena claims to have subjugated Māļvā, he must have overrun and annexed the kingdom of the main branch of the Vākātakas. The king of Māļvā may have been Dravyavardhana, who just at this time had overrun and occupied Ujjayinī (A.D. 475-495)1. In Kalinga Harisena's invasion led to the establishment of the Eastern Ganga dynasty, which started a new era of its own in A.D. 4982. In Andhra Harişena overthrew the contemporary Salankayana king and gave the throne to the Visnukundin prince Govindavarman. The latter's son Mādhavavarman I married a Vākāṭaka princess who may have been Harisena's own daughter3. Similarly in Kosala we find that the family of Sūra was supplanted by the Kings of Sarabhapura4. In the West the ruler of Rsīka (Khāndeśa) was a feudatory of Harişena as stated explicitly in the inscription in Cave XVII at Ajinthā⁵. The Traikūṭakas, who ruled further in the West, were allowed to continue in the enjoyment of their kingdom on payment of tribute. In the South the ruler who belonged to the Rastrakuta family continued to rule as a feudatory of the Vākāṭaka Emperor⁶. Harişeṇa probably reigned from circa A.D. 475 to A.D. 500.

> Harişena had a pious and efficient minister named Varāhadeva, who was liked alike by the king and his subjects. He was a son of the afore-mentioned Hastibhoja. He was a pious Buddhist. He caused the magnificent Ajintha Cave XVI to be excavated and decorated with paintings. The inscription7 which he caused to be incised in its verandah is our chief source of information for the history of the Vatsagulma branch. At Gulvāḍā, ■ few miles from Ajinthā he caused some more caves to be excavated for the Buddhist monks. The inscription8 he has left there gives the complete genealogy of the ministerial family to which Varahadeva belonged.

¹ Mirashi 'New Light on Yasodharman' Studies in Indology, Vol. I, p. 206 f. ² Mirashi, 'Epoch of the Ganga Era', Ep. Ind., Vol. XXVI. p. 327 f.

⁸ Ep. Ind., Vol. IV, p. 193. ⁴ Mirashi, 'Three Ancient Dynasties of Mahākosala', Studies in Indology, Vol. I, p. 231 f.

⁵ Inser. No. 27, C. J. I. Vol. V.

[•] See that the ruler of Kuntala is mentioned as a feudatory of the King of Vidarbha in the story of Viśruta in the Dażakumāracdrita. As shown below, the story has a historical basis.

Inser. No. 25, C. I. I., Vol. V.
 Inser. No. 26, C. I. I., Vol. V.

Harisena closed his reign by A.D. 500. He may have been followed by one or two princes, but even their names have not come down to us. Ultimately in circa A.D. 550 Vidarbha was conquered by the Satavahanas. Kalacuri king Kṛṣṇarāja of Māhiṣmatī. He placed his feudatory The VAKATAKAS. Svāmīrāja in charge of it. The latter's plates1 dated in the Kalacuri The Vatsagulma year 322 (A.D. 573) have been discovered at Nandardhan.

CHAPTER 3

Harişena at his death was ruling over an extensive empire - larger than any since the time of the Satavahana king Gautamiputra. On his death it seems to have suddenly crumbled to pieces. The causes that led to the disintegration of the mighty Vākāṭaka Empire have not been recorded in history, but the story in the eighth chapter called Viśrutacarita of Dandin's Daśakumāracarita seems to have preserved a trustworthy tradition about the last period of the Vākātaka rule².

The narrative points to the existence of a large Southern Empire. The Emperor was directly administering the country of Vidarbha, but he had a number of feudatories who ruled over Kuntala, Asmaka, Rṣīka, Murala, Nāsikya and Konkap. A young prince succeeded to this vast Empire after the death of his illustrious father. prince, though intelligent and accomplished in all arts, neglected the study of the science of politics. His father's old minister advised him again and again to apply himself to the study of the dandaniti, but he turned a deaf ear to it. Coming under the evil influence of his licentious courtier, he gave himself up to the enjoyment of pleasures and indulged in all kinds of vices. His subjects imitated him. Confusion and chaos became rampant in the state. Finding this a suitable opportunity, the crafty ruler of the neighbouring country of Asmaka sent his minister's son to the court of Vidarbha to egg the king on in his dissolute life. He also contrived to decimate his forces by various means. Ultimately, when the country was thoroughly disorganised, the ruler of Aśmaka instigated the king of Vanavāsī (North Kānadā District) to invade Vidarbha. The latter advanced with a large force and encamped on the bank of the Wardha. The young emperor of Vidarbha also mobilised his forces and called his feudatories to his aid. Among those who joined him were, besides the treacherous prince of Asmaka, the rulers of Kuntala, Murala, Rsīka, Nāsikya and Konkan. The prince of Asmaka secretly caused disaffection among the feudatories also. They treacherously attacked the emperor in the rear while he was fighting with the invader. The young prince was killed in the battle. The crafty ruler of Aśmaka then caused dissentions among the feudatories, who fought among themselves for the spoils of the war and destroyed one another. The ruler of Aśmaka then appropriated the whole booty and giving some part of it to the King of Vanavāsī, induced him to go back and himself annexed the whole of Vidarbha. In the meantime, the old minister of Vidarbha safely escorted the queen with

C. I. I., Vol. IV, p. 611 f.
 Mirashi, 'Historical Data in Dandin's Dasakumāracarita' Studies in Indology, Vol. I, p. 165 f.

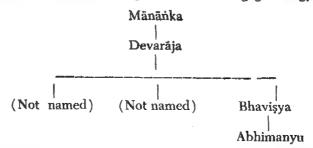
The Successors of the Sătavāhanas. The Vatsagulma Branch.

her son and daughter to Māhiṣmatī where the late emperor's half brother was ruling. The latter made advances to the widowed queen, but was repulsed. He then wanted to kill the little prince, but was THE VARATARAS. himself murdered by Viśruta, who turned out to be a relative of the latter. Viśruta placed the boy prince on the throne of Māhiṣmaṭī and vowed to oust the ruler of Aśmaka from Vidarbha and place the prince on his ancestral throne.

> The narrative seems to reflect truthfully the political condition in Vidarbha soon after the death of Harişena. Dandin, whose ancestors originally belonged to Vidarbha, had evidently reliable sources of information. The details which he has given about the kingdoms flourishing in the period are substantiated in all material points by contemporary inscriptional evidence. It seems, therefore, that the vast empire of Harisena suddenly crumbled to pieces through the incompetence of his successor and the defection of his feudatories. As Dandin's narrative ends abruptly, we do not know if Harişena's grandson regained the throne of Vidarbha with external aid. He may have succeeded in doing so with the support of the Visnukundin emperor Mādhavavarman I, who was his relative. But he could not have ruled for a long time; for as stated before, the Kalacuri king Kṛṣṇarāja, who, in the meantime, had established himself at Māhişmatī extended his rule to Vidarbha, North Mahārāşţra, Gujarāt and Konkan by A.D. 550. The Somavamsis conquered Daksina Kosala, while the Gangas and Visnukundins proclaimed their independence in Kalinga and Andhra, respectively. The Rastrakūtas were growing powerful in Kuntala or Southern Maratha Country. Thus disappeared the last vestiges of Vākāṭaka power after a glorious rule of about 300 years.

THE RASHTRA-KUTAS OF MANAPURA.

The history of the Early Rastrakutas has been unfolded during the last few years1. The first grant of the family to be discovered was that published by Bhagwanlal Indraji. Its findspot is not known, but as it was from the collection of Dr. Bhau Dāji, it was probably found somewhere in Mahārāṣṭra. It gives the following genealogy:



The plates were issued by the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Abhimanyu while residing at Mānapura and record the grant of the village Undikavātikā in honour of god Dakṣiṇa-śiva. Fleet identified Uṇḍikavāṭikā with Oontia, about 300 miles from the Mahādeva Hills in Madhya

¹ Mirashi, 'Historical Data in Dandin's Dasakumāracarita', Studies n Indology, Vol. I, p. 178 f.

Pradeśa, and Daksina-Siva with the shrine of Mahadeva in the same hills. He thought that Manapura, the king's capital, was the place of the same name in Māļvā, about 12 miles south-east of Mhow. Later, of the Sātavāhanas, Dubreuil identified Devarāja with Sudevarāja, and Mānānka with Mānamātra, both belonging to the so-called dynasty of Sarabhapura. which ruled in Chattisgad. Jayarāja mentioned in Sarabhapura grants was, according to Dubreuil, one of the sons of Devarāja not named in the Undikavātikā plates. Some years ago, another set of plates, called the Pandarangapalli plates, was discovered in a village near Kolhāpūr. These plates brought to notice another son of Devarāja named Avidbeya. While editing these plates, Dr. Krishna, who accepted the aforementioned identifications proposed by Dubreuil, put forward the theory that Devaraja (or Sudevaraja), the son of Mananka (or Manamatra), had three sons, viz., Avidheya, Jayaraja and Bhavişya, among whom was divided the extensive Rastrakuta Empire of the Deccan which extended from the Mahānadī and the Tāpī to the Bhīmā, comprising the three Mahārāṣṭras. Jayarāja was ruling over the eastern part on the bank of the Mahānadī, Bhavişya over Northern Mahārāstra and Madhya Pradeśa, and Avidheya over Southern Mahārāṣṭra extending up to the banks of the Bhīmā. Kṛṣṇa, the son of Indra, and Govinda, who are mentioned as defeated by the Cālukya Jayasiriha and Pulakeśin II of Badāmī, belonged to this family. After overthrowing Govinda, Pulakesin II became the lord of the three Mahārāstras.

This theory was contested by Dr. Altekar¹, who pointed out that there could not have been any extensive Rastrakuta Empire in the Deccan in the sixth century A.D., because, firstly, most of these kings do not describe themselves as Rāstrakūţas and secondly, there were other kings such as the Nalas, the Mauryas, the Kalacuris and the Kadambas, who were ruling over the major part of Mahārāṣṭra, and not the Rastrakûtas.

In an article which the present writer published subsequently2, he stated that he agreed with the main conclusion of Dr. Altekar that there was no extensive Empire of the Rāstrakūtas in the sixth century A.D. before the rise of the Calukyas of Badami. The theory of the existence of such an empire is based on the identification of Manamatra with Mānānka and Devarāja with Sudevarāja, for which there is no basis. Besides, the characters and seals of the grants of the descendants of Mānānka differ from those of the grants of the descendants of Manamatra. Mananka was therefore altogether different from Manamatra. While the former and his descendants were ruling over Southern Mahārāṣṭra, the latter and his successors were holding the Bilāspur and Raipur Districts of Madhya Pradeśa. They are known as the kings of Sarabhapura.

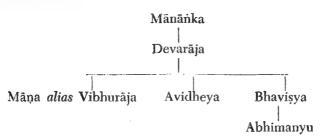
There is, however, no reason to doubt, as Dr. Altekar has done, the identification of Mananka and Devaraja mentioned in the Undikavātikā plates with the homonymous princes mentioned in CHAPTER 3.

The Successors THE RASHTRA-KIITAS OF MANAPURA.

¹ A. B O. R. I., Vol. XXIV, p. 148 f. ² Ibid., Vol. XXV, p. 25 f.

CHAPTER 3, The Successors

the Pāṇḍaraṅgapallī plates. Another grant of this dynasty which was recently found in the Daund Taluka of the Poona District, has The Successors of the Sātavāhanas, brought to notice the third son of Devarāja viz, Māṇa altas Vibhurāja. The RASHTRAKUTAS The genealogy of these Early Rāṣṭrakūṭa kings may therefore be OF MANAPURA. stated as follows :-



From the find-spots of the plates in the Kolhāpūr and Pooṇā Districts it is clear that this family was ruling in Southern Mahārāṣṭra. Mānānka, the founder of the dynasty, is described as the ruler of the prosperous Kuntala country¹. We know that Kuntala was the name of the upper Kṛṣṇā valley. The places mentioned in the Pāṇdaraṅgapallī plates can be identified in the Sātārā District. These Early Rāstrakūtas were, therefore, ruling over Kolhāpūr, Sātārā and Solapur districts. Their capital Manapura, which was plainly founded by Mananka and named after himself, is probably identical with the town Man, the head-quarters of the Man tālukā of the Sătără District.

On palaeographic grounds the Pāṇḍaraṅgapallī and Uṇḍikavaṭikā grants have been referred to the 5th century A.D. The use of the Jovian year Bhadrapada in recording the date of the Pandarangapalli plates also corroborates this date; for these Jovian years were not generally used in the South after the 5th century A.D. Unfortunately, all these grants are either undated or are dated in regnal years. They consequently afford no help in definitely fixing the period of these Rāstrakūtas. They seem, however, to be contemporaries of the Traikūṭakas, who were ruling over North Konkan Gujarāt and North Mahārāstra and of the Vākātakas who held Vidarbha during the fourth and fifth centuries A.D. They were probably known in their days as Kuntaleśas or Lords of Kuntala; for as stated above, Mānānka, the founder of the dynasty, is described as the ruler of Kuntala. The records of the Vākāṭakas contain occasional references to their clashes or to their matrimonial alliances with the kings of Kuntala. The inscription in Cave XVI at Ajintha mentions, for instance, that Vindhyasena (or Vindhyaśakti II) of the Vatsagulma branch of the Vākātaka family defeated the Lord of Kuntala. The latter was previously identified with the contemporary Kadamba king of Vanavāsī, but the kingdom of the Kadambas was not conterminous with that of the Vākātakas as none of their records have been found in Southern Mahārāstra. Mānānka, on the other hand, is described as the Lord

¹ Studies in Indology, Vol. I, p. 182 f.

of Kuntala and is said to have conquered the Vidarbha and Asmaka countries. These references may be to the same indecisive battle fought between the Early Rāṣṭrakūṭas of Mānapura and the Vākāṭakas of the Sātavāhanas, of Vatsagulma. Mānānka, who was thus a contemporary of Vindhya- The RASHTRAKUTAS sena, may have flourished about A.D. 400. From the Balaghat plates1 OF MANAPURA. we learn that Narendrasena of the Pravarapura branch married the Kuntala princess Ajjhitabhattārikā. She also must have belonged to this very Rastrakuta family. Finally, the inscription in Cave XVI at Ajinthā² records a victory of the Vākāṭaka king Hariṣeṇa over a ruler of Kuntala. The latter must have belonged to this very family.

CHAPTER 3,

The Successors

From certain passages in the Kuntaleśvaradautya, a Sanskrt work ascribed to Kālidāsa, which have been cited in the Kāvyamīmāmsā of Rājasekhara, the Sriigāraprakāsa and Sarasvatikanthābharana of Bhoia and the Aucituavicāracarcā of Ksemendra, we learn that the famous Gupta king Candragupta II-Vikramāditya sent Kālidāsa as an ambassador to the court of the Lord of Kuntala. Kālidāsa was not at first well received there⁸, but he gradually gained Kuntaleśa's favour and stayed at his court for some time. When he returned, he reported to Vikramāditya that the Lord of Kuntala was spending his time in enjoyment, throwing the responsibility of governing his kingdom on him i.e., Vikramāditya4. This Kuntaleśa is supposed by some scholars to be the Vākāṭaka Pravarasena II5, but this view does not appear to be correct. Gupta influence was no doubt predominant at the Väkätaka court during the reign of Pravarasena II, but the Vākāṭakas did not call themselves Kuntaleśas and their rule does not seem to have extended to the Kuntala country in this period, though some of them are known to have raided it. This Kuntalesa to whose court Kālidāsa was sent as an ambassador seems to be an early member of the Rāstrakūta family of Mānapura, perhaps Devarāja, who flourished in circa A.D. 400-425. The influence of Candragupta II, at the court of two such important families of the South as the Vākāṭakas and the Rāṣṭrakūṭas corroborates the statement in the Mehrauli pillar inscription that even then (i.e., after the death of Candra or Candragupta II), the southern ocean was perfumed by the breezes of his prowess⁶.

Harisena's raid on Kuntala does not appear to have resulted in the extermination of this family. Harişena may have contented himself with exacting a tribute from it as he appears to have done in the case of some others such as the Traikūṭakas. It is noteworthy that a Kuntaleśa appears as a feudatory of the Emperor of Vidarbha in the story of Viśruta, which has been shown above to have a historical basis.

¹ Inser. No. 18, C. I. I., Vol. V.

² Inser. No. 25, ibid.

³ Mirashi, 'The Kuntaleśvaradautya of Kālidāsa', Studies in Indology, Vol. I,

Loc. cit, p. 3. S. K. Aiyangar, Ancient India, Vol. I, pp. 271-74.
 C. J. I., Vol. III, p. 141.

CHAPTER 3.

The Successors of the Sātavāhanas. OF MANAPURA.

Some records of the Later Calukyas state that Jayasimha of the Early Cālukya dynasty of Badāmī defeated the Rāṣtrakūṭa king Indra, the son of Kṛṣṇa. As Dr. Altekar has pointed out, this statement THE RASHTRAKUTAS occurs in very late records, composed more than five centuries after the event. So one cannot be sure that these kings actually reigned in the 6th century A.D. But Govinda who invaded with his troop of elephants the territory to the north of the Bhīmarathī (i.e. the Bhimā, a tributary of the Kṛṣṇā) at the time of the accession of Pulakeśin II, may have belonged to this family as already conjectured by Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar¹. This king could not, however, have been the great-grandfather of the Rastrakuta king Krsna I, as supposed by Dr. Bhandarkar, for the interval between these kings is too large to be covered by three generations.

> The Aihole inscription² states that this Govinda immediately obtained a reward for the services he rendered to Pulakesin II. Ravikirti, the author of that inscription, is unfortunately not explicit on this matter, but he undoubtedly implies that Govinda was won over by Pulakesin II and induced to turn back. The very fact that Pulakeśin thought it wise to adopt conciliatory measures in dealing with him shows that he was a powerful foe. His descendants do not, however, appear to have held Southern Mahārāṣṭra for long time: for Pulakeśin soon annexed both Northern and Southern Mahārāstras and extended the northern limit of his Empire to the bank of the Narmada. That he ousted, the Raşţrakūţas from Southern Mahārāstra is shown by the Sătārā plates3 of his brother Visnuvardhana which record the grant of a village on the southern bank of the Bhima. This Early Rastrakūta family of Manapura seems thus to have come to an end in the first quarter of the seventh century A.D.

THE EARLY KALACHURIS OF MAHISHMATI

The inscriptions of the Kataccuris or Early Kalacuris do not mention their capital. Still, they probably ruled from Māhiṣmatī. This city is usually identified with Omkar Mandhata which from very early times has been famous as a holy place. The description in the Raghuvamsa that it was surrounded by the Narmada like a girdle suits Mandhata very well; for it is situated in the midst of the Narmada. Some other references however, seem to indicate that Mähişmatī was identical with Maheśvar. Māhişmatī is often referred to in Sanskrt literature as the capital of the Kalacuris. It was the capital of Kārtavīrya Sahasrārjuna, from whom the Kalacuris claimed descent. Besides, some later princes of the Haihaya dynasty, who ruled in the South as feudatories of the Calukyas, mention with pride their title Māhismatī-pura-var-ādhīśvara Lords of Māhismatī, the best of towns', which shows that their ancestors were previously ruling from Māhişmatī.

¹ Early History of India, (Collected Works of Bhandarkar, Vol. III), p. 170.

² Ep. Ind., Vol. VI, p. 1 f. ³ Ind. Ant., Vol. XIX, p. 303 f. ⁴ Potdar Commemoration Volume, p. 317 f.

We have seen above that Subandhu was ruling at Māhişmatī in the beginning of the fifth century A.D. It is not known if the early Kalacuris, who rose to power at the same place, were of the Sātavāhanas, descended from him; for there is a long period of nearly 150 years which separates them and for which no records have yet come to light. The early Kalacuris rose into prominence of the downfall of the Traikūtakas. The last known date of the Traikūtakas is the year 245 (A.D. 494-95) furnished by the Kanheri plate. The next known date of the Kalacuri era from Gujarāt and Mahārāstra is the year 299 (A.D. 541) furnished by the Sunao Kala plates1 of Sangamasimha. He was evidently ruling over some territory which was previously included in the Traikūtaka kingdom. Sangamasimha, who calls himself Makasamanta was evidently a feudatory of some other power. The only powerful dynasty to which he may have owed allegiance was that of the Kalacuris. The Kalacuri king ruling at the time must have been the father of Krsnaraja. His name unfortunately has not come down to us.

Krsnarāja's father, using Māhismatī as his base, seems to have extended his power in the east, west and south. In the west he overthrew the Traikūţakas, whose territory he divided among his feudatories. The Mauryas were placed in charge of Aparanta or North Konkan, while Sangamasimha was appointed to rule over Gujarāt or at least the central part of it. We do not know whether Mahārāṣṭra was annexed during his reign or during that of his successor.

Krsnarāja, who succeeded his father in circa A.D. 550, seems to have extended his kingdom still further. His coins are imitated from those of the Traikūtakas. They have on the obverse the bust of the King and on the reverse the figure of the bull (Nandi) surrounded by the legend running round the edge viz. Parama-Māheśvara-mātā-pitṛ-pād ānudhyāta-śrī-Kṛṣṇarāja, meaning that (this is a coin of) the illustrious Kṛṣṇarāja, who meditates on the feet of his mother and father and is a devout worshipper of Maheśvara. These coins have been discovered over a very wide area including Rājputānā and Mālvā in the north, the districts of Nāśik and Sātārā in the south, the islands of Bombay and Sasti in the west and the districts of Amravatī in Vidarbha and Betūl and Jabalpūr in Madhya Pradeśa. As these coins were in circulation for 150 years after the time of Krsnarāja and were used by several later dynasties, it is not possible to say whether all this territory was included in the dominion of Kṛṣṇarāja, but there is no doubt that Gujarāt, Konkan and Maharastra including Vidarbha were comprised in it.

The only record of the reign of Kṛṣṇarāja is that incised on the Nagardhan plates³ of Svāmirāja. They were issued from the erstwhile Vākāṭaka capital Nandivardhana near Nāgpūr by Svāmīrāja's brother Nannarāja and record two grants-(i) one of twelve

CHAPTER 3.

The Successors THE EARLY KALACHURIS.

C. I. I., Vol. IV, p. 33 f.
 Ibid., Vol. IV, p. clxxx f.
 Ibid, Vol. IV, p. 611 f.

CHAPTER 3. The Successors the Sätavāhanas. THE EARLY KALACHURIS.

nivartanas of land made by a Corporation of Mahāmātras (E'ephantdrivers) and (ii) the other of the village Ankollika made by the king Svāmirāja at Prayāg. Svāmirāja is described in the grant as 'meditating on the feet of the lord paramount', which indicates his feudatory status. His suzerain is not named, but he could have been none other than the Kalacurī Kṛṣṇrāja, as the date K. 322 (A.D. 573-74) falls in his reign (A.D. 550-575). The family of Svāmirāja is also not named in the grant, but as the names Svāmirāja and Nannarāja occur in some other Rāstrakūta grants found in Vidarbha, Svāmirāja and his brother must have belonged to the same lineage.

Krsnarāja's son and successor Sankaragana is known from several records. His own Abhona plates1 were issued from his camp at Ujjayinī and record the donation of some land in a village in the Marāthvādā region of Mahārāstra. The grant shows that Sankaragaņa's empire extended from Mālvā in the north to Mahārāṣṭra in the south. That Gujarāt also was included in it is shown by the Sankheda plate of his General Santilla. Sankaragana ruled probably from circa A.D. 575 to A.D. 600.

Sankaragana was succeeded by his Buddharāja. Soon son after his accession Buddharāja had to face an invasion of his territory by his southern neighbour Mangalesa of the Early Calukya Dynasty of Badāmī. In this struggle Buddharāja was completely routed and fled away leaving his whole treasure behind him, which was captured by Mangaleśa². The latter then resolved that he would make an expedition of conquest in the north and plant a pillar of victory on the bank of the Bhagirathi, but he could not follow up his victory because just then his feudatory Svämirāja of the Cālukya family who was ruling at Redi in South Konkan rose in rebellion. Mangaleśa had to rush to Redi to chastise the rebellious feudatory. He killed him and made a grant by way of thanksgiving. The Mahākūţa inscription3 which contains the earliest reference to Mangalesa's victory over Buddharāja is dated in A.D. 601-02. Its contents show that it was put up soon after the defeat of Buddharaia, which may therefore have occurred in circa A.D. 601.

Mangalesa could not execute his plan of leading an expedition to North India for planting a pillar of victory on the bank of Bhāgirathī; for he was fully occupied in ensuring the succession of his son and thwarting the schemes of his ambitious nephew Pulakeśin II. This gave the necessary respite to Buddharāja, who seems to have soon consolidated his position. Both his known grants are dated after his defeat by Mangaleśa. The earlier of them4 was made at Vidiśā in Central India and is dated in K. 360 (A.D. 610). It registers

¹ C. I. I., Vol. IV, p. 38 f. ² Ibid., Vol. IV, p. xlviii. ³ Ind Ant., Vol. XIX, pp. 17, 18. ⁴ C. I. I., Vol. IV, p. 47 f.

the donation of a village in the Nāśik District. The other grant1 was made at Ānandapura (modern Vadnagar in North Gujarāt) a few months later and registers the donation of a village in the of the Satavahanas. Broach District. Both these grants were made during the victorious campaigns of the Kalacuri king, which were probably undertaken to meet the danger of invasion of Malva by the contemporary powerful king Sīlāditya I-Dharmāditya.

CHAPTER 3

THE EARLY KALACHURIS.

Some scholars² identify the Malvā king who, according to Bāṇa's Harşacarita invaded Kanauj, killed Grahavarman and threw his wife Rājyaśrī into prison, with the Kalacuri Buddharāja; but the theory does not stand scrutiny. In A.D. 605, when these events took place, Mangaleśa was still supreme in the south. Though he could not, for some reason, carry out his original plan of leading an expedition to North India, the danger of his attack could not have passed altogether. Buddharāja could not therefore have thought of carrying his arms as far north as Kanauj, leaving the southern frontier of his own kingdom exposed to the attack of his powerful neighbour.

With the accession of Pulakesin II in circa A.D. 610, the political situation in South India changed completely. The young Calukya prince was as ambitious as he was powerful. After consolidating his position in the Karnāṭaka he subdued the neighbouring princes, the Gangas and the Alupas. He next turned his attention to the north. He stormed Puri, the capital of the Mauryas, who owed allegiance to the Kalacuris3. It is not known what measures Buddharāja took to defend his feudatory against the mighty invador. Pulakeśin reduced Puri after a hard-fought battle. He then invaded Mahārāstra. The Aihole inscription says that Pulakesin used all the three royal powers (viz. energy, counsel and royal position) to gain his object and ultimately became the lord of the three Mahārāstras comprising ninety-nine thousand villages4. Diplomacy seems to have played as great a part in achieving this victory as actual fighting. The inscription does not mention Pulakeśin's adversary, but there is little doubt that he was Buddharāja. His defeat may have taken place in circa A.D. 620.

After conquering Mahārāṣṭra, Gujarāt and Konkan, Pulakeśin parcelled out the territory among his relatives and feudatories. He placed his brother Vișnuvardhana in charge of Southern Mahārāṣṭra³. Northern Mahārāṣṭra may similarly have been given to some other relative. Gujarāt was made over to the Sendrakas⁶. In Vidarbha the old feudatory family of the Rāstrakūtas may have been allowed to continue7. Who was appointed to govern Konkan is not known.

C. I. I., Vol. IV, p. 51,

2 J. B. O. R. S., Vol. XIX, p. 406 f.

3 Ep. Ind., Vol. VI, pp. 1 f.

4 Ibid., Vol. VI, p. 6.

5 Ind. Ant, Vol. XIX, p. 303 f.

6 C. I. I. Vol. IV, p. lvii f.

7 We have some inscriptions of the Rāstrakūtas of Vidarbha of later times.

Studden in Indologie Vol. II pp. 98 f. Studies in Indology, Vol. II, pp. 25 f.

CHAPTER 3. The Successors of the Sātavāhanas. THE EARLY _

KALACHURIS,

Later, it was placed in charge of Pulakesin's son Jayasimha alias Dharāśraya¹.

History does not know the names of Buddharāja's successors. They probably continued to rule at Māhiṣmatī as feudatories of the Cālukyas. One of them made a last attempt to regain the kingdom of his ancestors, but it was not successful and the Haihayas (as the Kalacuris came to be called) were reduced to the same position of servitude as the Gangas and Alupas who had already submitted to the Cālukyas2. As this revolt is mentioned in Vinayāditya's grant of Saka 609, it must have occurred before A.D. 687. Thereafter the Haihayas or Kalacuris remained loyal to their suzerains and gaining their confidence, became matrimonially allied with them. Later, they turned their attention to the north where they found a suitable opportunity to carve out a kingdom for themselves in the second half of the seventh century A.D.3.

THE MAURYAS.

The province of Aparanta (North Konkan) was included in the kingdom of the Traikūṭakas, as shown by the copper-plate inscription of the dynasty found in the Stupa at Kanherit. Their capital of this province may have been Sürpāraka, modern Sopārā in the Ţhāṇā District, where fragments of Aśoka's edicts have been found. After the overthrow of the Traikūţakas, Aparanta was in the dominion of the Kalacuris. Coins of the Kalacuri king Kṛṣṇarāja have been found in the island of Bombay. But the country was not directly administered by the Kalacuris. They gave it to a feudatory family called the Mauryas. Whether this family was descended from the Imperial Maurya dynasty of Pāṭaliputra is not known; but it is noteworthy that other traces of the far-famed Maurya race have been found in Western India. The Kanaśva inscription⁸ dated A.D. 738-39 mentions the Maurya sking Dhavalappa, who was probably holding the fort of Citod. This family probably succumbed to the attack of the Arabs, who are credited with u victory over them. Another Maurya family was ruling at Valabhī (modern Valā) in Saurāstra. A later scion of it named Govinda was reigning from Vāghlī in Khāndeśa as a feudatory of the Mahāmandaleśvara Seunacandra II6. Whether the family ruling in North Konkan in the sixth and seventh centuries A.D. was related to any of these branches of the great Maurya family is not known.

The first notice of the Maurya family ruling in North Konkan occurs in the description of the conquests of the early Calukya king Kirtivarman I (A.D. 566-598). In the Aihole inscription he is described as the Night of Destruction to the Nalas, Mauryas and Kadambas⁷. The Mauryas, who had shortly before begun to reign in Konkan, were not very powerful and could be easily subdued. Whether their suzerain Kṛṣṇarāja lent them any aid is not known.

¹ C. I. I., Vol. IV, p. lix f.
2 Ep. Ind, Vol. XIX, p. 64.
3 C. I. I. Vol. IV, p. lxviii f.
4 Ibid., Vol, IV, p. 29 f.
5 Ind., Ant. Vol. XIX p. 56.
6 Ep. Ind., Vol. II, p, 221.
7 Ibid., Vol. VI, p. 1 f.

Kirtivarman seems to have annexed some portion of Konkan which he assigned to the feudatory Svāmirāja of the Cālukya family who had his capital at Revati-dvīpa, modern Redī, south of Vengurlā in of the Sātavāhanas. the Ratnagiri District. Later, this Svāmirāja seems to have sided with the Kalacuri king Buddharāja and revolted just when Mangaleśa invaded the latter's territory1. Mangaleśa had therefore to give up his original plan of making conquests in North India and planting a pillar of victory on the bank of the Bhagirathi. He rushed to Revatī to punish Svāmirāja, whom he defeated and deposed. Mangaleśa then appointed Indravarman of the Batpura lineage, who was evidently related to his own mother, as Governor of the newly conquered territory. Indravarman is known from his grant made at Revatī-dvīpa in A.D. 6102.

Though the Mauryas were ruling over North Konkan for about seventy-five years, we have little knowledge of their history. The only record of their reign is that discovered at Vādā in Thāṇā District. It is still unpublished, but from the account given by Bhagwanlal it seems to have belonged to the reign of the Maurya king Suketuvarman and records the installation of the god Koţīśvara by one Simhadatta, the son of Kumāradatta3.

Soon after his accession, Pulakeśin II turned his attention to the conquest of North Konkan. He sent a large army and a fleet of hundreds of large ships to attack the Maurya capital Puri, 'the'goddess of fortune of the Western Ocean'4 The Aihole inscription gives a graphic description of the hard-fought battle. The Maurya king was defeated and his kingdom was annexed to the Calukyan Empire.

Purī which continued to be the capital of North Konkan even after this conquest, has not yet been satisfactorily identified. It is described in later records as the chief town of the Konkan fourteen hundred⁵. Some scholars identify it with Ghārāpurī, better known as Elephanță with its magnificent Cave temples. Gharapuri lies about six miles on the cast side of the Bombay harbour and has two landing places known as Morā Bandar and Rāj Bāndar, the former of which is supposed to be reminiscent of its having been the Maurya capital. The island is, however, too small to be the capital of state. It is, besides, completely isolated from the mainland and is therefore unsuitable to be the seat of government. Another view is that Puri is identical with Rājapurī, also known as Daņdā Rājapurī near Murud in the former Janjira State⁶. It is situated at the mouth of a long creek and has well-fortified fort nearby. It is surrounded by the sea on three sides and is connected with the mainland on the fourth. Pulakeśin II had therefore to employ both his army and navy to reduce it. The description, by the Kanarese poet Ranna, of

CHAPTER 3.

The Successors THE MAURYAS.

Ind. Ant., Vol. VII, p. 161 f.

J. B. B. R. A. S., Vol. X, p. 365.

Bom. Gaz., (First Ed.,) Vol. XIV, pp. 372-73.

Ep. Ind., Vol. VI, p. 1 f.

In some inscriptions the number of villages is given as fourteen thousand Cf. येनेदं चतुर्दशग्रामसहस्रसंख्यं सकलमपि पुरीकोङकणं भुक्तमासीत् C. 1. 1. Vol. IV,

⁶ For a detailed discussion of this question, see P. I. H. C., Vol. IV, p. 50 f.

CHAPTER 3. The Successors

the plight of the Silāhāra king Aparājita who was besieged in it also suits Rājapurī. Ranna says, "Hemmed in by the ocean on one side and the sea of Satyāśraya's army on the other, Aparājita trembled of the Satavahanas. Side and the sea of output of the Matinual like an insect on a stick both the ends of which are on fire "1. Rājapurī near Murud may therefore be taken to be the Mauryan capital Puri, the chief town of the Konkan fourteen hundred.

> The magnificent cave temple of Siva at Elephanta was probably carved out of solid rock during the reign of these Maurya kings. There has been considerable difference of opinion about the age of the Elephanta Caves. Burgess2 placed them about A.D. 800, while Hirānand Sāstrī³ thought that they were wrought in the Gupta age. Gupta, however, would refer them to the first half of the sixth century A.D. on the evidence of close similarity of some sculptures there with those at Badami. The last view seems to be probable. We do not know to what religious sect the Mauryas belonged, but their suzerains the Kalacuris were parama-māheśvaras or devout worshippers of Siva. The Pasupata Sect of Saivism had considerable influence at their court. The Dûtaka of Sankaragana's Abhona plates was a Pāsupata4. Again, the queen of Sankaragana's son Buddharāja is described in his Vadner plates as Pāsupata-rājūī, Hirānand Sāstrī has noticed the sculpture of Lakuliśa, the founder of the Pāsupata sect, in one of the caves at Elephanta. It is therefore not unlikely that the caves at Elephanta were excavated at the instance of the Kalacuri suzerains of the Mauryas.

Ind. Ant., Vol. XL, p. 41.

² C. I. I., p. 467.

³ A Guide to Elephanță, p. 11.

C. I. I., Vol. IV, p. 42.
 Ibid, Vol. IV, p. 50.
 A Guide to Elephanta, p. 23 f.

CHAPTER 4.

THE WESTERN KSATRAPAS*

CASUAL REFERENCES WERE ALREADY MADE IN A PRECEDING CHAPTER to the Saka rulers in Mālvā and Gujarāt, with whom the Sātavahanas had often to fight both offensive and defensive wars. We shall now devote this chapter to describe the rise and fall of the Saka power in Western India:

CHAPTER 4. The Western

Ksatrapas.

The Saka rulers of Māļvā, Gujarāt and Kāṭhiāvāḍ are usually referred to as Western Ksatrapas in ancient Indian history.1 They are called Western Kşatrapas to distinguish them from the Saka Kṣatrapa families ruling in the Punjāb and adjoining territories, who are usually designated as Northern Ksatrapas. They are called Ksatrapas because they invariably used the title Ksatrapa or Mahaksatrapa to designate their ruling status. The title Ksatrapa looks Sanskrtic and can be easily and correctly explained as Ksatrān pātītī ksatrapah, he is Ksatrapa who is the protector or leader of the Ksatriyas or the military class, i.e. military captain or general or governor. In early Sanskrt literature this word nowhere occurs in this sense. The word is of Iranian origin. Ancient Achæmenian records refer to provincial governors as Ksatrapāvans or protectors of the kingdom.2 The Sakas and Kuśānas had come into close contacts with the Parthians in Persia, who also used this term to denote provincial governors. They therefore began to use it to denote the status of their own provincial governors and viceroys, introducing also a new modification of it, Mahākṣatrapa, to denote the higher ones among these officers. It was but natural for the Sakas of Western India to take the title Ksatrapa, because they were subordinate rulers, owing allegiance to Saka emperors of the Punjab. They however continued the title even after they had become independent, probably out of a sentimental attachment to it.

The Saka rule in Māļvā and Gujarāt was a natural consequence of the establishment of a Saka Empire in the Indus valley and the

²Ksaira in ancient Iranian always denotes a kingdom.

^{*}This chapter is contributed by late Dr. A. S. Altekar, M.A., LL.B., D.Litt.

Barly writers like Prinsep, Thoas and Newton described the Kastrapa kings as members of a Sah or Sena dynasty; this was due to their failure to read correctly the ending termination simha, with which the names of many of the kings ended. As the medial vowels were usually omitted in the legends, the mistake was natural.

CHAPTER 4.

The Western Kşatrapas. Punjāb. The early Saka rulers of Western India, were feudatory governors of the contemporary Saka emperors, as the Nizām in later times was of the Moghal emperors of Delhi. When Saka rule in the Punjāb was replaced by the Kušāņa empire, the Sakas of Western India transferred their allegiance to that power. From about 150 A.D., they became independent, and their Kušāṇa overlords sank into insignificance; nevertheless they never assumed imperial titles like Rājādhirāja, but were content with their hereditary titles of Kṣatrapas and Mahākṣatrapas.

The history of the Sakas in northern India is still shrouded in considerable mystery. Scholars widely differ as to the date of the first Saka emperor, Maues, who is known to us from his extensive coinage. It is not necessary for our purpose to enter into a discussion of rival theories. We have assumed as a working hypothesis that Maues was ruling from c. 90 B.C. to 60 B.C. Maues appears to have descended into the Sindh Valley from Seistan and occupied the delta first. It is interesting to note that Sindh was known as Scythia even down to the middle of the first century A.D. It continued to be under the Scythian rule down to c. 200 A.D., but very title is known about the history of the Saka rulers who ruled there. The term Western Ksatrapas, as conventionally known to scholars, does not include the Saka Ksatrapas also who ruled over Sindh.

Jain tradition refers to a brief interval of four years of Saka rule at Ujjayinī, which was put an end to by king Vikramāditya, who drove out the Sakas and founded the Vikrama era in 57 B.C.² It may well be doubted whether an era known after Vikrama was really started in 57 B.C.; but there seems to be nothing improbable in the Sakas of Sindh having made an effort to establish themselves at Ujjayinī at about 60 B.C. Maues was then at the height of his power and he may well have sent a general to capture Ujjayinī. The attempt however eventually proved to be abortive. No Saka coins belonging to the first century B.C. have been found at Ujjayinī or in Māļvā. This circumstance would confirm the statement of the Jain tradition that the Saka rule at this time did not last for more than 4 years.

Mathurā was a centre of Saka power from c. 50 B.C. to 50 A.D. and there were a number of Saka Kṣatrapas or viceroys ruling at that place. Prominent among them were Saka Kusūlaka and his son Paṭika, and Rājuvula and his son Sodāsa. These were ruling down to c. 10 A.D. and were most probably the feudatories of Saka emperors, Azes and Azileses who succeeded Maues in the Puñjāb. No evidence is so far available to show that any effort was made by the Sakas at this time to found a principality in Western India.

The Kşaharāta dynasty is the earliest known Saka dynasty of Western India. Liaka Kusūlaka is described as a Kṣatrapa of Chaharāta and Cukṣa in the Taxilā copper plate of Paṭika; very

KSHAHARATA Dynasty.

⁽¹⁾ Schoff: The Periplus, Para. 38.

⁽²⁾ Kālakācārya-Kathānaka.

probably like Cukṣa, Chaharāta i.e. Kṣaharāta was also the name of a locality or division in the vicinity of Taxilā.¹ A fragmentary inscription found at Ganeshra mound near Mathurā refers to a Stūpa probably constructed by Kṣaharāta Chaṭāka, who was most probably a Kṣatrapa.²

The Western Kşatrapas.

CHAPTER 4.

Kshaharata

DYNASTY.

This record would suggest that some members of the Kṣaharāta family were connected with or settled near Mathurā before one of its branch migrated to the Deccan. The scanty available evidence seems to show that members of the Kṣaharāta family had served as Kṣatrapas in the North—Western Frontier Province and the Eastern Punjāb or Northern U. P. before one of its members migrated to the Deccan in search of new pastures. Those who came to the Deccan continued to adopt Kṣaharāta as their family name, as it was connected with their place of origin. At this time both Saka and Pārthian families were ruling in northern India and there was considerable racial mixture between them. It is therefore not easy to state whether Kṣaharātas were Pārthians or Sakas. The name Nahapāna has a Pārthian look, but his son-in-law Uṣabhadāta is expressly described as a Saka.

So far Bhūmaka was known to be the earliest ruler of this dynasty, but recently a coin has come to light in the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay, which shows that he may have had a predecessor as well. The find-spot of this coin is not recorded, nor is it possible to read the name of this early ruler on his solitary copper coin. The obverse type Dharmacakra and Lion capital connect this unknown ruler both with Bhūmaka and the Mathurā Kṣatrapas; its reverse type Nike would suggest that he was a predecessor of Bhūmaka.

There is considerable controversy about the date of the Taxilā plate of Paţika. The generally accepted view at present is that the Mathurā Kṣatrapas are to be placed a few decades earlier or later than the beginning of the Christian era. The obverse type of the Kṣaharāta coins, Arrow pointing downwards and Thunderbolt with a pellet³ between them bears a close resemblance to a joint type of Spalirises and Azes II, where we have Discus, Bow and

¹Konow's view that Kşaharāta may have denoted a higher title than Kṣatrapas (I. H. Q., 1935, p. 135) does not seem to be a tenable one, the coin legend Kṣaharātasa Kṣatrapasa Bhāmakasa goes against it; Dr. Indraji described the rulers of this dynasty as of Kṣaroṣtī family (B. G., I, p. 23); he thought that they owed their surname to the circumstance of their being the descendants of the crown prince Kharaoṣta mentioned in the Lion Capital inscription of Mathurā. He thought that when Kharaoṣta was ousted by Kṣatrapa Paṭika, some of his relatives may have accepted service under him and may have been sent to the Decean for its conquest (J. R. A. S. 1890, p. 641). This is an ingenious theory and would be compatible with the date assigned here to Bhūmaka. But it is very doubtful whether the surname Kṣabarāta can be connected with Yuvarāja Kharaoṣṭa. The rulers of the family would have taken a surname not from Kharaoṣṭa, who never came to the throne, but from his father Rājuvula. Konow took Cukṣa to be modern Caca in the north of Attock District. This seems to be more probable than the view of Cunningham, who identified it with Sirsukh, a part of the ancient city of Taxilā.

²J. R. A. S., 1912, pp. 122-23.

³This pellet would probably stand for the Discus on the joint coinage of Spalirises and Azes.

CHAPTER 4.

The Western Kşatrapas. The Kshaharata

DYNASTY.

Bhūmaka.

Arrow.¹ The time of Azes II like that of the Mathurā Kṣatrapas is somewhere near the beginning of the Christian era. We may therefore well assume that the Kṣaharātas started for the south at about 25 A.D. The Kṣaharāta ruler of the Prince of Wales Museum coin was perhaps the earliest ruler, and we may place his reign from c. 25 A.D. to 40 A.D. When he was ruling and what the extent of his dominion was we do not know. But we could not be far wrong in assuming that he might have succeeded in establishing a foothold at Ajmer, from which his successors could penetrate into Mālvā.

The next known Kṣaharāta ruler is Bhūmaka², who also is known to us only from his coins. We may tentatively place his reign between 40 and 60 A.D. The coins of this ruler are found in the coastal regions of Gujarāt and Kāthiāvāḍ and sometimes in Māļvā;³ we may therefore well assume that his dominion included part of Gujarāt and Kāṭhiāvāḍ. Where his capital was we do not know. Nor do we know whether he was in possession of Ujjayinī. Probably the Sātavāhanas were holding Māļvā down to 50 A.D.

Being fresh from the north, Bhūmaka used Kharoṣṭhī script for the obverse and Brāhmī script for the reverse of his coins. Probably being the ruler of a small kingdom, he could not manage to bring die-cutters from the north, who also knew the Greek script, which was so common on the coins of the north at this time. The motif of his coin type, Lion Capital and Dharmacakra on the obverse and Arrow, Thunderbolt and Pellet on the reverse suggest that he could not have been far removed in time from the Mathurā Kṣatrapas and Spalirises and Azes II. Both their motifs are rather rare in Indian numismatics and their adoption by Bhūmaka cannot but suggest the above conclusion. If the date here assigned to Bhūmaka is correct, it will follow that he may have professed to be a governor of Gondopharnes or Wima Kadphises.

The regal title of Bhūmaka on his coins is Kṣatrapa, which was also assumed by a number of Saka potentates in Northern India. As already pointed out, this title, though of Achæmenian origin, had become quite popular in the Saka and Pārthian administration. India, however had coined a higher title named Mahākṣatrapa, to denote a higher status, which was usually conferred by the emperor in recognition of special services. Bhūmaka, however, is seen to use only the lower title of Kṣatrapa throughout his reign, which ended probably in c. 60 A.D.

³B. M. C. A. K., p. evii.

¹See B. M. C. A. K.; Pl. IX, 237-39 and P. M. G, I, Pl. XIV, 396. It may be pointed out that the larger coins of Bhūmaka are intermediate in size between the joint type of Spalirises and Azes and the copper coins of Nahapāna. This also would show that chronologically Bhūmaka is much nearer to Azes than Nahapāna. The introduction of the Greek legend and bust on the silver coins of Nahapāna was due to a currency reform undertaken by him, and not to his being an earlier ruler.

undertaken by him, and not to his being an earlier ruler.

"Konow has suggested that Bhūmaka may be identical with Ysāmotika, the father of Castana, the founder of the second Kṣatrapa house. He connects Ysāmotika with the Saka word Ysma meaning earth (Khuroṣthi Ins., p. I.XX). This view is extremely improbable. Ysāmotika was a commoner; he is never given any royal title in the coin legend of his son. Bhūmaka on the other hand was a Kṣatrapa. The acceptance of the view of Konow would further make Caṣṭana and Nahapāna contemporary rulers ruling over practically the same territories.

Nahapāna is the next Ksaharāta ruler, his relationship to Bhūmaka is not known, but it is not unlikely that he may have been his son. But on his coins and in his inscriptions, Nahapāna expressly described He continues the reverse type of his himself as a Ksaharāta. predecessor, Arrow, Thunderbolt and Pellet, but the Lion Capital and Dharmacakra on the obverse are replaced by the royal bust with circular legend in Greek characters but Prakrt language intended to stand for PANNIWAHAPATAC NAHANAC.1 The reverse gives this legend both in Brahmi and Kharosthi scripts. Nahapana is the only king so far known who has issued triscriptal coins.

Before we proceed to describe the career and achievements of Nahapāna we have to discuss his date at some length, because widely divergent views are held on the subject. Jayaswal held that Gautamīputra Sātakarni overthrew Nahapāna in 57 B.C. and founded the Vikrama era.2 Messrs. Dubreuil, 8 K. A. N. Shastrit and Bakhale 5 place the overthrow of Nahapāna in c. 10 B.C. It is argued that the dates 41, 42 and 46 of the records of Nahapana are the dates in the Vikrama era or in the era of Azes, which was founded at about the same time. Nahapāna was overthrown soon after the year 46 of this era, i.e. at about 10 B.C. R. D. Banerji places his overthrow about 25 years later.6

The above theories which place Nahapāna in the first century B.C. or soon thereafter are untenable. Jayaswal assumes that the overthrower of Nahapāna was an earlier Sātakarņi, the eighth ruler of the dynasty according to his theory, who had ruled for 56 years from 100 to 44 B.C.7 There is no evidence to show that he was known as Gautamiputra. And supposing that he founded the Vikrama era to commemorate his victory over Nahapāna, is it not strange that he and his descendants should have religiously boycotted its use in all their official and dated records which have come to light? Nor is it possible to place Nahapāna from c. 40 B.C. to 10 B.C., as is done by Messrs. Shastri and Bakhale. It is no doubt true that the coins of Nahapāna, showing the bust of the king with the Greek legend on one side, show considerable Greek influence. But we may point out that a greater approximation to the Greek type is shown by the gold coins of the Kuśānas, who undoubtedly ruled from c. 78 A.D. to 200 A.D. When Nahapāna succeeded in founding a fairly big empire in the Deccan, he naturally introduced a currency reform, which was responsible for the introduction of the bust and Greek legend on his coins, features which are absent from the copper currency of his predecessor Bhumaka.

The Paurānic evidence clearly shows that Gautamīputra Sātakarņi came towards the end of the first century A.D.; but it is argued that he defeated not Nahapāna, but some of his descendants. It is CHAPTER 4.

The Western Ksatrapas. THE KSHAHARATA

DYNASTY.

Nahapāna,

¹B. M. C. A. K., p. 65. ²J. B. O. R. S., XVI, p. 249.

³Early History of the Deccan, pp. 19-25.

⁴J. R. A. S. 1926, p. 643. ⁵J. B. B. R. A. S., N. S. I., p. 245.

⁶I. A., 1908, p. 63. ⁷J. B. O. R. S., XVI, p. 278.

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The Western Kṣatrapas, THE Kshaharata Dynasty, Nahapāna. assumed that after the death of Nahapāna in c. 10 B.C., a number of his relations and descendants continued to rule the Deccan, who are referred to as Kṣaharātakula in the Sātavāhana record. It is further argued that these successors of Nahapāna, for some reasons unknown to us, issued coins with their own different busts, but bearing the name of their illustrious predecessor. The date of Nahapāna can, therefore, be 10 B.C., even if we have to place Gautamīputra in the first century A.D. The latter defeated not Nahapāna, but some of his descendants, among whom the kingdom was divided.

This argument is ingenious but not convincing. There is no doubt a striking diversity in the features of the busts on the coins of Nahapāna counterstruck by Gautamīputra Sātakarņi. But that can as well be due to the unequal artistic skill of the different artists entrusted with the task of preparing the dies. In the far off Deccan, it was difficult to get artists who would be well grounded in all the three scripts, Greek, Kharoṣṭhī and Brāhmī,² and would also be good portrait engravers. Otherwise we cannot understand the undisputed fact of Greek script being corrupt on those coins where the bust is young and correct on those coins where it is old.

That several successors of Nahapāna should all have decided to put their individual busts upon their coins but refrained from giving their names appears improbable. In contemporary times even petty rulers like Jayadāman, Rājuvula and Soḍāsa never failed to give their names on coins. Why then should we suppose that about half a dozen successors of Nahapāna should have followed this unusual procedure?

Another important circumstance goes against this view. One of the records of Nahapāna gives the ratio between the contemporary silver and gold currency as 35: 4.4 This pre-supposes the simultaneous existence of the two currencies. But it is well known that there was no gold coinage current in the first century B.C.⁶ We cannot therefore put Nahapāna in the last quarter of the first century B.C.

Banerji's argument, that the palæographical differences between the Girnār inscription of Rudradāman (dated in 150 A.D.) and the Nāśik inscriptions of Nahapāna show that at least one century must have elapsed between them,⁶ has not much cogency. In ancient India communications were difficult and it would not be fair to compare the palæography of records separated by hundreds of miles. If we compare the scripts of the Nāśik records of Nahapāna and Gautamīputra Sātakarņi we find that they are contemporaneous; there is hardly any palæographical difference between them.

coins from c. 30 B. C. to 150 A. D., J. R. A. S. 1908, p. 551.

'Nāsik inscription Nos. 12: E. I., III, p. 82.

6./.R.A.S., 1926, pp. 10 ff.

Scott first advocated this view in J. B. B. R. A.S., XXII, p. 236; it is accepted by almost all those who place Nahapāna at c. 10 B. C.

^{*}It is interesting to note that some die-cutters were good in engraving Greek letters but poor in engraving Kharoṣṭhī ones; while others were well grounded only in Brāhmī.

*It has also been suggested that the busts are merely copies of the busts on Roman

Neither Maues nor Vonones, neither Azes or Azilises, who ruled at about this time, had issued any gold coins. Their currency was only in silver and copper.

There is another circumstance suggesting that Gautamīputra had defeated Nahapāna himself and not any of his successors. The very first charitable donation that Gautamiputra made in the flush of his victory consisted of a field near Nāśik, which is described as in possession of Uşabhadāta till that time.1 This Uşabhadāta can be hardly any other than the famous son-in-law of Nahapāna. There are scores of land-grants recorded in the caves of Western India, but they never mention the names of the earlier owner of the property donated. If it is mentioned in the solitary case, the reason must have been the well-known position of the former owner.

The view here advocated that Nahapāna came to the throne in c. 55 A.D.2 well explains all the known facts of the Saka and Sătavāhana history. The years of his records 41, 42 and 46 are his regnal years; some of his coins show the king's bust as that of an old man of about 75 with sunken cheeks and teethless jaws; so he may well have had a long reign of about 50 years. Gold currency became common with the accession of Wima Kadphises in c. 50 A.D.; we can therefore well understand how one of the inscriptions of Nahapāna should refer to the ratio of 1: 35 between the prices of the gold and silver coins.3

It is generally assumed that the king Nambanus, referred to as the ruler of Ariake or the Western Coast by the Periplus is the same as Nahapāna, Nambanus being a scribe's mistake for Nahapāna. The Periplus was written in the latter half of the first century A. D. and we can understand the reference to Nahapāna in that work as the ruler of Ariake and Broach.

If we place the accession of Nahapāna in c. 55 A.D., the time of his predecessor Bhūmaka would be 30 to 55 A.D.; we can then well explain the striking similarity of his coin type with that of one obscure type of Spalirises and Azes to which we have referred above; for Bhūmaka flourished only about 25 years later than these rulers. We can also understand the adoption of Dharmacakra and Lion Capital as the reverse device of the coins of Bhūmaka, for the Mathurā Ksatrapas, who had dedicated the famous Lion "Capital there, flourished at about the beginning of the Christian era, i.e., about 25 years earlier than the time of Bhūmaka.

The usual view that the overthrow of Nahapāna is to be placed soon after 124 A.D. is no doubt a plausible one; the next Kşatrapa family in Western India was using the Saka era and it is plausible to suggest that the years in the inscriptions of Nahapana and his son-in-law should also be referred to the same era; and this leads to the logical conclusion that Nahapāna was ruling as a Mahākṣatrapa down to the year 46 of the Saka era, i.e. 124 A.D. This assumption

CHAPTER 4.

The Western Ksatrapas. THE KSHAHARA

DYNASTY.

Nahapāna,

²Gopalachari also places the accession of Nahapāna at about this time. Early History of the Andhra Country, p. 58. ³E. I., VII.

Schoff, The Periplus, p. 39.
Skay Chaudhuri, Political History of Ancient India, p. 4°5. Tripathi, History of Ancient India, p., 216. Rapson, B. M.C. A. K., p. xxvi. In the first edition of this work, Dr. Bhagwanlal, Indraji had also adopted the same view; B. G., I, i. p. 29.

The Western Kşatrapas.
THE KSHAHARATA DYNASTY.
Nahapāna,

bowever, does not explain a number of events in the Sātavāhana and Kṣatrapa history. Under this theory we have to bring down the reign of Gautamīputra Sātakarņi down to at least 130 A.D., and that of Vāśiṣṭhīputra Puļumāvī down to at least 152 A.D. Rudradāman however claims that before the year 150 A.D., he had twice defeated king Sātakarņi, the lord of the Deccan, and we have shown already how neither Gautamīputra nor Vāśiṣṭhīputra can be identified with this ruler. The known events of the Kṣatrapa history: viz. the advent of Caṣṭana, the expanse of the Śaka power under him, the reign of his son Jayadāman, the set back that beset his progress and the re-establishment of the Saka power under Rudradāman can also not be properly accounted for during a short period of less than twenty-five years.

The most plausible theory that can at present be advanced about the date of Nahapāna is to place his reign between c. 55 and 105 A.D. How the known facts of Sātavāhana history can be most satisfactorily explained by this hypothesis, is already shown in a previous chapter.

Nahapāna's career was undoubtedly a meteoric one, but unfortunately very few of its details are known to us. The kingdom which he inherited from Bhūmaka probably comprised Ajmer and northern Gujarāt. Nahapāna extended it by annexing Māļvā, southern Gujarāt and Konkan and Northern Mahārāṣṭra. All his extension of the kingdom was at the cost of the Sātayāhana empire.

The Sātavāhana chronology is still very much unsettled and it is not possible to state with certainty as to which Sātavāhana kings were the opponents of Bhumaka and Nahapana. According to the chronology proposed in the second chapter Hala, (37-42 A.D.), Mandalaka (42-47 A.D.), Purindrasena (47-52 A.D.), Sundara Svätikarna (53 A.D.), Cakora Svätikarna (53 A.D.), and Sivaśrī (53-81 A.D.) would be the contemporaries of Bhūmaka and Nahapāna. It is not unlikely that the short reigns of some of the above rulers may be due to troubles arising out of the Saka invasion. It is very probable that Sundara Svātikarna and Cakora Svātikarna, who had short reigns of one year and six months only, may have died while fighting with Bhumaka and Nahapana. All this, however, is mere conjecture. The only certain fact is that in c. 60 or 70 A.D., Nahapāna succeeded in wresting away from the Satavahanas Eastern Malva (Akara), Western Mālvā, (Avantī), Konkan (Aparānta) and Northern and Central Mahārāstra. He was already ruling over Kāthiāvād, Northern Gujarāt, Central Rājputānā, upto and even beyond Ajmer . His was thus an extensive kingdom extending from Ajmer to Poona, from Saugar in C. P. to Dvārakā in Kāthiāvād.

Curiously enough, the extent of the dominion of Nahapāna has to be inferred from the places where charitable actions are known to have been performed by his son-in-law Uşabhadāta, (Rṣabhadatta).¹ Besides excavating a number of caves at Nāśik and Kārlī in northern and central Mahārāṣṭra, Uṣabhadāta had given in charity several thousands of coconut trees at the villages of Nānaṅgala and

¹ Nasik inscription Nos. 10 and 12, E.I., VIII, pp. 78f. at d 8/f.

Cikhalpadra (in Kāpura district), both obviously located in Konkan. He is known to have established free ferry service on several rivers in northern Konkan, Dahāņu in Ṭhānā district, Paradā (Pārdī) and Tapī in Surat district, the Damana and the Bānās in Ahmadābād district.

Further, he constructed rest houses and tanks at Govardhana near Nāśik in Northern Mahārāṣṭra, Broach and Sopārā in southern Gujarāt and Konkan, and Dasapura or Mandsore in north-western Mālvā. It is thus quite clear that Central and Northern Mahārāştra, Konkan, Southern and Northern Gujarāt and Mālvā¹ were undoubtedly included in the dominions of Nahapāna. Uṣabhadāta had performed the marriages of eight Brahmanas at Prabhasa or Somanath in Kathiavad and donated a village at Puskara near Aimer. Of course it is possible to argue that Uşabhadata may have visited these places as a pilgrim, though they were not included in the dominion of his father-in-law. But this is not likely, Ajmer was the base of operation even of Bhūmaka, and some copper coins of both Bhūmaka and Nahapāna have been found there. Kāthiāvād is claimed to have been conquered by Gautamiputra Sātakarņi and obviously it must have been from Nahapāna. So we shall be perfectly justified in assuming that Kāṭhiāvāḍ and Ajmer were also included in the dominions of Nahapana. It is interesting to note that famous holy places like Banāras, Allāhābād and Gayā, which were obviously not included in the dominions of Nahapāna, are not mentioned as places of charity of Usabhadāta.

It is thus clear that central Rājasthān, Māļvā, Kāṭhiāvâḍ, Kachcha, Northern and Southern Gujarāt and Northern and Central Mahārāṣṭra were undoubtedly included in the dominions of Nahapāna. Vidarbha does not appear to have been included in it. There was a holy place named Rāmatīrtha, 3 miles north of Haṅgal in Dhārvāḍ district. But Rāmatīrtha mentioned in the inscription of Uṣabhadāta could not have been this place. The Brāhmaṇas at Rāmatīrtha along with those at Govardhana and Sopārā were the sharers in the gift of 32,000 coconut trees at Nānaṅgala in Koṅkaṇ. Rāmatīrtha could therefore obviously not have been so far away from this place as the holy place of that name in Dhārvāḍ district.²

Māļvā, Southern Gujarāt and Northern and Central Mahārāṣṭra must have been wrested from the Sātavāhanas after a bitter struggle. It is likely that Nahapāna may have derived some help in the beginning from his overlord Wima Kadphises, who had at this time carried his arms right up to Pāṭalīputra.³ If it transpires from further

CHAPTER 4.

The Western Kṣatrapas. THE Kshaharata

Dynasty. Nahapāna,

¹Bhagwanlal Indraji did not include Eastern Māļvā in the kingdom of Nahapāna (B. G., I, i. 24). He thought that Nahapāna might have advanced through east Rājputānā by Mandasore in West Māļvā along the easy route to Dohad as far as South Gujarāt, from where his power spread by sea to Kāthiāvāḍ and by land to Nāśik. He excluded Northern Gujarāt and eastern Māļvā from Nahapāna's dominions. It, however, appears almost certain that Ākara (Eastern Māļvā) and Avantī (Western Māļvā) which Gautamīputra elaims to have conquered, must have both belonged to Nahapāna. Bānās river on which Uṣabhadāta established a ferry, flows in Ahmadābād district.

²Rāmatīrtha was near Śelārvādī in the Pooņā District See E.I., XXV, p. 168. (V.V.M.)

²This is shown by the discovery of 23 coins of Wimā Kadphises in the Kumrahar excavations at Pāṭalīputra.

The Western Kṣatrapas. THE KṣṇAHARATA Dynasty. Nahapāna discoveries that the Sātavāhanas were holding Pātalīputra at the time of its conquest by Wima Kaḍphises, as appears probable from the Purāṇic tradition, it is quite natural that Wima may have extended a helping hand to his lieutenant Nahapāna in delivering a staggering blow to the common enemy near the heart of his empire. The greater part of the conquests of Nahapāna however may have been due to his own exertions and initiative. His successes, however, were duly acknowledged by his suzerain by investing him with the higher title of Mahākṣatrapa towards the end of his reign.

The struggle between Nahapāna and the Sātavāhanas seems to be reflected in the story of Naravāhana, king of Broach, narrated in Jain tradition. Naravahana is most probably the Sanskrtised form of Nahapāna. Broach is mentioned as the capital of Naravāhana in the Jain story and it could very well have been the capital of The Sātavāhana king is stated to have repeatedly Nahapāna. besieged Broach, but had to retreat discomfited every time. Eventually he had the recourse to a strategem. One of his ministers, pretending to be dissatisfied with his king, repaired to Nahapāna and took service under him. He then induced his new master to spend greater and greater amounts upon charity, which impoverished his treasury and weakened his military forces. Taking advantage of this situation the Sätavāhana king attacked Nahapāna and defeated and killed him.1 There is ample evidence to show that Usabhadāta, the son-in-law of Nahapāna, had been extremely liberal to Buddhism and Brahmanism. No record has so far been found enumerating any donations of Nahapāna himself. But it is not unlikely that he may have been also as liberal as his son-in-law. In that case the story recorded in the Jain works may have some substratum of truth under it.

The only definite incident of the long reign of Nahapāna referred to in contemporary records is the expedition that he had sent under his son-in-law Uṣabhadāta to relieve the Uttamabhadras, who had been besieged by the Mālavas.² The Mālavas were in possession of the Ajmer-Jaipūr area before its annexation by the Kṣaharātas. They were a freedom loving republic and were constantly trying to regain their independence. This time they did not succeed; for Uṣabhadāta claims that they fled away at the mere report of his advent. Uttamabhadras have not yet been identified, but the Mālava homeland at this time was Ajmer-Jaipūr tract and Uṣabhadāta is known to have celebrated his victory by some charities at Puṣkara lake near Ajmer. It is likely that the Uttamadhadras were in power near Jaipūr. It has been suggested³ that they may have been the descendants of the king Uttamadāta of Mathurā, who is known from

J. N. S. I.

¹This account is based upon an old $g\bar{a}th\bar{a}$ quoted in Avasyaka Sūtra, and its commentary $C\bar{u}rni$. The $g\bar{a}th\bar{a}$, which belongs to Niryukti and is as old as the beginning of the Christian era merely mentions the name of Nahapāna. The details of the story are given only in the $C\bar{u}rni$, which was composed in the 9th century A. D. We can therefore well understand how it mentions Hāla as the conqueror of Nahapāna. For the original passages, see J.~B.~O.~R.~S., XVI. pp. 290-3.

^{*}Nasik inscription No. 10.

his coins to have ruled in c. 1st century B.C. This is possible but not certain. This incident shows that there were dissensions among the Hindu rulers and that the Sakas were following the age old imperial policy of Divide and Rule.

According to the hypothesis here accepted, the inscriptions of Nahapāna are dated in his regnal years. His latest known date is 46; he therefore had a long reign of about fifty years. This is rendered extremely probable by the aged bust of the ruler appearing on some of his coins where he appears with sunken cheeks and teethless jaws. Down to his 45th year, Nahapāna is referred to as a Kṣatrapa only, but in the succeeding year, record of his minister Aryaman found at Junnar, describes him as a Mahā-kṣatrapa. It is possible to argue that the higher title was due to fresh victory won against the Sātavāhanas. But Nahapāna was very old at this time and so one may well doubt whether he could have scored fresh victories after his forty-fifth regnal year. Very probably his imperial overlord Huviṣka had conferred this title on Nahapāna in his old age in recognition of his long and meritorious services.

It is not possible to identify the capital of Nahapāna. Minnagar is mentioned as the capital of Nimbanus by the *Periplus*, and to judge from its direction, given in that book, it may have been somewhere to the north-east of Broach. Some scholars hold that Minnagar may have been Mandasore. But Mandasore was too far away in the north to be a suitable capital for Nahapāna's kingdom. The view that Junnar may have been his capital is equally unconvincing, it was in the far south eastern corner of his kingdom. Broach was perhaps the most flourishing port of Nahapāna's kingdom and may well have been his capital.

Soon after the 46th year of Nahapāna's reign his dynasty was overthrown by Gautamīputra Sātakarņi. The decisive battles were probably fought in the vicinity of Nāśik, for a reference to the camp of his victorious army is made in one of his Nāśik inscriptions by Gautamīputra Sāṭakarṇi, his conqueror. As a result of his military victories, the Sātavāhana conqueror was able to annexe Central and Northern Mahārāṣṭra, the whole of Gujarāt and Kāṭhiāvāḍ, and Eastern and Western Māļvā. It is quite possible that the campaign may have lasted for more than two years.

Whether Nahapāna was himself defeated by Gautamīputra or an immediate successor of his, it is difficult to say. The view that some of the immediate successors of Nahapāna were issuing coins with the name of their illustrious predecessor, but with busts of their own, is untenable, as already shown above. We cannot however altogether exclude the possibility of a successor of Nahapāna being overthrown within a year or two of his accession.¹ On the whole, however, it appears most probable that Nahapāna

CHAPTER 4.

The Western Kşatrapas, The

Kshaharata Dynasty. Nahapāna

^{&#}x27;Nahapāna was a famous king and we would have expected his name to be specifically mentioned in the eulogy of his conqueror at Nāśik. It is however equally probable that his name may have been omitted because the record emphasises the destruction of his entire family.

The Western Kşatrapas, THE KSHAHARATA DYNASTY. Nahapāna

CHAPTER 4.

himself was defeated. In the Jogalthembi hoard, there were no coins of any successor of his and the Jain tradition, above referred to, expressly refers to the overthrow and death of Naravāhana himself. It appears that not only Nahapāna but his sons, nephews and grandsons all perished in the sanguinary struggle; for the Nāśīk eulogy of Gautamīputra describes him as the exterminator of the entire Kṣaharāta family.

Recently however (in 1951 A.D.) several coins of a Saka king named Māna have come to light,¹ who was ruling near Koṇḍāpūr in Central Hyderābād towards the end of the second century A.D. The reverse of these coins shows device of Arrow and Thunderbolt, which was the special feature of the coins of both Bhūmaka and Nahapāna. It would therefore appear that though the Kṣaharāta family was overthrown in c. 105 A.D., some distant scions of it succeeded in carving out small principality near Koṇḍāpūr after about fifty years. The political passions must have cooled down by that time; Sakas had become practically Indians and later Sātavāhanas may not have objected to a Kṣaharāta raising himself to the status of a feudal chief. Very little is however known of king Māna and his dynasty. His father was a mere general (mahāsenāpati)² but he was successful in achieving the status of seleudatory.

THE HOUSE OF CHASTANA

The Sātavāhana emperors in the Deccan were the rivals of the Kuśana emperors in the north. The Kṣaharātas professed to be the feudatories of the latter and their overthrow was not quietly accepted by the Kuśanas. Huviska who was most probably the Kuśana emperor in c. 105 A.D., had a firm grip at this time over the Northern India up to Pāṭaliputra. He soon sent new lieutenant named Castana to recover the lost provinces. The new adventurer was given the status of a Kşatrapa. He was a man of humble origin, for his father Ysamotika is never given any regal title in the coin legends of his son. The foreign look of the father's name no doubt suggests that Castana was a Saka, but he obviously belonged to a stock different from that of the Ksaharātas. A daughter of Rudradāman, a grandson of Castana, describes herself as born of the Kārdamaka This may be therefore taken to be the surname of the new Saka house. Kārdamaka was probably an Indianised form of some Persian or Scythian name.3

Ptolemy states that a king of Ujjayinī named Tiastanes was a contemporary of a king of Paithan named Polemois. It is now generally agreed that Tiastanes is identical with Caṣṭana and Polemois with Vāśiṣṭhīputra Pulumāvī. We have placed the overthrow of Nahapāna by Gautamīputra Sātakarni in c. 110 A.D. Soon thereafter Vāśiṣṭhīputra succeeded his father and Caṣṭana appeared on the scene to re-establish the Saka supremacy.

²(Mā' a himse)! was *Mahāsenāpati*. He later became independent and assumed the title of *Rājan*. Studies in Indology, III. 69. V.VM.)

*Dr. H. Č. Ray Choudhury states that Kārdamaka is the name of a river in Persia and the family of Caştana may have hailed from it. It was once held by some scholars that Caştana might be connected with the district or tribe of Cukşa mentioned in the Taxilā plate of Paţika. But it appears that the real spelling of this name is not Cukşa.

¹J. N. S. 1, XII, p. 90.

Silver coins of Castana are a close copy of the silver currency of Nahapāna. The obverse shows the remnants of corrupt Greek letters and the headdress of the new ruler is markedly similar to that of Nahapāna. This circumstance will show that the two were not far removed from each other in time. It is not impossible that Castana and Nahapāna may have been to some extent contemporaries. This was the view advocated in the first edition of this work, where Bhagwanlal had suggested that Castana might have been a younger contemporary of Nahapāna. He suggested with some hesitation that Castana might be the chief of the Uttamabhadras whom Usabhadata went to assist in the year 42; when Malavas were driven away, Castana might have consolidated his power and taken possession of Māļvā and established his capital at Ujjayinī. In the beginning during the life time of Nahapāna, Bhagwanlal thought, the power of Castana might have been small; a few years after the overthrow of Nahapāna, he wrested away Gujarāt and Kāthiāvād from the Sātavāhanas and assumed the title of Mahākṣatrapa.1

The above view, however, is only partly tenable. To judge from the name, the Uttamabhadras appear to be of Indian origin, while Castana was undoubtedly a Saka. Ajmer was an outpost of Nahapāna's kingdom and it is not likely that Castana may have been allowed to rule there in a more or less independent capacity. It is doubtful whether there was any independent Scythian ruler in Sindh in c. 120 A.D., who could have sent Castana to reconquer Gujarât and Mālvā. It is therefore best to assume that Castana was sent to the south by the contemporary Kuśana emperor Huviska to retrieve the fortunes of the Scythian rule after the power of Nahapana had been shattered in c. 105 A.D.² In the royal portrait gallery at Mathura, a statue has been found along with those of Wima and Kaniska which seems to be that of Castana. The reading of the inscription is rather doubtful, but Castana seems to be a more probable reading than Mastana. It is therefore almost certain that Castana came to Rājputānā as a viceroy of Huvişka. The view of Oldenberg,3 Burgess,4 and Dubreuil⁵ that Castana was feudatory of Gautamiputra Sātakarni, who for some unknown reason had entered the service of the Sātavāhanas and joined hands with them in overthrowing Nahapāna, also seems to be untenable. It is true that Castana has adopted the Caitya symbol of the Sātavāhanas on his coins; but that may as well be due to his having wrested a district of the Satavahana kingdom where that symbol was common. Does not the silver currency of the Guptas, introduced in the districts wrested from the Western Kşatrapas, borrow a number of Saka motifs and features? It is true that Castana was ruling over Akara and Avantī, which had been conquered by Gautamiputra. But he could have got these

CHAPTER 4.

The Western Kşatrapas.
THE HOUSE OF CHASTANA Castana.

¹B. G. I. i. p. 32

²We may here refer, passingly to Fleet's view that Bhūmaka, Nahapāna and Castana were Co-viceroys ruling in Kāthiāvād, Gujarāt Końkan and Ujjayini, J. R. A. S., 1913, p. 993.

³I. A. X.

A. S. W. I., IV, p. 87.

Ancient History of the Deccan.

CHAPTER 4.

The Western Kşatrapas,

THE HOUSE OF CHASTANA Castana. provinces as conqueror rather than as a feudatory governor. The fact that he was issuing independent coinage would show that he was not a feudatory of the Sātavāhanas.

Being a governor of Huviska Castana must have at the beginning of his career, proceeded from Mathura and occupied Ajmer in c. 120 A.D. It is worth noting that this city was not claimed to be within their dominions by the Satavahanas. From Ajmer, Castana gradually extended his power towards Cutch; three Andhao inscriptions found in Cutch show that Ksatrapa power was well established there in 130 A.D. Since Ujjavini is mentioned as a capital of Tiastanes or Castana by Ptolemy, there is no doubt that he eventually succeeded in conquering Malva; but when this conquest was effected we do not know. Probably the victories enabling these annexations2 were achieved towards the end of the reign of Vāśiṣthīputra Pulumāvī say in c. 130 A.D. As a recognition of the services rendered to the Scythian cause, the title of Mahākşatrapa appears to have been conferred on Castana by Huviska towards the end of his reign. The difference in the features of the busts on the coins of Castana suggest that he was about 40 at the beginning of his career and 55 at its end. He may be well presumed to have had a reign of about 15 years. We may place its close in c. 135 A.D.

Jayadāman.

Castana had a son named Jayadaman, who has issued coins only as a Ksatrapa. The title Mahaksatrapa is never given to him in the official records of the dynasty. This may be due to two causes. He may have predeceased his father, his coins with the title Ksatrapa being issued by him when only a crown prince.3 Or he may have been reduced to the position of a Ksatrapa by a crushing defeat on the battle field. Jayadāman's son Rudradāman claims that he was elected to the throne by the people of all classes assembling together and that he acquired the title of a Mahāksatrapa by his own merit, i.e., not by a hereditary claim. Had these specific claims not been made by Rudradaman it would have been possible to assume that Javadaman predeceased his father Castana and could not therefore assume the higher title of Mahāksatrapa. As matters stand at present, it appears more reasonable to presume that Jayadaman was reduced to the lower status of a mere Kşatrapa by a defeat inflicted by some foreign power. This power can hardly be any other than the Sātavāhanas. Though therefore the Sātavāhana records discovered so far do not refer to any offensive against the Sakas soon after the death of Vāśisthīputra Puļumāvi, it is very likely that his successor Vāśisthīputra Sivaśrī made a determined effort to regain some of the provinces wrested by Castana and succeeded in doing so, by inflicting a humiliating defeat upon Jayadaman, reducing him to the feudatory status of a mere Kşatrapa. The marriage of Vāśiṣthīputra

¹E. I., XVI, p. 233.

^{*}One or two coins of Castana were found at Junagad in Kāthiāvad; they could have gone there during the reign of his illustrious grandson. It will be hazardous to assert on the strength of their evidence that Castana had conquered Kāthiāvād also.

It is argued by D. R. Bhandarkar that the Andhao inscriptions point to a joint reign of Castana and his grandson Rudradaman. The theory is however not very convincing. (This view is held by many Scholars, See *U.C.I.P.*, Vol. II. p. 183.— V.V.M.)

Sivaśri with magranddaughter of the vanquished king seems to have been dictated on the battle field.

Jayadāman's reign was probably a short one and may be presumed to have ended in c. 140 A.D. He was succeeded by his son Rudradāman I.

Rudradaman I was the real founder of the greatness of his dynasty. The provinces, which his grandfather had wrested from the Sātavāhanas, had been lost by his father. Rudradāman was, however, able, cautious and ambitious and he soon planned a reconquest of his dominion. The different stages by which he built up his extensive kingdom are not known, but his Junagadh record, dated in 150 A.D., shows that he eventually re-conquered Kāṭhiāvāḍ, Eastern and Western Mālvā,¹ Gujarāt and Northern Konkan from the Sātavāhanas. The war with the Satavahanas probably started sometime after the death of Rudradāman's son-in-law Vāśiṣṭhīputra Śivaśrī, say in 145 A.D.² The new king Sivaskanda Svati was most probably step-son of Rudradaman's daughter. If so, we can well understand how Rudradaman boasts that he did not utterly destroy the power of his Sātavāhana opponent, because he was related to him not remotely. When once defeated Sivaskanda tried to retrieve the situation by organising a second campaign; but this time also he was worsted. As a result of these victories, Rudradaman became the undisputed ruler of Māļvā, Gujarāt, Kāţhiāvād and Northern Konkan These provinces however represented only a part of his wide He was also ruling over Cutch, Sindh, Mārvad and dominion. Ajmer and perhaps the whole of Rajasthan.

In his Girnār record Rudradāman claims to have defeated the Yaudheyas, who were occupying the South-Eastern Puñjāb. That Rudradāman should have found it necessary to go to this territory to defeat the Yaudheyas would show that the Kuśāṇa empire was getting feeble at c. 150 A.D. and had to rely upon the help of distant viceroys to put down disturbances in the home provinces. The defeat of the Yaudheyas implies the defeat of the Arjunāyanas and the Mālavas also. Rudradāman thus practically became the master of the entire Rājasthān.

The wide dominion of Rudradāman was naturally divided into viceroyalties. Gujarāt and Kāṭhiāvād constituted one province and was being governed in 150 A.D. by a Pārthian viceroy named Suviśākha. The selection of a Pārthian to this post would attest to the close relationship between the Scythians and Pārthians at this time. Northern Konkan and Northern Mahāraṣṭra, Māļvā, Sindh and Mārvāḍ probably formed separate provinces. The capital of the king continued to be at Ujjain, where it was during the reign of his grandfather. 150 A.D. is the only known date of Rudradāman I. The busts on some of his coins show that he must have lived upto the age of 60, and we may therefore presume that he continued to

CHAPTER 4.

The Western Kṣatrapas. The House of Chastana Rudradāman.

¹⁽Māļvā had already been conquered by Caṣṭana. Ptolemy calls him the ruler of Ujjain V.V.M.).

²The Kanheri inscription of his daughter shows that northern Konkan, which Rudradaman claims to have conquered continued to be under the Satavahanas during the reign of his son-in-law.

CHAPTER 4.

The Western Kşatrapas

THE HOUSE OF CHASTANA Rudradāman rule down to c. 165 A.D. During the latter part of his reign he was associated in the administration with his eldest son Damaghsada or Dāmajada, as his crown prince with the lower title Kṣatrapa.

No coins have been found of Rudradaman with the lower title Ksatrapa. There can however be little doubt that like his father he began his career as a Ksatrapa; he proudly claims that he obtained the title of the Mahaksatrapa as a result of his own exertions. It would appear that as in the case of his grand-father Castana, the title was conferred upon him by his suzerain Huviska in recognition of his conquests. But by c. 145 A.D. the hold of the Kuśānas over their Deccan vicerovs had grown weak; as shown above, they had to rely upon their Deccan Viceroy to put down rebellions nearer home. It would therefore appear that when Rudradaman inflicted smashing defeat on the Satavahanas and wrested the lost provinces, he himself assumed the higher title of the Mahaksatrapa without the sanction of the imperial power. This title, like the title of Senāpati, originally denoted a dependent or feudatory status, but Saka rulers of Western India continued to use it even after they had become completely independent.

We get a fairly good picture of the personality and achievements of Rudradaman from his Girnar record. Skilled in the use of the different military weapons, Rudradaman was a daring and successful general; he took pride in following the chivalrous code of warfare which did not permit the annihilation of an enemy, who had sued for protection. His sparing his opponent Satakarni shows that this was no mere boast. As a king, he was a good administrator and was very keen in maintaining peace and order in his realm. His subjects paid the usual taxes sanctioned by custom; they had not to pay any forced benevolences, even when costly public works were undertaken like the construction of the Sudarsana dam. He was well known for his liberality, and he seems to have patronised Hinduism; cows and Brahmanas are mentioned in connection with his charity, and not monks and monasteries. Rudradaman was also a scholar and poet; it is claimed that he was skilled in composing poems noted for easy and graceful style. He was further well grounded not only in dry logic but also in fine music. It will thus be seen that like Samudragupta of a later age, Rudradaman was a successful general, a skilful administrator, an accomplished author and a connoisseur of music. He was no doubt a Saka, but had thoroughly imbued Hindu culture. He was perhaps a greater admirer of that culture than his Hindu opponents the Sātavāhanas, who preferred Prakrt to Sanskrt for their official records and were extending their patronage to the heterodox Buddhism as well.

If Rudradāman is thus so well known to us, it is entirely due to his executing the grand project of reconstructing the dam of the Sudar-sana lake across the Palāśinī river near Girnār. This dam had been originally constructed in the reign of the Maurya emperor Candra-

¹Dāmsjada is the Indianised form of the Saka name Damaghsada and is used in the coin legends of his son.

gupta (c. 300 B.C.) and canals were taken from it during the reign of his grandson Aśoka (c. 250 B.C.). The dam lasted for more than 450 years when it suddenly collapsed through excessive winter rains in 150 A.D. Rudradāman's ministers were opposed to its rebuilding owing to the heavy cost involved. But Rudradāman decided to accede to the request of the local leaders and got the dam rebuilt without imposing any fresh taxation. It is the praśasti (panegyric) engraved near this dam that gives a glimpse into the character, personality and achievements of Rudradāman.

CHAPTER 4.

The Western
Kşatrapas,
THE HOUSE OF
CHASTANA
Rudradāman.

Damaghsada.

Rudradāman was succeeded by his son Damaghsada in c. 165 A.D. He was associated with his father in the administration as crown prince with the title Kṣatrapa. His coins as a Mahākṣatrapa are few and show an aged portrait. We may therefore assume that he had a short reign of about five years only. During his short reign, the kingdom which he had inherited, most probably remained intact. The Sātavāhanas were still reeling under the blows inflicted by Rudradāman; the Kuśāṇas had grown weaker and the Sassanians had not yet come on the scene. There was therefore no power to challenge the supremacy of the Western Kṣatrapas in their extensive dominion.

Jīvadāman and Rudrasimha,

Dāmajada was succeeded by his eldest son Jīvadāman² in c. 175. To judge from his coin portrait, he was a young man of about thirty at the time of his accession.³ He had the misfortune of having an able and ambitious uncle named Rudrasimha who soon began to conspire to usurp the throne with the help of Ābhīra generals, who were then in the service of the Kṣatrapas.⁴ Soon after 181 A.D., Rudrasimha accomplished his object and became a Mahākṣatrapa, driving away his nephew into exile. The Ābhīras however did not allow Rudrasimha to enjoy the kingdom peacefully; one of their generals Īśvaradatta⁵ succeeded in becoming a Mahākṣatrapa in c. 188 A.D. He however allowed Rudrasimha to rule as a Kṣatrapa under him. Rudrasimha utilised his position to undermine the power

^{&#}x27;At the time of the first edition of this work, Mahākṣatrapa coinage of Dāmajada was unknown; hence Bhagwanlal Indraji had concluded that he did not rule in that capacity, B. G., i., p. 40.

²He had a younger brother named Satyadāman, who ruled as a Kṣatrapa under him for a short time. But to judge from the features of his bust, Satyadāman must have been raised to this status after the restoration of Jīvadāman in c. 197 A. D. For contrary view, see B. M. C. A. K., p. c. xxix.

The view of D. R. Bhandarkar that Jivadāman was not a Mahākatrapa in c 175 A. D., but rose to that position after the death of his uncle Rudrasimha in c 197 A.D. is untenable; see J. N. S. I., I, pp. 18-20.

⁴In the Gunda inscription, dated 181 A.D., Rudrabhūti, an Åbhīra general, refers to Rudrasirinha, as a Kṣatrapa, ignoring altogether the existence of Jīvadāman, who was then the Mahākṣatrapa. See E.I., XVI, 233. Hence the above conjectures.

⁶Following other scholars, I have assumed that Iśvaradatta was an Ābhīra, but it has to be added that there is no definite evidence to prove this. It is usually assumed that king Iśvarasena Ābhīra of a Nāśik inscription (E.I., VIII, p. 88) may be identical with king Iśvaradatta of coins. This also lacks conclusive proof.

CHAPTER 4.

The Western
Kṣatrapas,
THE HOUSE OF
CHASTANA
Jīvadāman
and
Rudrasimha

and influence of Iśvaradatta and managed to oust him in two years. The year 191 A.D. saw him ruling again as a Mahākşatrapa, which he continued to do down to 197 A.D.

The struggle for the throne between the uncle and the Ābhīras, naturally affected the power and prestige of the Saka kingdom. The contemporary Sātavāhana king Yajūaśrī Sātakarni wrested away Northern Konkan and annexed it to his dominion. His solitary silver coins have no doubt been found in Kāṭhiāvāḍ and Besnagar also. But it may be risky to assume from this circumstance that both Kāṭhiāvāḍ and Māļvā were also reconquered by him. For there is ample evidence to show that the Kṣatrapas continued to hold these provinces during the reign of Rudrasimha.

Rudrasimha was succeeded by his dethroned nephew Jīvadāman as a Mahākṣatrapa in 197 A.D. Whether reconciliation was effected between the uncle and the nephew or whether the latter succeeded in defeating the former, we do not know. The former alternative seems to be more probable, for we find Rudrasimha's son Rudrasena working as a Kṣatrapa under Jīvadāman towards the end of his reign. Jīvadāman had a short reign after his restoration, for we find his nephew Rudrasena ruling as a Mahākṣatrapa in 200 A.D. Jīvadāman will be always remembered by historians as the first king in ancient India who started a long series of dated coins. This series starts with the year 100 or 101 or 102 of the Saka era and continues down to the year 310. These coins enable us to fix the limits of the reigns of different kings with remarkable accuracy.

Rudrasena (200-220 A.D.). Rudrasena enjoyed a fairly long reign of 22 years not undisturbed by any internal or external disturbances. He had two brothers Sanghadāman and Dāmasena, and two sons Pṛthivīsena and Dāmajadaśrī. Circumstances were thus quite favourable for an internecine struggle for the throne. But growing wiser by the bitter experience of the past two decades, which had affected the fortunes of their kingdom, the Western Kṣatrapas now appear to have decided that the crown should pass from the ruling king to his younger brothers in succession and not to his eldest son. We thus find Rudrasena succeeded as a Mahākṣatrapa by his younger brothers Sanghadāman and Dāmasena in succession. In the next generation we find three sons of Dāmasena, Yaśodāman I, Vijayasena and Dāmajadaśrī III ruling one after the other. A generation later Viśvasena was succeeded by his brother Bhartṛdāman. This arrangement of succession seems to have been preferred, as it ensured the

Bhagwanlal had placed the intervention of Iśvaradatta in 249 A. D. and Rapson in 238 A. D. The former of those views is now no longer tenable. It rested on the belief that a break of continuity in the reign of the Mahākṣatrapas of the regular dynasty was shown by the absence of dated coins between the Saka years 171-176. Further discoveries however have now shown that there was no such break in coinage. Abhīra leaders were working as generals under the Kṣatrapas at about 180 A.D., as shown by the Gunda inscription; it is therefore assumed here that Iśvaradatta had ousted the Śakas during Śaka years 110-112 (188-190 A.D.), for which period we have no śaka coins issued by any Mahākṣatrapa. As to Rapson's theory of Iśvaradatta's usurpation in c. 238 A. D., it may be pointed out that there is no definite evidence to show that the Ābhīras had risen to power at this time.

succession of experienced rulers and removed the temptation to rebel from the minds of the younger brothers of ruling Mahākṣatrapas. It no doubt rendered the prospect of accession of the eldest son of the ruling king remote; he was however, offered the status of Kşatrapa under his uncles. Thus we find both Prthivisena and Dāmajada II ruling as Kşatrapas under their uncles Sanghadāman and Dāmasena. They however could not rule as Mahākṣatrapas.

The find-spots of the inscriptions show that during the reign of Rudrasena, Kāthiāvād¹ continued to be under the Saka rule. Whether Sindh and Mārvād continued to be ruled by them is not definitely known. At about this time the Abhīras carved out principality for themselves in the Nāsik region; originally they must have professed themselves to be the feudatories of the Satavahanas or the Ksatrapas according to the exigencies of the situation. They ruled in Konkan and Northern Mahārāstra throughout the 3rd century A.D. Ujjayinì continued to be the capital of the Sakas. They were now completely Indianised and we find the orthodox Ikşvāku ruler Vīrapuruşadatta (c. 250 A.D.) marrying a Saka princess of the Ujjayini house. She was probably a daughter or grand-daughter of Rudrasena. Saka Moda, whose sister had donated a sculpture at Amravati in Andhra country,2 was probably a member of the entourage that accompanied the princess to her new home. Prabhudāmā, a sister of Rudrasena, figures in a seal found at Vaiśālī in far off Bihār.8 The seal describes her as Chief Queen, but does not give the name of her husband. He was probably a Hinduised Saka ruler, who had carved a principality in Magadha after the collapse of the Kuśana empire. There is no doubt that Rudrasena had succeeded in restoring the prestige of his house, shaken during the internecine struggles of the earlier generation; matrimonial alliances with his house were sought after by the rulers in the distant provinces of India. As may be expected, his coinage is also numerous, suggesting a time of peace and prosperity.

According to the new convention about succession, at the death of Rudrasena, the crown passed to his younger brother Sanghadaman and not his son Prthivîsena, though he was working as a Kşatrapa under his father towards the end of his reign. To judge from his portrait Sanghadaman was a man of not more than 40 at the time of his accession in 222 A.D., but he could rule only for less than two years. For he was succeeded by his younger brother Damasena in 223 A.D.

The homeland of the Malavas consisting at this time of Jaipur, Ajmer and Udaipūr area, had been annexed to their kingdom by the Sakas for more than a century. The Malayas now broke into rebellion and their leader Srī-Soma, succeeded in freeing his home-

CHAPTER 4.

The Western Ksatrapas THE HOUSE OF CHASTANA Rudrasena. (200-220 A.D.).

> Sanghadāman and Dâmasena.

¹Mulwasar and Jasdan inscriptions from southern and northern Kāthiāvād; the first of these is dated Saka 122 (200 A. D.) and the second in Saka 126 or 127. Both refer to tank constructions. J. R. A. S., 1890, p. 652.

2E. I. XX, 19.

³A. S. I. A. R., 1913-14, p. 136.

The Western Kşatrapas.
THE HOUSE OF CHASTANA
Saṅghadāman and
Dāmasena,

land from the Saka bondage before 226 A.D., as is shown by his Nandsa Yūpa inscriptions.¹ This struggle for freedom, which terminated before 226 A.D., was probably a long one, and it is not unlikely that the premature end of the reign of Sanghadāman may have been due to his dying on the battlefield, while fighting against the Mālavas. The loss of Ajmer-Mārvād must have rendered the hold over Sindh a difficult task; and we may well presume that the Western Kṣatrapas lost it by 230 A.D. During the reign of Dāmasena, the Saka kingdom thus became confined to Māļvā, Gujarāt and Kāthiāvād.

Vīradāman and Yaśodāman. During the first ten years of the reign of Dāmasena (c. 223 to 233 A.D.) Pṛthivīsena and Dāmajada II, the sons of his elder brother, were functioning as Kṣatrapas.² Later we find his own son Vīradāman raised to that status in 234 A.D. Probably this son pre-deceased his father, for his younger brother Yaśodāman succeeded his father as a Mahākṣatrapa in 238 A.D.³

Vijayasena,

v sjay ascma,

Dāmajad**a III.**

Rudrasena II.

Though not more than 40 at the time of his accession Yaśodāman ruled only for about two years. The cause of the premature end of his reign is not known. He was succeeded by his younger brother Vijayasena, who ruled for ten years down to 250 A.D. His copious coinage found all over Gujarāt and Kāṭhiāvāḍ in which every year of his reign is represented, suggests a peaceful and prosperous reign. In 250 A.D. he was succeeded by his younger brother Dāmajada III. Being the youngest of the four brothers, who ruled in succession, Dāmajada III had naturally a short reign of five years. In 255 A.D., we find him succeeded by Rudrasena II, who was the son of his eldest brother Vīradāman. The new Mahākṣatrapa had II long reign of 22 years (255–277 A.D.) but very few incidents in it are known.

For reasons not known at present, the office of the Kşatrapa was in abeyance for about 35 years, from c. 239 to 265 A.D. Rudrasena revived it towards the end of his reign elevating his eldest son Viśvasimha to that status in 275 A.D.

The Saka dominion suffered further diminution during the period 230–275 A.D. We find a Saka chief Srīdharavarman ruling as an independent king at Sāñcī in Eastern Māļvā in c. 266 A.D.⁸ The copper coinage of the Sakas, which was confined to Māļvā, suddenly

¹E. I., XXVII, p. 252

Their known years are 222 and 233 A. D. respectively, but it may well be presumed that Pithivisena continued to be Kşatrapa down to 232 A. D.

There is a gap of two years in the Mahaksatrapa coinage from 236-238 A. D.; Rapson places Isvaradatta Abhira's usurpation during this interval, B. M. C. A. K., pp. cxxxiii fv. See ante p. 18 for our view.

New discoveries of coins have shown that Damajada was ruling as a Mahak-satrapa during every year of the period 250-55 A. D.; this circumstance has rendered untenable Dr. Bhagwanlal's view that Isvaradatta was ruling in c. 249 A. D., See B. G.,

I, 1.

Bhagwanlal had suggested that Yaśodāman might have been ousted by Vijayasena in the first edition of this work I, i.p. 46. But there is no sufficient evidence to support the conjecture.

This is the date of the record according to R. D. Banerji, E. I., XVI p. 232. N. G. Majumdar placed him 40 years later (J. A. S. B, N. S., XIX p. 343). (Sec. also C.I.I. IV, pp. xxxvii f—V.V.M.)

comes to an end in c. 240 A.D. It would thus appear that at least portions of Māļvā were lost by the Sakas in c. 250 A.D.¹

The deterioration in the technique of the coinage starts in c. 240 A.D. Till the time of Yaśodāman II, the busts on the Kṣatrapa coins were individual portraits; he started the practice of mechanically reproducing the features of the predecessors.

The discovery of a hoard of Kṣatrapa coins near Karhāḍ in Sātārā district, in which the Saka rulers of the latter half of the 3rd century from Vijayasena (240–250) to Viśvasena (294–304 A.D.) were represented, had led Bhagwanlal to suggest the conquest of Mahārāṣṭra by the Western Kṣatrapas at this time.² The Saka power was now on the decline and such a venture was out of question. The Ābhīras were in power in Central Mahārāṣṭra and there is no evidence to show that they were defeated by the Kṣatrapas. Karhāḍ was a famous holy place (tīrtha) and the hoard found near it may have been the earnings of a Brāhmaṇa who had gone to the Kṣatrapa dominions to make a fortune by collecting honoraria. By itself this hoard cannot prove the extent of the Kṣatrapa dominions to southern Mahārāṣṭra.

Rudrasena II was succeeded by his eldest son Viśvasena in c. 279 A.D. He however had a short reign of three years and was succeeded by his younger brother Bhartrdāman in 282 A.D. Bhartrdāman had a fairly long reign of about 20 years; during its latter half his son Viśvasena was associated with him in government as a Kṣatrapa. The coinages of both these rulers is copious; it appears that they succeeded in restoring prosperity to the Saka dominion during their rule.

In 284 A.D. the Sassanian emperor Varaharan II conquered Seistan and Sindh and appointed his brother the governor of those provinces. Sindh, however, had been already lost by the Sakas and the extension of the Sassanian power over that province did not affect them. Bhartṛdāman, however, was anxious to establish cordial relations with the new rising power. He did not take part in the war of succession that ensued between Varaharan III and Narseh,⁸ but when the latter came out successful, he sent ambassadors to congratulate him. The even tenor of his reign was not affected by any events in contemporary Sassanian history.

The coinage of Bhartṛdāman as a Mahākṣatrapa extends only upto the year 294 A.D. His son Viśvasena, however, was ruling as a Kṣatrapa down to 304 A.D. We may therefore well presume that the father continued to be a Mahākṣatrapa down to that year.

CHAPTER 4.

The Western
Kṣatrapas.
THE HOUSE OF
CHASTANA
Rudrasena II.

Viśvasena Bhartrdāman c. 279 to c. 304 A.D.

^{&#}x27;It is however also possible that the copper currency may have been supplanted by the silver one as an administrative reform. In that case we cannot presume the loss of a part of Mālvā only on that circumstance.

21. B. B. R. A. S., VI, pp. 16-17; B. G. I, 48-49.

The Paikuli inscription mentions the king of Avanti as siding with Varaharan III in the war of succession. At the time however Avanti was probably not included in the Saka kingdom. Some local ruler of Avanti, possibly a Saka, may have joined the side of Varaharan III.

CHAPTER 4.

The Western Ksatrapas. THIRD SHAKA DYNASTY. Rudrasimha II

The long career of about 180 years of the house of Castana came to an end in 304 A.D. In that year we find a new Saka king Rudrasimha II,1 ascending the throne as Ksatrapa setting aside both Bhartrdaman and his son Viśvasena. The new ruler was the son of one Swāmī Jīvadāman, who is mentioned without any royal titles whatsoever. The names of the rulers of the new dynasty suggest that it may have been a collateral branch of the house of Castana, but so far no definite evidence has come forth to substantiate this conjecture.

The transfer of power from the house of Castana to that of Rudrasimha was probably not peaceful one.2 There was a short struggle for the throne, but Rudrasimha brought the situation under control in less than a year. We find him ruling as a Ksatrapa in 304 A.D.a year in which Viśvasena of the earlier house is also known to have ruled as Ksatrapa. Rudrasimha ruled as Ksatrapa for 12 years and was succeeded by his son Yasodaman in 316 A.D. He continued to rule down to at least 332 A.D., which is his last known year. He may however well have ruled for a few years more.

Yasodāman II.

Rudrasimha II and Yasodaman are the only two rulers of the new dynasty, and curiously enough they are both seen content to assume only the lower title of a Ksatrapa. On no coins of theirs does the higher title Mahākşatrapa figure in the coin legend. The founder of a new dynasty may naturally be presumed to be anxious to assume the highest title borne by the ruler ousted by him, and if Rudrasimha II as well as his son Yasodaman II were content with the lower title of the Kşatrapa, there must have been compelling reasons for their doing so.

Subordination to an outside power, which prohibited the assumption of the higher title Mahākṣatrapa indicative at this time of independent status, suggests itself as the most probable cause of this significant circumstance. But which that outside power was cannot be definitely stated at present. It does not seem likely that the Sassanians had at this time succeeded in imposing their overlordship over the Western Ksatrapas. Their emperor Narseh had sustained a signal defeat at the hand of the Roman emperor Galerius in 303 A.D. and had to cede extensive territories to the conqueror in order to recover his family. Narseh's successor Hormuzd had a short reign of seven years, during which he undertook no military expeditions. The next ruler Shapur III was a baby in arms at the time of his accession. So it is clear that Sassanian overlordship could not have been the cause of the lower title of the rulers of the new house.

The most plausible theory that can at present be suggested in this connection is this: the rulers of the new house were the nominees and proteges of the Vākāṭaka emperor Pravarasena I, and so could

¹Following old practice, I have described this ruler as Rudrasimha II. Since he belonged to a different house, we should strictly speaking call him simply Rudrasimha.

²In the earlier edition of this work, Dr. Bhagwanlal had suggested that the failure of heirs might have been the cause of the rise of the new dynasty B. O., I, i, p. 49. But the fact that its last ruler Visvasena could not rise to the status of a Mahaksatrapa would militate against this conjecture.

not assume the higher title of Mahaksatrapa, a portion of Malva having been already lost by the Ksatrapas by c. 275 A.D. The dominions of the Vākātaka emperor were on the borders of the Saka kingdom and he may well have sought to bring it under his control by supporting the cause of the upstart Rudrasimha II and by giving him military help to oust Bhartrdaman and his son Viśvasimha, who were the legitimate occupants of the Saka throne. When Rudrasimha thus got the throne, at his formal coronation his imperial master might have imposed the condition that he should not assume the title of the Mahaksatrapa, which at this time indicated independent status. Pravarasena was on the throne from c. 275 to c. 335 A.D. and it is during 304 to 335 A.D. that the Western Ksatrapas did not assume the higher title. Pravarasena's overlordship over Rudrasimha II and Yasodaman II is, however, only a theory at present, which still lacks conclusive evidence in its favour.

332 A.D. is the last known date of Yaśodāman II. Thereafter there is a long and unusual gap of 16 years in the Kṣatrapa coinage. At the end of this period, we find a new Saka dynasty emerging on the scene. Rudrasena III is its first ruler known from his coins. Since, however, his coin legend refers to his father Rudradāman II as a Mahākṣatrapa, we may well presume that the latter was the founder of the new house. If so, he might have ruled for a few years before 348 A.D., the first known year of his son, say from 345 to 348 A.D. It is also not unlikely that Yaśodāman II might have ruled for three or four years more after 332 A.D., his last known date.

The unusually long interregnum of sixteen years in the Kṣatrapa coinage, which can be conjecturally reduced to about ten years, as shown above, does not appear to have been due to any foreign intervention. The Vākātakas has grown weak at this time, nor is there any evidence suggesting a Sassanian conquest. Internecine struggle between Yaśodāman II and Rudradāman II was probably responsible for a period of anarchy, during which the coinage seems to have stopped altogether. In this struggle Rudradāman II eventually got the throne. He did not rule long, for no coins of his have been found so far. We have therefore conjecturally suggested above that he might have ruled as a Mahākṣatrapa from c. 345—348 A.D.

As remarked above, the founder of this dynasty is at present known only from the coin legend of his son. When we note how Rudrasimha II, the founder of the 3rd \$aka dynasty, refrains from giving any royal title to his father in his coin legend, the conclusion becomes irresistible that Rudradāman II was the real founder of the fourth \$aka dynasty, since he is expressly described as a Mahākṣatrapa in his son's coin legend. The non-discovery of the coins of Rudradāman II himself must be regarded as purely accidental. It would however indicate that he did not long survive his hard won victory. His son succeeded him in or just before 348 A.D., which is his first known year.

CHAPTER 4.

The Western Kşatrapas, THIRD SHAKA DYNASTY, Yasodāman II.

FOURTH SHAKA
DYNASTY.
Rudradāman II
to
Rudrasimha IV.
(c. 345 A.D. to
c. 400 A.D.)

The Western Ksatrapas.
THE FOURTH SHAKA DYNASTY.
Rudradāman II.
to
Rudrasimha IV.

(c. 345 A.D. to

c. 400 A.D.).

Rudrasena III had a long reign of 30 years, but it was far from peaceful. His silver coinage shows a significant gap of 13 years from 351 to 364 A.D. There was a great political upheaval during this period, which rendered life and prosperity unsafe throughout the kingdom. We find people burying their hoards for safety both in the heart of the kingdom as well in its outlying cities.¹

Who had eclipsed the power of Rudrasena III during this period 351-364 A.D. is not yet definitely known. At about 355 A.D., the Guptas had no doubt become a great power under Samudragupta; but that emperor does not appear to have launched any attack on the kingdom of the Western Kşatrapas. In his time the boundaries of the Gupta empire were just touching eastern Māļvā, and the Kşatrapa kingdom lay to its west. It is interesting to note that the Allāhābād record of Samudragupta does not mention the Western Kşatrapas among the rulers vanquished by that emperor. just possible that the Sassanian emperor Shapur II, who is stated to have led an expedition to the east in 356-7 A.D. may have penetrated to Kāthiāvād from his base in Sindh and totally eclipsed the power of Rudrasena III for a decade or so. Sassanians, however, do not specifically claim the conquest of Kāthiāvād, nor is any Sassanian influence to be perceived on contemporary culture, antiquities or coinage of the province. We have to admit that the cause of the eclipse of the Kşatrapa power at this time is still unknown.2 A few lead coins mostly belonging to the period of the interregnum in the silver coinage have been found. They, however, do not bear the name of the issuer, nor is their provenance known-It is not unlikely that they may have been issued by the conqueror of Rudrasena III.

Rudrasena was able to reassert his position and regain the throne by 364 A.D. He ruled for 14 years more; 378 A.D. is his last known date.

Kṣatrapa history becomes considerably confused after the death of Rudrasena III. He was succeeded not by his son or brother, but by his sister's son Svāmi Satyasimha.³ This succession is unusual and may not have been a peaceful one. 382 A.D. is the only known

¹This is proved by the Uparkot hoard (J. B. B. R. A. S., 1899, pp. 203-9) found near Junāgad and the Sarvania hoard (A. S. I. A. R., 1913-14, pp. 227-45) found near Ratlām; both these hoards contain no coins of the reign of Rudrasena III later than the year 351. These coins of Rudrasena were also in the mint condition, showing that the hoards were buried soon after 351 A. D.

^{*}The present writer has advanced a tentative view that Sarva Bhattāraka, who started the so-called Valabhī coinage may have temporarily overpowered Rudrasena III (J. N. S. I., VI, 19-23); but this theory also has its own difficulties.

^{*}Both Cunningham and Bhagwanlal had read Rudrasimha as the father's name in the coin legend and assumed that Satyasimha was the son of Rudrasimha III, the last Kşatrapa ruler. The reading Rudrasena now appears to be more probable and enables us to assign a more probable place to this ruler in the genealogical and chronological scheme.

year of Satyasimha and we may presume that he ruled from c. 380-83 A.D. During the next five years, not only his own reign but that of his son Rudrasena IV came to an end. In 388 A.D. we find Rudrasimha III ruling as a Mahākṣatrapa. The new ruler was a son of Satyasimha, but the latter's relationship to Rudrasena III or his predecessors is not known. It is likely that Satyasimha, the father of the new ruler, was brother of Rudrasena III, and Rudradaman II. therefore he might have felt justified in ousting Rudrasena IV, who was descended through a sister of Rudrasena III. But all this Rudrasimha IV. is purely conjectural, though probable.

The quick succession of three rulers in less than five or six years must have weakened the Ksatrapa power considerably when Rudrasimha III ascended the throne in c. 388 A.D. The chaotic situation in the Kşatrapa kingdom must have been under the close watch of the Guptas, who were the next door neighbours of the Ksatrapas and were anxious to extend their rule over the whole of northern India. Candragupta II, the ruling Gupta emperor, soon realised that the Kşatrapa kingdom, torn by internal dissensions and ruled by weak kings, was a good target of attack. His original plan was probably to carry out the invasion in co-operation with his son-in-law the Vākāţaka ruler, Rudrasena II, who was the southern neighbour of the Kşatrapas. The sudden death of Vākāṭaka king, however, appears to have postponed the invasion.1 The invasion is referred to in a Gupta record from Malva as an undertaking of the emperor, bent upon conquering the entire world.² Unfortunately this record is not dated; otherwise, we would have been in a position to find out the date of the disappearance of the Kşatrapa rule from Western India. As it is, we can determine it only approximately. 388 A. D. is the last known date on the coins of Rudrasimha III8 and 409 A.D. is the earliest known date on the silver coins of the Gupta conqueror Candragupta II. It would thus appear that the Kşatrapa invasion was planned towards the end of the last decade of the fourth century and carried out early in the first decade of the 5th. Erakina, modern Eran in Saugar district of Madhya Pradeśa, was probably the base of military operations, from which the armies advanced westwards to Ujjayinī and Kāthiāvād. Āmrakādava, a military officer, who is recorded to have given a donation at Sanci in 412 A.D., probably participated in this venture; banners of victory and fame obtained by him, to which reference is made in his record, were probably his souvenirs of the Ksatrapa campaigns. The diplomatic moves on the campaign were probably being supervised by the minister Sāba, who had his headquarters at Bhilsā, in the vicinity of which he donated a cave to Siva in the Udayagiri hills.

CHAPTER 4.

The Western Ksatrapas.

THE FOURTH SHAKA DYNASTY.

(c. 345 A.D. to

c. 400 A.D.)

⁽For another possible view see the section on the Vakatakas, V.V.M.)

²Udayagiri Inscription of Candragupta II, C. I. I., III, No. 6.

sThe date in the Saka era is 310, but it is not unlikely that a unit digit may have followed the symbol for ten. In that case his reign can be prolonged by a period of one to nine years.

CHAPTER 4.
The Western Kşatrapas.

THE
FOURTH SHAKA
DYNASTY,

No particular incidents or battles of this campaign are known so far. It may have probably lasted for three or four years. Candragupta secured a decisive victory and decided not to allow the foreign dynasty to continue to rule even in a feudatory capacity. Accordingly, the entire kingdom was annexed to the Gupta empire and constituted into a new province. The important all-India port of Broach was located in this province, and the new conquest thus enabled the Gupta empire to control a considerable portion of India's trade with Western world,



CHAPTER 5.

SOCIETY, RELIGION AND CULTURE* (200 B. C. TO 500 A. D.)

We have seen already how the material for the Reconstruction of even the political history of the Deccan during the period 200 B.C. to 500 A.D. is very meagre. The case is much worse with reference to the data bearing on the cultural history of the age. We can hardly point to any Smṛti as being written in the Deccan during this period. The Saptaśatī excepted, there is hardly any other work that can be described with confidence, as being written in the Deccan during this period. We have to rely upon fragmentary and detached statements that are now and then made in votive and historical records. The evidence of sculptures and paintings will be of some help to us in getting some concrete ideas about the dress, ornaments and furniture. And it will be necessary to supplement our information by the data collected from the contemporary Smṛti and classical literature, though it may not be definitely assignable to the Deccan.

Varna-vyavasthā or caste system was a salient feature of Hindu society since early times, and it continued to be so during our age as well. The four main castes, Brāhmaṇas, Kṣatriyas, Vaiśyas and Sūdras are frequently referred to in our records. It is interesting to note that Buddhist laymen continued their loyalty to the caste system. Thus, one lay donor at Kuḍā, Ayitula by name, expressly describes himself as a Brāhmaṇa and it is but reasonable to assume that his outlook was generally shared by other Buddhists, who continued to describe themselves as members of the particular caste to which they belonged according to the Hindu Smṛtis and conventions.

Professional designations were, however, more in vogue than the caste ones; we find donors describing themselves as Mahārathis, Mahāsenāpatis, Mahābhojas, Mālākāras, Gandhikas, Suvarṇakāras etc., rather than as Kṣatriyas or Vaiśyas. It appears that the four great theoretical castes had already sub-divided themselves into a number of sub-groups based upon the professions they were following; these latter were more in use in designating individuals than the theoretical names of their castes.

Brāhmaṇas occupied a prominent position in the religious sphere. They were the priests of the community and took a prominent part

CHAPTER 5.

Society, Religion and Culture during 200 B.C. to 500 A.D.

INTRODUCTION.

SOCIAL CONDITION.

^{*} This chapter is contributed by the late Dr. A. S. Altekar, M.A., LL.B., D. Litt.

CHAPTER 5. Society, Religion and Culture during 200 B.C.

> to 500 A.D. SOCIAL CONDITION.

in its religious life. They officiated at the various sacrifices and got handsome honoraria, especially from the richer and ruling classes. Though our records do not contain any specific references to their learning and scholarship, we may well conclude that they were the custodians of the traditional learning and used to initiate the rising generation in it. Unfortunately our records do not refer to the Vedic Sākhās to which the different Brāhmanas mentioned in them belonged.1 It is therefore not possible to make any statement about the probable distribution of the Vedic Sakhas during our period.

Some Brahmanas, however, exchanged the sacrificial ladle for the battle-axe. The Sungas and the Satavahanas, the Vakatakas and the Kadambas were Brāhmanas who had trespassed upon the sphere and domain of the Ksatriyas, and we may well suppose that among their Brahmana subjects, there was no dearth of persons to follow their example in order to win laurels in the administrative or military field. It is not unlikely that some among the Amatyas, Mahamatras and Lekhakas or Secretariat officers may have belonged to the Brāhmana caste.

Ksatriyas followed their traditional profession of arms and distinguished themselves as generals and administrators. We may well suppose that the Mahārathis and Mahābhojas, Mahāsenāpatis, Mahāmātras and Amātyas, who figure so prominently in the records of Western India, were generally members of the Ksatriya caste. The fighting forces in the army must have been largely recruited from the Ksatriya caste, but some undoubtedly belonged to the Vaisya and Sūdra classes as well. It is interesting to note that some Kṣatriyas also often took to other professions. One of the donations at Kanheri is by two Ksatriva brothers Gajasena and Gajamitra, who were following the commercial profession and are expressly described as Vānijakas.² The Vaiśya caste was always a composite one and its members were usually described with reference to the particular professions they were following. This class mainly consisted of agriculturists and traders. The former are usually referred to in our records as Kutumbikas or Hālavikas. Gahapati appears to have been the designation of the more prosperous section of the landed peasantry. Thus, in one record³ the donor widow describes her dead husband as Hālayika and her living son as Gahapati; obviously the son had attained to a higher status, enabling him to finance his mother's donation. Ordinarily traders were called Vanijakas, but the more substantial among them were called as Sethis. In some cases the father is described as Gahapati and the son as a Sethi,4 in some cases, one and the same individual is described both as ■ Gahapati and a Sethi.⁵ It would appear probable that Gahapatis or members of small landed aristocracy used to deal in trade also; and when they became prosperous merchants, they were given the designation of Sethis. One section of the trading class specialised in the transport of goods from place to place. This was a strenuous

¹⁽Vākātaka inscriptions mention the Sākhās of the Yajurveda. C.I., I., V. 11, 21, 83 etc. V.V.M.)

2A. S. W. I., Kanheri No. 4.

³I. C. T. W. I., p. 38. ⁴I. C. T. W. I., p. 13.

⁵ Ibid, p. 16

work and required a fleet of bullock carts and pack animals besides a strong military guard. Those who specialised in this line were called Sārthavāhas or caravans; they are often referred to in the cave inscriptions of Western India.¹

Among the professions and castes mentioned so far, Mahāraṭhis, Mahābhojas, Mahāsenāpatis stood high in the social order, only next below the king. Rājāmātyas (royal ministers), Amātyas (officers), Mahāmātras (ministers), Bhāndāgārikas (treasury officers) must have ranked next below them. The position of the learned Brahmanas was probably on a par with them. Śresthins, Naigamas, Grahapatis Sārthavāhas and Vaidyas came next. Lower down in the social scale were Halakiyas (farmers). Suvarnakāras (goldsmiths), Gandhikas (perfumers), Vardhakis (carpenters), Mālākāras (gardeners), Lohavānijyas (smiths), Tilapisakas (oilmen) occupied a still lower position. The landless labourer (Sūdra) and the untouchable belonged to the lowest strata. Vaidyas or physicians often figure in our records as men of substance, but whether they belonged to any particular caste, we do not know.

Our records show that the professions of the Lekhaka (clerk or secretariat officer), Gaṇapaka (accountant or troop leader), the trader, the doctor, etc. were often followed from generation to generation. This was probably the case with the majority of the population. People, however, could change their profession according to their liking, as shown above already.

Sūdras naturally figure rather rarely in our records. Mugudāsa, the donor in the cave inscription No. 8 at Nāśik, calls himself a Dāsa and was probably a Sūdra. This Sūdra donor donates a cave, showing that some members of his caste were often men of substance.² We may well presume that they may have participated in trade and commerce; a vast majority of the artisan class was probably recruited from this class, as also the majority of the fighting forces.

There is no reference to slavery in our records. But contemporary Smrtis like those of Manu and Yājñavalkya refer to several varieties of slaves. It is quite likely that the prisoners of war were reduced to the status of slaves, as stated in the Smrtis. It is also probable that in times of acute distress, famishing people may have sold themselves into slavery. But persons of these categories could regain their free status on payment of a ransom, either by themselves or by their friends or relatives.

It is curious to note that untouchables are rarely referred to in our records. This is probably due not to the non-existence of this unfortunate class, but to its non-participation in the religious and social life portrayed in our records. Only in one place is the cobbler or Carmakara referred to.

Caste system was regarded as the very foundation of Hinduism in our period and good and great kings like Gautamīputra Sātakarņi³ are often described as rulers who took steps to prevent the mixture

CHAPTER 5.

Society, Religion and Culture during 200 B.C. to 500 A.D.

SOCIAL CONDITION.

C.T.W. I., p. 19, 27. See Nāśik Ins. Nos. 15, 16,17 and Kudā No. 13.

⁸ Vinivatita-chātuvaņa-samkarasea, Nāśik Inser. No. 2.

Society, Religion and Culture during 200 B.C. to 500 A.D. Social Condition. of castes. But what precisely was done to accomplish this desideratum, it is difficult to say. We have seen above that several individuals in society often followed professions not permitted to their castes. Whether the mixture of castes was prevented by prohibiting inter-caste marriages, we do not know. Our records do not refer to any intercaste marriages, but contemporary Smṛti writers like Manu and Yājñavalkya permit them if anuloma. It is further to be noted that Gautamīputra, who is credited with preventing the mixture of castes, had accepted a Saka bride for his son Vāśiṣṭhīputra Sâtakarņi. The orthodox Ikṣvāku rulers in the Eastern Deccan had also formed a marriage alliance with the Saka rulers of Ujjayinī. Caste system was undoubtedly far from rigid during our period.

A Brāhmaņa minister of a contemporary Vākātaka king named Soma is described as a good follower of the rules of Srutis and Smṛtis even when he had married a Kṣatriya lady.¹

The Smrtis mention number of mixed (sankara) castes like Ambastha, Pāraśava, Ugra, etc. which were supposed to be due to intercaste unions. They nowhere figure in our records. Probably intercaste marriages were not yet held as disreputable and the children born of such unions were regarded as belonging to the caste of their father.

When intercaste marriages were allowed, naturally there was no objection to interdining. Yājñavalkya allows a Brāhmaṇa to take food even with a Sūdra if he is one's farmer, barber, milkman or a family friend.

Renunciation was the ideal for the Buddhist aspirant for salvation and a large number of men and women followed it, as is clear from the frequent references to monks and nuns in our records. Hinduism had the corresponding institution of Vānaprastha and Sanyāsa āśramas, but it is difficult to state how far it was popular. Nandabālikā, who figures as a donor in one of the Junnar records, is described as the wife of Rṣimūlasvāmin. It is very probable that her husband, who is described as a ṛṣi may have become a Sanyāsin of the Hindu order. There are, however, no other clear references to the members of this order.

Manu and Yājñavalkya generally approve of the joint family ideal; but a line in the *Manusmṛti* approves also of division in family as lending greater support to the cause of Dharma.² Vast majority of donative records, however, refer to fairly big joint families. The donation is usually in the name of the senior member or manager of the family, but he invariably associates his brothers, sons and daughters in his benefaction. One record refers to point family of two brothers who did not separate after the death of their father.³

¹ A. S. W. I., IV, p. 139.

² पृथग् विवर्धते धर्मस्तस्माद्धम्या पृथक् किया 1 Manusmyti IX. III.
When brothers separate, each of them has to separately perform religious rituals like sräddha; so separation led to greater frequency of religious rituals.

[•] भात्णं असमसपुताणं बुधमितस बुधरिखतस देयधंमो । Junnar Inscription, No. 20.

The donor of another record associates his parents and children with his benefaction.1 This is obviously the case of a grown up son taking over the family management, when his parents had become too old to look after it. Amaravatī inscription No. 38 refers to a donor named Khanda and his daughter-in-law, who is described as staying in her house. Probably this is a case where the son had separated from his father and the new establishment had continued its separate existence even after the son's death.

The invariable association of brothers, sons, daughters, etc. with the benefactions of the head of the family would suggest that all these had the right to a share in the family property. What that right was is, however, not clear. Probably the son's right by birth was already recognised in Western India during our period. Subsidiary sons are not referred to in our records; but probably the adopted son was recognised; but he had not yet become popular in society. custom of niyoga was probably dying down.

The custom of describing a person after the gotra of his mother was very common in our period. Several Sātavāhana rulers are so described; we have Gautamīputra Sātakarni, Vāśisthīputra Puļumāvī, Vāśiṣṭhīputra Sātakarņi, Māḍharīputra Sakasena, etc. nomenclature prevailed among the Ikşvākus, also; king Santamūla is called Vāśiṣṭhiputra there. Several Mahāraṭhis and Mahābhojas are seen described as Gotīputtas, Kochīputtas, Kosikīputtas, etc.2 The custom was adopted by Abhīras also; one of their kings Iśvarasena is called Mādharīputra, in Nāśik record. It is, however, not only the ruling classes who had this custom. In one Nāśik record a Brāhmana is described as Vārāhīputra and two Maļavali records refer to Kausikīputra Srī-Nāgadatta of Kaundinya Gotra and Haritiputra Kondamana of Kaundinya Gotra, both of whom appear to be Brāhmaṇas.3 The custom was not unknown to the Vaiśyas; and the engineer of one of the Sanci toranas is described as Vasisthiputra.

Nor was this custom confined only to the Deccan or Southern India. Among the Magha rulers of Kauśāmbī, we have Kautsīputra Pothasiri and Gautamiputra Siyamagha and the eldest son of the Vākātaka emperor Pravarasena I was Gautamīputra. This peculiar custom of naming a son after the gotra of his mother is not to be seen later than c. 500 A.D.

What is the origin of this peculiar nomenclature? One view is that it is a survival of the matriarchy, which was common in the Decean in prehistoric times. But the Satavahana rulers were orthodox Brāhmanas and are not known to have followed matriarchal traditions. The succession in their family is always seen from the father to the son. It is, therefore more probable that the custom was due to polygamy. Bimbisara had several wives, one from the Vaideha house, another from the Kośala royal family and so on. His successor Ajātaśatru is therefore described as Vaidehīputra in order

CHAPTER 5.

Society, Religion and Culture during 200 B.C. to 500 A.D.

> SOCIAL CONDITION.

¹ Kanheri inscription No. 1.

² Kārli No. 1, 14, etc. ⁸ Lüders' List Nos. 1131, 1195-6.

CHAPTER 5.

Society, Religion and Culture during 200 B.C.

to 500 A.D. SOCIAL CONDITION. to indicate the family to which his mother had belonged. It is equally probable that Sātakarņi was called Gautamīputra because he had other step-brothers, who were not born of his own mother who belonged to I royal family of the Gautama Gotra. In medieval and modern times in Rājputānā, a similar nomenclature prevailed owing to a similar cause.

Several personal names during our period show that Siva and Viṣṇu were popular deities, Siva, Sivakhada, Sivaguta, Viṇhupālita, etc. In Buddhist families names like Buddha, Buddharakṣita, Buddhapālita, Dhamma, Ānanda, etc. were common. The Manusmṛti diṣapproves the practice of naming girls after the lunar mansions (nakṣatras); but the records of our period show that the practice was fairly common in spite of the ban of the Smṛtis. We came across Uttarādattā in Kuḍā inscriptions Nos. 1 and 9, Svātimitrā in Kuḍā inscription No. 4, Aṣāḍhamitrā in Kārlī No. 12 and Puṣyaṇakā in Beḍsā No. 3.

The data about the position of women in our period is rather meagre. There is no reference to the marriageable age of girls nor to their education or sacred initiation. Contemporary Smrtis like those of Manu and Yājñavalkya disapprove of girls' upanayana and encourage their marriage just at about the age of 13 or 14. We may well presume that in the Deccan of our period such was actually the case. We come across some nuns in our records but most of them seem to have taken the holy order during their widowhood. It is doubtful whether we have any instance of a girl becoming a nun before her marriage. Contemporary Smrtis are tardy in recognising the proprietary rights of women; the Yājñavalkyasmṛti formulated the revolutionary proposal of recognising the widow as her busband's heir, but it was not followed in Northern India for a long time. In the 6th act of the Sākuntala we find the property of a sonless merchant escheating to the crown, though he had left Some records of Western India show, several widows behind. however, that women could hold property and also dispose of it. Thus, Hindu lady named Svätimiträ and a Buddhist lady named Vyāghrā are seen donating caves at Mahād. But we do not know whether they were widows inheriting the husband's properties or wives in coverture disposing of a portion of their Stridhana. Kudā inscription No. 15 refers to a donation by a lady described as the wife of a Brahmana layman. Probably this is the case of a widow inheriting her husband's property and donating a fairly big part of it for religious purposes. Junnar inscription No. 27 mentions one donation by Nandabālikā, wife of Mūlasvāmin, and another by Laksminikā, wife of Nadakatorika. Probably these donors were donating part of the property inherited by them as widows. If such was the case, it would follow that the advocacy of Yājñavalkya of the widow's right of inheritance was bearing fruit in the Deccan during our period. Two inscriptions from Kudā record interesting donations; one of them is a donation by a daughter of Hala, a royal minister, and the other by a daughter of a Mahābhoja. Pitalkhorā inscription

No. 3 records one donation by a daughter of a royal physician. The names of the husbands of none of these three lady donors are given in the epigraphs. Is it likely that these ladies were unmarried at the time of the donations and had inherited some property through their fathers which they were utilising for financing their donations? All these ladies belonged to richer sections of the society and it is not unlikely that there was the custom prevailing in them of giving a share to the daughters in the moveable property of the family. It is however, equally possible that the non-mention of the husbands' names may be accidental. In that case we shall have to assume that women could alienate part of their Stridhana during their coverture, apparently without their husband's concurrence.

More than about 30 per cent. of the donations recorded at Amrāvatī, Kārle and Nāśik are gifts given by women. It is quite possible that though not heiresses² in their own right, these ladies got the necessary funds from their husbands or parents for financing their donations. But even this assumption will show that women could, in actual practice, get the necessary funds from their family properties, though not strictly entitled to their own shares in it. It is, however, quite likely that the Decean was more liberal in recognising women's right of inheritance,² and that many of our female donors may have got the necessary funds through the properties acquired by them either as heiresses to their fathers and husbands or as Strīdhana during coverture. It is pity that the short donative records should not supply us sufficient data to throw more definite light on the problem of women's rights of inheritance.

Queen Nayanikā was acting as Regent of the great Sātavāhana empire, during the minority of the heir-apparent.³ Our records, however, do not disclose any ladies filling any administrative posts, as they undoubtedly did under the later Cālukya and Rāṣṭrakūṭa administrations. The titles Mahāsenāpatinī, Mahāraṭhinī, etc., which some ladies are seen to be using, are obviously courtesy titles due to the status of their husbands.

The Purdah custom was not common. In Amrāvatī sculptures we come across ladies offering worship in public shrines, taking part in assemblies, playing on instruments and entertaining guests with their husbands. In one scene, we find a chief engaged in carrying discussion with an audience mostly consisting of women. Whether Purdah was introduced in royal families in our age, it is difficult to say.

Our records do not refer to any case of widow's remarriage or to her becoming a Satī. Usually the widows led a life of restraint and austerities devoting themselves to spiritual pursuits. Balaśrī, the widowed mother of Gautamīputra Sātakarņi, is described as leading a life befitting royal widow, in as much as she was devoted to truth, charity and ahimsā and spent her time in practising austerities, fasts and religious observances. Some Buddhist widows became nuns also.

CHAPTER 5.

Society, Religion and Culture during 200 B.C. to 500 A.D,

SOCIAL CONDITION,

¹ I. C. T. W. I., p. 40.

² Such was the case even in the days of Yaska, c. 600 B.C.,

गर्तारोहिणीव धनलामाय दक्षिणाजी Nirukta, III 5.1. 3 (This does not seem to be correct. See Ch. 2 above and S. I., I, pp. 121 f—V.V.M.).

CHAPTER 5.
Society, Religion and Culture during 200 B.C. to 500 A.D.

Sociat.
Condition,
Food and
Drink.

Dress and Ornaments.

During the period under review, Hindu society was partly vegetarian and partly non-vegetarian. The Hīnayāna Buddhism permitted meat eating, if the animal was known to be not expressly killed for the purpose of the monk concerned. Mahāyāna Buddhism and Jainism prohibited meat, but they had not become strong in the Deccan during our period. Wines figure among the imports at Broach; it is clear that rich liquors, imported from the west, were served at the royal table, while country wine was drunk by the poor. Brāhmaṇas, Buddhists and Jains however generally refrained from the use of wines. The use of betel leaves was quite common.

The usual dress for men consisted of an upper garment and a lower *dhoti*, both unstitcked. The sculptured figures in Western Indian caves show that a head-dress also was fairly common both for men and women. The women are usually seen covering their heads with a piece of cloth; at Kuḍā a lady is seen wearing a tall conical cap. Perhaps she may be Scythian.

The royal ceremonial head-dress often consisted of a close fitting crested cap, with a crest jewel at the forehead; Gautamīputra Yajña-śrī Sātakarni is seen wearing such a cap on his silver coins. In paintings and sculptures ladies rarely cover their breasts with a blouse or coli.. This seems to be an artistic convention; it may be well doubted whether in actual practice women did not cover their breasts with a portion of their saris, if not by a coli or blouse piece. On Gupta coins queens are seen using a bodice, the two ends of which are seen being tied between the breasts. They also wear a loose upper garment flowing down to their ankles over their back.

The dress of the Scythians was considerably different. They used coats, overcoats and trousers, as would be clear from the sculptured effigy of Saka Moda at Amarāvati. Nahapāna is seen wearing a thick grooved Pagadī, whereas Rudradāman and his successors are seen wearing a cap resembling modern steel helmet. The Saka kings are seen having long hair on the head, which is seen falling on their necks.

Ornaments were very popular both with men and women. A large number of them were used over the forehead; the crest jewel used over his forehead by king Yajāa-śrī Sātakarni is very graceful. The designs of ear-rings were striking, and they were used both by males and females. Saka and Sātavāhana kings wore prominent ear-rings. Varieties in necklaces of gold and pearls seen in Amarāvati and Nāgārjunikoṇḍā sculptures and Ajaṇṭā paintings are striking. Several types of zones were in vogue. A gauzy pearl ornament was used by women both over the breasts as well as thighs. The arms were adorned with Keyūras of various designs. A large number of bangles, often set with pearls or jewels, figured on the forearms. Rings were quite common, but the nose-ring was still unknown. The number of anklets used on the feet was not small.

The fashions of dressing the hair were as numerous as graceful. An examination of the paintings at Ajantā will disclose several new types of coiffures even to the modern fashionable ladies. False hair

was often used to increase the volume of the braid in order to give it different artistic shapes. The use of paints, pastes and lip-sticks was not unknown. Chairs, tables, cots, jugs, jars and vessels of different attractive shapes were in use in higher families. Horses and elephants were in use among the higher and richer sections; the bullock cart was the vehicle of the common man.

Trade, industry, agriculture and the connected arts and crafts were the mainstay of the economic life of the society in Western India during our period.

The Rayatvāri system seems to have been prevailing in the Deccan during our period, as it does now. We usually come across small pieces of land being owned by ordinary individuals. Thus one donc. at Junnar gives a gift of a field of 15 Nivartanas¹ at the village of Puvānada, and another of 20 and Nivartanas at Vaṭālika. Obviously land was divided into small units and owned by individual proprietors. It is, however, likely that the Mahārathis, Mahābhojas and Mahāsenāpatis, who were feudal chiefs or high officers, may have owned fairly extensive pieces of land. For instance, Uṣavadāta is seen in the enjoyment of a field of 200 Nivartanas at the village of Kakhadī². Revenues of villages and houses may have also been assigned to civil and military officers, as is recommended in Smṛtis. We get some instances of monasteries being assigned the revenues of entire villages; the same could as well have been the case with the Amātyas and Mahāmātras.

The state owned some pieces of arable land, in different towns and villages, which it used to get by escheat or purchase. These are described as royal lands (rājakam khettam) in one Nāśik record. When the king possessed no personal land of his own and desired to make a land grant, he had to purchase the land required. We find Uṣavadāta purchasing a field for 4000 kārṣāpanas (=Rs. 1,500) in order to gift it to the monks at Nāśik. Waste and fallow land belonged to the state, but under the Gupta administration the village councils had to be consulted at the time of their disposal. Such formalities are not mentioned in connection with land transfers, described in Western Indian records. We, however, find that land transfers were regularly recorded in the registers kept for the purpose in the city and village councils.

Some Nāśik records refer to the donations of entire villages. Thus, Nāśik inscription No. 19 refers to the donation of the village of Samalipada in exchange of the village of Sudisana. This exchange obviously suggests that the gift of the village meant the gift of its royal revenues; it did not interfere with the private ownership of land. When ownership in private land was transferred, it was usually small fields which the king used to purchase or which used to belong to the state.

Vf 3010—12

CHAPTER 5.

Society, Religion and Culture during 200 B.C. In 500 A.D.

ECONOMIC CONDITION.

¹See Junuar Nos. 9, 14 and 18. The dimension of a Nivartana is not definitely known, but it was probably equal to four or five acres.

²E. I., VIII. p. 71.

Nasik inscription No. 3.

Nasik No. 10.

Society, Religion and Culture during 200 B.C. to 500 A.D. ECONOMIC CONDITION. Our records supply no data to determine the incidence of the land taxation; nor do we know anything about the share which the lesses received from the lessor. Probably his share varied from 40 to 50 per cent. of the gross produce. There is no datum to determine the price of land in Western India during our period; Nāśik inscription No. 10 refers to the sale of a piece of land for 4000 silver Kārṣāpaṇas (—Rs. 1,500) but we do not know the dimension of the field purchased. In the Gupta empire the arable land was usually sold at about three Dīnāras (—two and a quarter tolas of gold) per Kulyāvāpa. But the precise dimension of the Kulyāvāpa is not known and so we do not get any definite idea of the land prices. Nivartana is the land measure frequently occurring in our records, but its precise size is not known. It appears that it was about four acres in extent.

Crops grown in our period were the same that are grown at present in Western India, viz., Jvārī, Bājrā, wheat, sugarcane, rice, gram, cotton, oil seeds and betel leaves. Timber and fire-wood were important forest products and they figure among the exports to foreign countries. Lead mines were worked in the Deccan and supplied the metal for the Sātavāhana currency. It is likely that the gold mines near Maski may have been worked in our period, as also the diamond mines near Golcondā.

Cotton industry seems to have been the most thriving industry of the Decean during our period. Rough, fine and coloured cotton cloth figures prominently among the exports from Broach, as described by the *Periplus*. Tagara, Ter in the former Hyderābād state, and Pratiṣṭhāṇa, the capital of the Sātavāhana empire, were great centres of the cotton industry. The Āndhra province also had a large number of the centres of this industry.

During the first century of the Christian era, there was considerable trade carried on with the outside world through the ports of Western India. Broach was the most prominent among them. Among the imports of this port, the *Periplus* mentions Arabian and Italian wines, copper, tin, lead, coral, topaz, fine and rough cloth, bright coloured girdles, storax, flint glass, antimony and gold and silver coins. For the use of kings were imported costly silver vessels, singing boys, beautiful maidens and choice ointments. The exports of this port included spikenard costus, bdellium, ivory, agate, carnelian, onyx, stones, lycium, cotton cloth of all kinds, silk, long pepper and such other things as are brought from various market towns.

Broach was the main centre of foreign trade, but there were other ports on the western coast which had their own share of both foreign and coastal trade. Among these may be mentioned Sūrpāraka or Sopārā in Ṭhāṇā district, which figures as a harbour in the Jātakas also. Kalyāṇ in Ṭhāṇā district was a flourishing port. For a time, it was the rival of Broach, as most of the Sātavāhana exports and imports took place through it. During the Saka-Sātavāhana struggle, the Sakas tried to block it several times. Kalyān had several flourish-

¹ Yājñavalkyasmīti, undoubtedly composed during this age, permits the lessor 50 per cent share. See I.166.

ing merchants, some of whom figure as donors at Kanheri and Junnar during the 2nd century A.D.1 As late as the 6th century A.D., Commos Indiopleustes enumerates Kalyan among the five chief marts of Society, Religion Western India with trade in brass, cloth and timber and fire-wood.

Seumulla or Ceul near Bombay, Mandagora (probably situated on the Rajapuri creek), Palipamai (either Pale near Mahad or Dabhol), Buzantion (Vaijayanti or Vijayagada) are other ports mentioned by the Periplus. Some of the above ports like Sopara and Kalyan have now become land-locked.

Dvārakā, Prabhāsa and Valabhī were the principal ports of Kāthiāvād and Khambāyat of Northern Gujarāt.

From the Periplus, we get a clear idea of the routes of the overseas trade. Ships from the western countries started from Arabia Felix (Aden) and followed the Arabian coast as far as Kane, from where the route to India diverted; some ships sailing to the Indus and on to Broach, and others direct to the ports of Limyrike on the Malabar coast. The ships used to start from Arabia in July, as they could thereby utilise the monsoon to accelerate their speed.

Ujjayinī in Māļvā, Paithan in Mahārāstra and Tagara, probably Ter in the former Hyderabad state, were the chief inland centres of trade. There were brought down to Broach from these market towns various articles of exports, through bullock carts or on pack animals. Among the minor trade centres, we may mention Junnar, Karahāṭaka (Karhād in Sātārā district), Nāśik, Govardhana and Vaijayantī. Roads were bad or non-existent according to the author of the Periplus, but he is probably over-drawing the picture. They appear to be sufficiently good and workable. We find residents of Vaijayantī in Karnātaka making donations at Kārle, residents of Karhād and Nāśik in Mahārāstra giving gifts at Bharhut in Baghelkhand and citizens of Dattamitri in Sindh donating caves at Nāśik. Sea communications were also well developed; Buddhist monasteries at creek heads like Kanheri show that priests also travelled by sea in the company of merchants, who built or excavated monasteries for their use. River traffic was not much in vogue; rivers in Western India usually flowed through the hilly country and were petty streams; along the Tapi and the Narmada, however, there was some traffic in Gujarāt.

Thanks to the numerous donative records, we get a fairly good glimpse into the different cross-sections of the trading community. Traders in corn (dhānikas), perfumes (gandhikas), and jewels (manikāras) are frequently referred to. Garland-makers (mālākāras), iron-smiths (lohavānijakas) or (kammāras), goldsmiths, (suvarņakāras), braziers (kāsakāras), stone-cutters (Silāvānijakas) artisans (āveśanis), carpenters (vadhikas), weavers (kolikas), potters (kulârikas), hydraulic workers (odayantrikas) and oil-mongers

Vf 3010-12a

CHAPTER 5.

and Culture during 200 B.C. to 500 A.D.

ECONOMIC CONDITION,

Among the donors from Kalyan, some are merchants, some goldsmiths and some blacksmiths.

CHAPTER 5.

Society, Heligion and Culture during 200 B.C. to 500 A.D. ECONOMIC CONDITION.

(tilapiṣakas) are seen vying with one another in making donations for religious objects connected with Buddhism and Hinduism. Caravans were the arteries of trade and are referred to as donors in several places. Farmers did not lag behind the traders and caravans in their religious zeal; they are referred to as kutumbikas hālayikas and gahapatis. The general impression produced by the votive records is that society was rich and prosperous and that the artisans, traders, caravans and farmers contributed a good deal to its well-being.

Guild organisation was a special feature of trade and industry during our period. Guilds were known as srenis and their aldermen were known Stesthins. Our records refer to the guilds of weavers, potters, braziers, oil-mongers, hydraulic workers, bamboo-workers, corn-dealers, etc.1. Sometimes, as at Govardhana, there were two guilds in the same town of one and the same industry viz., weaving. Guilds had executive committees of their own, consisting of four or five members, whose president (sresthin) carried on the executive work with their help. The guild must have been primarily intended to safeguard the interest of the particular trade or industry. It, however, also conducted banks, whose services were availed of not only by its members but also by the general public. Guilds and their banks were regarded as stable institutions, more enduring than kingdoms and empires. When Uşavadāta, the son-in-law of the great king Nahapāna, who was most probably the governor of Northern Mahārāṣṭra, desired to make permanent arrangements for the annual supply of a fixed income to certain monasteries near Nāśik, he did not issue orders to the local treasury officers to make an annual remittance. His endowment took the form of a permanent deposit in local guild banks, with instructions to hand over the annual interest to the beneficiaries. Obviously he regarded the guild banks as more enduring than the government of which he was a distinguished member. Empires were established and destroyed in the course of a few years or decades, but guilds and their banks lived from age to age. A Gupta record shows that guilds would carry out their liability even if they changed their head-quarters. Precaution, however, was often taken to get the permanent endowment at a guild bank registered in the office of the town municipality or nigama sabhā, which was expected to see to it that the guild banks carried out their obligations from generation to generation,

It is a great pity that we should not have so far found the seals or sealings of even a single guild of the Deccan and Western India. The numerous guild sealings found at Vaisālī give us quite a vivid picture of the working of the organisation during the Gupta period, showing how there were joint guilds of bankers, traders and caravans with their membership spread over a large number of towns. It is not unlikely that similar organisations may have existed in the Deccan also during our period, as they certainly did five hundred years later.

¹ See Nāśik inscriptions Nos. 12, 15; Junnar inscriptions Nos. 16 and 31.

Let us now consider the currency problems. The larger part of the ordinary daily transactions was probably done by barter. But silver, lead and copper currency was also in existence to supplement them. We have not so far found any specimens of gold currency current in Western India. The gold coins or Suvarnas, one of which is equated to 35 silver Kārṣāpaṇas in a Nāśik record, were probably the gold pieces weighing about 120 grains which were issued by the Kuśanas in Northern India, some of which occasionally travelled down to the south with trade2. Neither the Satavahanas nor the Sakas, neither the Abhīras nor the Traikūṭakas issued any gold currency.

Kārsāpaņa is a term applicable both to the silver and copper coins, but in our records it usually refers to a silver one. The Naneghat inscription of Nayanikā refers to her husband giving a daksiņā of 24,400 Karşapanas on one occasion and of 11,000 on another. that time the Satavahanas were issuing no silver coins. Probably the Kārṣāpaṇas or punch-marked coins of Northern India were current in the kingdom or were minted in it by some private moneyers. At Kondāpūr several moulds of punch-marked coins were discovered which were in vogue in the Sātavāhana period. Only a few later Sātavāhana kings sporadically issued silver currency in the second century A.D.

The Western Kşatrapa currency was on the other hand predominently in silver. Each piece weighed about 30 grains. These coins were known in contemporary times as Rudradamakas, after the most powerful king of the dynasty, but this name does not occur in our records. A Nāśik record tells us that 2000 Suvarnas were equal to 70,000 silver Kārṣāpaṇas. If we ignore the alloy in both the coins, this equation shows that 1050 (35×30) grains of silver were equal to 120 grains of gold this gives the ratio between the prices of gold and silver as about 9:1. Silver being not indigenous to the country was dearer in India in the term of gold; this was also one of the reasons as to why so much of Roman gold flowed into the country.

We possess no data at present to give either the nomenclature or the relative value of the copper and lead currency that was profusely issued by the Satavahanas.

Our records give us a good idea of the money market. Nahāpaṇa's son-in-law Usavadāta invested 2000 Kārsāpanas in one bank of the weavers' guild at Nāśik as a permanent deposit, on which an interest at 12 per cent. per annum was guaranteed3. Another weavers' guild at the same place, however, agreed to pay only 9 per cent. interest to the same person. It is difficult to understand the causes for this difference in the rate of interest. When permanent deposits were fetching interest at so high a rate as 9 or 12 per cent. per annum, we may well conclude that short term loans must have been possible

This is the reason why some of the governments of the day like the Iksvaku and

CHAPTER 5.

Society, Religion and Culture during 200 B.C. to 500 A.D.

ECONOMIC CONDITION.

the Väkätaka administrations did not issue any coins at all.

In one Nāsik record No. 12 the term Prati is also used as a synonym for Kārṣāpaṇa.

Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar's view that the silver coins introduced by Nahapāna were known as Kuṣaṇas (I. A., 1919 p. 81) is untenable, Kuṭaṇamūla like Chīvaramūla was a sum given to the monks for the expense of purchasing Kuṭaṇas. What they were we do not know.

Society, Religion and Culture during 200 B.C. to 500 A.D. ECONOMIC CONDITION. even for solvent parties at about the rate of 20 or 24 per cent. The *Manusmṛti* mentions 24 per cent.¹ as the normal rate of fair interest and its statement is thus confirmed by the epigraphical evidence in our age.

There is no sufficient evidence to reconstruct the price level of the period. One Nāśik inscription gives 4000 Kārṣāpaṇas as the price of ■ piece of land, but since no information is given either about its size or yield, the statement is not of much value. As regards the price of cloth we are on surer grounds. We find that usually 12 Kārṣāpaṇas² were sufficient for the three robes of the monks. A Kārṣāpaṇa weighed about 50 grains and was thus somewhat heavier than the four anna silver piece. So about three rupees and a half were sufficient for the underwear, the upper garment and the robe of a monk.

We have no sufficient data to determine the cost of living during our period. Unfortunately no votive records give us any data about the money necessary to feed one monk every day. Northern Indian records of the Gupta period, however, show that one Dīnāra or $\frac{3}{4}$ tola of gold was usually sufficient to feed a monk throughout the year. The monthly cost of one sumptuous meal was thus about Rs. 2 in the pre-war value of that coin.

RELIGIOUS CONDITION.

The period 200 B.C. to 500 A.D. is one of the most interesting epochs in the religious and philosophical history of India. When imperial patronage of Aśoka resulted in the spread of Buddhism both in India and abroad, Hinduism began to think seriously about its future and began to set its house in order. A counter-reformation was started in Hinduism, which aimed at eliminating its weak points which were exploited by Buddhism. Vedic sacrifices were not directly condemned; we find number of the kings in our period performing them with great enthusiasm. The general population, however, was gradually weaned away from them when Bhaktimarga or the Path of Devotion began to be recommended as the best path for salvation.

In Bhaktimārga, the conception of a personal god taking paternal interest in the difficulties and welfare of the devotees is most prominent. This naturally began to appeal more to the masses in contrast to the Hīnayāna philosophy, which was an atheistic one and expected every person to rely upon his own exertions for spiritual uplift. Hinduism now began to advocate the gospel of Avatāra; God surely comes down to the earth as frequently as necessary in order to support righteousness and destroy vice and tyranny.

It was sometime in our period that the epic Jaya was converted into the Mahābhārata, an encyclopædia of religion, philosophy and ethics. The lives of number of heroes and Paurāṇic kings, which were described there, graphically emphasised the importance of a number

¹ See Chap. 10 below.

² One record at Känheri however provides for 16 Kärsäpanas for the robin of each monk. This was rather an unusual and liberal provision.

of virtues and good qualities, and began to shape and influence the lives of ordinary men. The philosophical side of Hinduism was also strengthened by the systematic exposition of the teachings of its various schools in the Sūtras of Mīmānsā, Vedānta, Yoga and Nyāya.

The above reforms and new activities in Hinduism had their natural repercussion on Buddhism. Soon after the beginning of the Christian era, a new school arose in Buddhism which incorporated most of the new theories in Hinduism. The Buddha had averred that when he is once dead, nobody in heaven or earth will see anything more of him; his later disciples must be lamps unto themselves, relying upon the texts of his Dhamma as he was leaving for them. The new school of Buddhism, known as the Mahāyāna gave up this position altogether. It began to aver that Gautama Buddha was only one incarnation of the Dhammakaya and that the latter may reincarnate himself as frequently as may be necessary. In Hīnayāna Buddhism, Bodhisattva was the future Buddha in his earlier lives struggling to cultivate a number of virtues so that he may be eventually qualified to become a Buddha in some future existences In Mahāyāna Buddhism, the Bodhisattva was a name given to an Arhat, who had voluntarily renounced his claim to Nirvana and consented to be born again and again with a view to help the struggling aspirants to salvation. He was prepared to transfer his own good merit to sinners in order to secure their salvation.

Considerable thought ferment was thus produced in the domain of religion and philosophy during our period, 200 B.C. to 500 A.D., and it is reflected in the Hindu and Buddhist literature, especially after c. 200 A.D. The Mahābhārata does not contain any direct attack on or refutation of the Buddhism, but the Brahmasūtras, the Nyāyasūtras and the Yogasūtras, which were re-edited in the latter half of our period, contain sections refuting the tenets of Buddhism and Jainism. Vātsyāyana in his Nyāyabhāsya attempts to combat the views of Nāgārjuna and is criticised in his turn by Dinnāga, who seeks to defend the Buddhist view points. Uddyotakāra soon came forward to defend Vātsyāyana and refute his assailant Dinnāga.

The above movements in Hinduism and Buddhism were of an all-India character; but it is difficult to say what part Western India or the Deccan took in them. Very little is known not only about the time but also about the home province of the actors in this religio-philosophical drama. The great philosophers like Vātsyāyana and Nāgārjuna were all-India figures, who moved from place to place in India propagating their philosophical and religious views. It would be wrong to confine them to one province. Among these philosophers Nāgārjuna, according to tradition, was long connected with Pratisthāna, the Sātavāhana capital; the Buddhist establishment at Nāgārjunīkoṇḍa was also probably named after him. The deep Mahāyāna influence which one sees at Ajaṇṭā may probably be due to the influence of his teachings.

To judge from the benefactions recorded, Hinduism and Buddhism were more or less equally balanced during our period. Philo-

CHAPTER 5.

Society, Religion and Culture during 200 B.C. to 500 A.D. RELICIOUS CONDITION.

Society, Religion and Culture during 200 B.C. to 500 A.D.

Religious Condition.

sophical conflicts were often taking place between the followers of the two religions, which must have often engendered considerable heat. An epigraph at Ajaṇṭā exultingly observes that Kṛṣṇa, Saṅkara and other gods have beat a precipitate retreat before the advance of the doctrine of the Buddha.¹ In spite of this philosophical acrimony among the top-rank combatants, the relations between the ordinary followers of the two religions were on the whole characterised by tolerance and harmony. During the succeeding age (500 to 1200 A.D.) there was some degree of intolerance shown by the followers of the different sects in the Deccan, but we get no traces of it during our period.

It appears that in spite of the contending claims of the rival philosophical disputants, the average man used to take the commonsense view that a substantial uniformity underlay their fundamental principles; an individual may make such synthesis of their principles as appeals to his temperament and extend his patronage to all without any distinction. The Saka king Rudradaman was undoubtedly a Hindu, but he had taken the view of not causing any loss of life except on the battle-field. Obviously he was trying to make a synthesis of Hinduism and Jainism in his life. King Santamula of the Ikşvāku family in the eastern Deccan was an enthusiastic follower of the Vedic religion and had performed a number of sacrifices. But his sisters, daughters and daughters-in-law were all Some of them had, however, given donations to Buddhists. Brāhmanas as well.2 The second king of the Sātavāhana dynasty Kṛṣṇa was most probably a Hindu, but he had appointed a special officer to look after the needs and welfare of the monks and nuns of his dominions. It is interesting to note that several records describe donations given both to the Buddhists and the Hindus. The main purport of Näsik inscriptions Nos. 10 and 12 is to record a grant made to the Buddhist monks residing in those caves. But they contain at their end other donations of the donor given to Hindu gods and Brāhmanas as well.

The spirit of tolerance that prevailed in the Deccan at this time was the order of the day throughout the country. The Guptas were orthodox Hindus, but had extended their patronage to the Buddhist University at Nālandā. Some of their officers were Buddhists like those of the Sātavāhanas, and one of them is seen making a benefaction in favour of the Buddhist establishment at Sāñcī for the spiritual³ welfare of his Vaiṣṇava sovereign Candragupta II. In the Kadamba dynasty kings Kṛṣṇavarman and Mṛgeśvaravarman performed Aśvamedha sacrifices out of their regard for Vedic religion and made grants to Jain establishments out of their reverence to Jainism.4

¹I. C. T. W.I., p. 77.

⁸E. I., XX, p. 16.

^{*}C. I. I., III pl 37.

^{41.} A., VI p. 24.

There are many records of our period which show that the Jains used to respect Hindu teachers as well.¹ The Guptas were orthodox Hindus, but the best tribute to their rule is given in a contemporary lain record.²

It is indeed surprising that so far no records should have been found in Western India throwing light on the existence and condition of Jainism in this part of the country. Kahaum (in Gorakhpur district), Mathurā and Udayagiri (near Sāñcī) were well-known centres of Jainism in northern India. In South India, owing to the patronage of the Kadambas and Gangas Karnatak had become a stronghold of Jainism. In Tamil country, Jainism had become so popular that the Jains convened a special sangam of theirs in c. 470. It is however strange that neither in the Deccan nor in Gujarat, we should so far have found any Jain epigraph belonging to our period. Since, however, a council was convened by the Svetāmbara-Jains first in Vira Samvat 840 (363 A.D.) and then in 980 (503 A.D.) at Valabhi to determine the texts of their sacred works, we may well presume that Gujarāt and Kāthiāvād had fairly numerous Jain followers in the 4th and the 5th centuries A.D. The non-discovery of epigraphical evidence is perhaps purely accidental, due to the absence of thorough explorations and excavations.

Let us now survey the general position of Hinduism during our age. The echoes of the revival of Vedic religion which arose as a reaction to the Buddhist and Jain attack on Vedic sacrifices, can be heard in the Deccan also. If Pusyamitra Sunga performed two Aśvamedha sacrifices in the north, Sātakarņi I, who was almost his contemporary, performed the same number of them in the Deccan. This ruler was a staunch advocate of the gospel of Vedic sacrifices: the Naneghat record of his widow shows that besides the two Asvamedhas he also performed a large number of other Vedic Among these were Agnyadheya, Anvarambhaniya, sacrifices. Āptoryāma Gargatrirātra, Āngirasatrirātra, Chandogapavamānatrīrātra, Daśarātra, Bhagaladaśarātra, Trayodaśarātra, Satātirātra, Gavāmayana and Rājasūya. These sacrifices were performed with due pomp and in a manner belitting the dignity of the emperor of the Deccan. Honoraria (daksinas) given to the priests were liberal. The record is unfortunately fragmentary, but it enables us to ascertain the daksinā expected to be given by a royal sacrificer at the different sacrifices.

Agnyādheya was an ordinary sacrifice and its dakṣiṇā was ten cows and a horse. Gavāmayana sacrifice lasted for a year; it was performed twice by Sātakarṇi and the dakṣiṇā given on each occasion was 1100 cows to priests in addition to gifts given to the spectators. The same dakṣiṇā was given at Aṅgirasāmayana and Aṅgirasatrirātra sacrifices. In the Chandopavamāna and Bhagaladaśarātra sacrifices, the dakṣiṇā was a thousand cows each. The Anvārambhaṇīya sacrifice was more costly, for the dakṣiṇā was 1700 cows, 10 elephants and 289 silver pots. In the Rājasūya sacrifice 100 cows,

CHAPTER 5.

Society, Religion and Culture during 200 B.C. to 500 A.D.

RELICIOUS CONDITION,

¹ C. I. I., III. p. 47. ² Ibid, pp. 67,258.

Society, Religion and Culture during 200 B.C. to 500 A.D.

> RELIGIOUS CONDITION.

one horse, one horse-carriage and a huge heap of corn were given as dakṣiṇā. In the Aśvamedha sacrifice the fee was heavy; the king gave away one herse with silver ornaments, 12 sets of gold ornaments, one village, one elephant and 14000 cows. One sacrifice whose names ended with...,rika (Pundarika?) entailed the rather unusual daksīnā of eleven thousand cows and a thousand horses. In another sacrifice twe've villages were given as dakṣiṇā, but its name has not been preserved.

It should not however be supposed that the Vedic sacrifices were popular only with the Satavahanas. Rulers in most of the other contemporary dynasties in the Deccan performed them. Ikşvāku king Sāntamūla (c. 250 A.D.) performed Agnistoma, Vājapeya and Aśvamedha sacrifces.1 Several petty rulers also performed the Aśvamedha sacrifice, e.g. Vijayadevavarman of the Sālankāyana family (c. 320 A.D.), Dahrasena (c. 460 A.D.) of the Traikūtaka house and Krsnavarman of the Kadamba dynasty. There is no wonder that the Bhāraśivas and the Pallavas, who claimed to be powerful rulers, performed the Horse Sacrifice several times. The great Vākāṭaka emperor Pravarasena I (c. 300 A.D.) not only celebrated four Horse Sacrifices, but also performed Agnistoma, Āptoryāma, Ukthya, Sodaśin, Brhaspatisava and Vājapeya. The Maukharis of Badvā in Rājputānā performed Trirātra sacrifice in 239 A.D.,2 and the Malava chief Soma, who liberated his homeland from the Sakas in c. 226 A.D. celebrated the event by the performance of the Ekaşaşti-rātra-sattra,8 which was quite appropriate for the occasion.4

The gospel of the Vedic sacrifice, however, was gradually losing its popularity in the course of time. Sātakarņi I performed a number of Vedic sacrifices, but Gautamiputra Sătakarni performed none." Within a 100 years this cannot happen, when all round such sacrifices were being performed. The reasons may be different. In the Vākāṭaka dynasty the example of Pravarasena I, who performed a number of sacrifices, was not emulated by any of his successors. Stone Yūpas commemorating Vedic sacrifices are not to be seen after 400 A.D.

Paurānic religion was getting more popular in the course of time. Gautamiputra Satakarņi is compared to Rāma, Keśava (Kṛṣṇa), Arjuna and Bhīma in valour; it is quite clear that the heroes of the Rāmāyaṇa and Mahābhārata were quite popular in our period. The glory of this king is further compared to that of king Nābhāga,

¹E. I., XX p. 16. ²Ibid, XXII, p. 52.

²Ibid, XXVII, p. 52.
²Ibid, XXVII, p.
⁴When gods had first offered this sacrifice everything around them had become sapless; trees had lost their freshness and kine their strength. But as a result of this sacrifice nature regained its original vigour and brilliances and there ensued a period of all round prosperity, like the one which must have begun in the Mālava republic, when it wrested its freedom from the Saka yoke.

⁴His eulogy described how he followed Trivarga, how he was an abode of the Vedas, how he organised festivities and samājas for his subjects, but is altogether silent about his having performed any Vedic sacrifices. Had he performed any of them, they would not have been passed over by the court panegyrist.

not have been passed over by the court panegyrist.

Nahuṣa, Sagara, Yayāti and Ambarīṣa; it is quite clear that the Purāṇas giving an account of their lives were quite popular. Which, however, were these Purāṇas and to what extent they agreed with or differed from their modern versions is unfortunately not known. The Purāṇas popularised Bhaktimārga and its ascendancy eventually proved unfavourable to Vedic sacrifices.¹

The age obviously believed in the efficacy of charity in securing religious merit (punya). The benefactions of Uṣavadāta are worth analysing. He used to feed a lakh of Brāhmaṇas every year; he had given three lakhs of cows on one occasion, and thirty-two thousand of cocoanut trees on another. He had built ghāṭs (flights of steps) on several rivers and constructed rest-houses at Broach, Daśapura Govardhana and Sopārā. He had dug wells and tanks, laid out gardens and maintained free ferry services on several rivers. He had arranged and financed the marriages of eight Brāhmaṇas at the holy tirtha of Prabhāsa.

The further statement that Uşavadāta had given sixteen villages and 7,000 Kārsāpaņas to gods and Brāhmaņas is worth pondering. The donees in the case of the Brahmanas were most probably a colony of learned Vedic scholars (śrotriyas), who were settled down in an Agrahāra colony, as was done in later times. But who were the donees in the case of gifts to gods? Prima-facie they should be temple establishments, but it is rather surprising that we should neither have discovered any Hindu temple belonging to our period in the Deccan or Western India nor found any reference to it in our epigraphs. For instance, when Uşavadāta names the monastic establishments in whose favour he gave his charities, we can identify them. But we do not get the names of Hindu temples in whose favour he had given his charity. Uşavadâta's records refer to his excavating caves for Buddhist monks and building rest-houses for travellers. But they do not mention a single Hindu temple built by him. It is possible to argue that the donations to gods, especially when coupled with donations to Brahmanas, may simply mean a benefaction in favour of Brahmanas, who were performing in their houses the sacrifices in favour of gods prescribed in the Srutis, Smrtis and Puranas.

Such however, does not seem to have been the case. Temples to Hindu gods like Vāsudeva and Sankarṣaṇa were raised in Northern India at Besnagar and Ghosuṇḍi as early as the 2nd century B.C. These deities are mentioned also in the Nāṇeghāṭ inscription of queen Nayanikā. It is quite possible that the images of these and other Hindu gods existed in our period and were worshipped in public temples in favour of which Uṣavadāta's donations earmaked for gods were given. The non-discovery of the images and temples of the Hindu gods will have to be pronounced as accidental in view of the clear references to village temples existing in the Gāthā-

CHAPTER 5.

Society Religion and Culture during 200 B.C. to 500 A.D.

RELIGIOUS CONDITION.

^{&#}x27;At Naneghāt, however, we find homage paid to Sankarsana and Vāsudeva, incarnations of Bhagavat, in a record which celebrates Vedic sacrifices. King Sātakarņi had managed to combine a respect for the Vedic religion with a regard for Bhaktimārga. But such instances were few.

Society, Religion and Culture during 200 B.C. to 500 A.D.

> RELICIOUS CONDITION.

saptaśati.1 It appears that the temples were becoming gradually commoner in our age and some of them had been benefited by Usavadāta's benefactions.

In Northern India temples had become more common in our age. Prthivisena had founded a temple of Siva named after himself at Karamdandä in U. P. in c. 425 A.D. At Mandasore in Malva, a temple of the Sun was built by a guild of weavers in c. 540 A.D. At Udayagiri and Bhumra in Central India and Bhitarganv in the U. P., there existed other Hindu temples, now mostly in ruins.

The different benefactions of Uşavadāta fall under the category of istapurta as described in the Smrtis. This theory of getting religious merit by public benefactions was getting popular in our age. Ekādaśī,2 Paurņimā and eclipse days had not yet acquired any particular sanctity, for very few of our grants are made on these days. Among the twelve definitely known dates of donations recorded at Nāśik and Kārlī, only three were made on the occasion of the fullmoon days; the rest were given on such odd days like the 13th day of the 2nd fortnight of the summer, the first day of the second fortnight of the rainy season, second day of the third fortnight of the winter, etc. Nor is any samkranti or eclipse associated with any dates of donations. Obviously the view that the days of Samkranti or eclipse are the occasions of special sanctity particularly suited for sacred gifts had not yet become popular. Astrology had not yet begun to influence the daily life of the community.

Renunciation had become quite common among the Buddhists and Jains during our period; even women were becoming nuns in these communities. Sanvāsa as the fourth aim of life is recommended with a rather lukewarm zeal in the contemporary smrtis of Manu and Yājñavalkya, but it had not yet apparently become popular. Gautamīputra Sātakarņi is described as following trivarga or the three purusārthas of life; trivarga, consists of Dharma, Artha and Kāma, but omits Mokṣa that was believed to be possible by renunciation or Sanyāsa. The dowager queen Nayanikā is however, described as gahatapasā or a recluse at home; this expression obviously suggests that there were recluses in Hindu society who were staying in the forest. Nandabālikā, one of the donors at Junnar, is described as the wife of Rsi Mūlasvāmin; it is quite likely that her husband had renounced the world and taken Sanyāsa, as permitted by the contemporary Smrtis. Hindu Sanyāsins could not be the recipients of any gifts; that seems to be the reason why they figure so very rarely in our records. We may well suppose that a fair percentage of idealistic Hindus eventually renounced the world in the evening of their lives.

Pilgrimage to holy places is strongly recommended in the epics and Purānas. Usavadāta is seen visiting Puskara near Ajmer and Prabhāsa in Kāthiāvād and making special donations there. The same must have been done by many other pious Hindus. No references however

²(This is not correct. Several grants of the Vakatakas were made on Ekadasi days or on the occasion of their a ana-V.V.M.)

The date of this work is uncertain, but the references to the temples occurring in the passage probably refer to our period.

are found in our records to pilgrims going to Kāśī. A Nala ruler from Bastar District is however visiting Prayāga on thanks giving pilgrimage in the 4th century A.D. Probably pious Hindus of Western India visited Kāśī, Prayāga and Gayā, as they did Puṣkara and Prabhāsa. Our records had probably no occasion to mention such visits.

Society, Religion and Culture during 200 B.C.

CHAPTER 5.

RELIGIOUS CONDITION.

Siva, Viṣṇu, Gaṇeśa, Sankarṣaṇa, Vāsudeva, Dharma, Indra, the Sun and the Moon figure as the popular Hindu deities during our period. Temples dedicated to them probably existed, though they are not referred to in our records. A large number of persons bear names connected with Visnu, Siva, and Skanda. It is clear that Vaisnavism and Saivism were becoming popular. The Bhāraśivas no doubt performed ten Horse-sacrifices, but they were constantly bearing on their body an emblem of Siva and not Yupa or a sacrificial pillar. Kumāragupta I performed a Horse-sacrifice, but he describes himself as paramabhagavata and not paramavaidika. The Vākāṭaka king Rudrasena II attributed his prosperity to Cakrapāni; the Nala king Bhavadattavarman felt that his restoration was due to the favour of Mahasena. We do not come across a single king ascribing his good luck or prosperity to the favour of any Vedic deity. Vedic gods had become far off and distant figures, to be invoked at sacrifices performed by the rich; they had ceased to appeal to ordinary individuals.

We have no sufficient data to find out the relative popularity of Vaisnavism and Saivism in the Deccan of our period. The Saka rulers were obviously Saivas, as indicated by the personal names of most of them. It is difficult to state what was the persuasion of the Sātavāhanas. The homage to Sankarṣaṇa and Vāsudeva in the Nāṇeghāṭ inscription and the comparison of Gautamīputra to Rāma and Keśava, Nābhāga and Ambarīṣa, would suggest that they were perhaps Vaiṣṇavas. Among the commoners, both faiths seem to have been fairly popular. Several individuals in our records bear names of which Nāga is a constituent. This would show that Nāga worship was also common.

Let us now try to ascertain the condition of popular religion. The Smrtis, Purāṇas and epics had become popular in our period and their heroes and Avatāras had become standards of comparison. The notion of the present time being the Kali age had also taken root, as shown by several records of this period, though not belonging to our area.¹ Pilgrimages to holy places were common, as shown already.

In his daily life the average pious Brāhmaṇa used to perform the religious rites and rituals prescribed in contemporary Smṛtis like those of Manu and Yājñavalkya; Vedic sacrifices were beyond his means. He offered his sandhyā prayer morning and evening; the noon-time sandhyā had not yet come into vogue. Prāṇāyāma, Sūryopasthāna and Gāyatrījapa were the main constituents of the

Society, Religion and Culture during 200 B.C. to 500 A.D.

RELIGIOUS CONDITION.

sandhyā. Whether the modern Paurānic verses were added to it in our age we do not know. Morning sandhyā was followed by the worship of tutelary deities and watery oblations to the manes. Five great sacrifices (pañcamahāyajñas) were popular in the age and many donations were given to Brahmanas to enable them to perform them. Smarta fire was no doubt maintained by the priests; whether it was kept by the average householder is doubtful. Samskāras were common for male children. Upanayana was gradually dying down in the case of girls; the monthly Sraddha was very popular. Sacrifices like the Cāturmāsyesti and Agrahāyanesti were probably performed only in priestly families. It is doubtful whether the Puranas in their pre-Gupta version extolled the efficacy of gifts on the days like those of Samkrantis and eclipses; at any rate none of the gifts in our records were given on these days. Astronomicalcum-astrological notions had not yet become popular in society. Almost any day was regarded as equally good for doing a meritorious or religious act. Many records of later days describe how the donor realised the transitoriness of the mundane glory and decided to make the grants; such observations do not occur in our epigraphs. This would show that the age was keeping an even balance between Artha and Kāma on one side and Dhurma and Moksa on the other.

Hindu Philosophy.

No Hindu philosophical works written between 200 B.C. and 500 A.D. can be definitely ascribed to Western India. It is therefore difficult to give any local picture of Hindu philosophy during this age. So far as the general progress of philosophy during this period is concerned, it may be pointed out that the Mimamsa-sutras were writteen early in this period. The Sābarabhāṣya written in c. 300 A.D. widened the scope of Mimāmsā.. It left the narrow field of ritualism and began to advocate its own views about the nature of the soul, God, salvation, etc. The development of Vedanta during this period is difficult to visualise. In the Sāmkhya system, the Sāmkhyakārikā of Iśvarakṛṣṇa, which gives the most authoritative exposition of the system, was composed in the 4th century A.D. In the sphere of Yoga, the Yogasūtras as well as the Vyāsabhāsya on it were composed in our period. In the Nyāya-Vaisesika school the Nyāyasūtras of Gautama were probably written in the 2nd century B.C. and its commentary the Nyāyabhāsya towards the end of the 4th century A.D. From c. 400 the Nyāya-Vaiśeşika school became constantly engaged in controversies with the Yogacara and Madhyamika schools of Mahayana Buddhism.

Buddhism.

To judge from epigraphic evidence, Buddhism was fairly popular in Western India down to the end of the Sātavāhana period. Rival rulers like the Sātavāhanas and the Kṣaharātas, though not themselves Buddhists, are seen vying with one another in excavating Vihāra and Caitya caves for the Buddhist monks and in making grants for the day to day expenditure of the monastic establishments. Donors to the Buddhist monasteries are seen hailing from all classes, high and low; besides ruling kings, they include feudatories like the Mahārathis and the Mahābhojas, high government officials like ministers, generals and district officers, members of higher classes

like merchant princes, caravan leaders and physicians and several persons in the ordinary walks of life like farmers, merchants, goldsmiths, ironsmiths, garland-makers, etc.¹ The gospel of the Buddha had made a deep and wide appeal to all the sections of the community, including the foreigners like the Greeks and the Scythians.

Later tradition no doubt states that the Buddha had once visited Pratisthāna or Paithan, the future Sātavāhana capital; but we may doubt its accuracy. Among the missionaries sent by Aśoka for the spread of Buddhism there was one Greek convert named Dharmarakṣita, who was sent to Aparānta or Northern Koṅkaṇ and who may have tried to spread the religion in Mahārāṣṭra as well. Earliest traces of Buddhism in Western India go back to about c. 250 B.C. and one may wonder whether the religion had made much progress before the advent of the missionaries despatched by Aśoka.

The most ancient Buddhist records in Western India are those at Kolhāpūr, Pitalkhorā and Sopārā. When Dharmarakṣita came to Northern Koṅkaṇ, he apparently induced Aśoka to get a set of his edicts engraved at Sopārā; we have, however, so far discovered only fragments of fourteen rock edicts at that place. The inscription on the lid of a casket at Kolhāpūr is almost in Mauryan characters; the same is the case with the records in the Pitalkhorā caves. It is quite clear that the missionaries of Aśoka succeeded in making a fair and rapid headway. A number of people were converted and some Buddhist establishments were established. Their number was not quite small; for in the reign of the second Sātavāhana king Kṛṣṇa we find the Hindu government appointing an officer to supervise over the Buddhist monks and their establishments.

Our records incidentally refer to a number of Buddhist sects. The Bhadāyanīyas or the Bhadrāyanīyas were the recipients of some benefactions at Nāśik and Kānherī, the Mahāsamghikas at Kārlī, the Dharmottarīyas at Sopārā, Junnar and Kārlī, the Cetiyas at Nāśik and the Aparājītas at Junnar. Most of these sects belonged to the protestant school, which raised the standard of revolt at Vaiśālī. Thus the Bhadrāyanīyas and the Dharmottarīyas belonged to the school of the Vajjīputtas; the Mahāsamghikas were the earliest to cause a schism owing to their peculiar view that the Buddha was a Lokottara person inherently possessing superhuman powers. Cetiya school was a sub-section of this sect. The Mahīśāsakas, the Bahusutīyas and the Aparamahāseliyas, who figure in the records of the Eastern Deccan, are not mentioned in Western India. Of these the Mahīśāsakas represented the pure Theravāda, while the others were branches of the Mahāsamghikas.

The development of huge monastic establishments naturally led to a sense of possession among the monks. The followers of some CHAPTER 5.

Society, Religion and Culture during 200 B.C. to 500 A.D.

> Relicious Condition. Buddhism.

¹We may, however, note that the epigraphs preserved for us almost all belong to the Buddhist establishments. There were no similar establishments in Western India in our age belonging to Hinduism. Had they existed, donations made to them might have given us some idea of the classes from which the adherents of Hinduism were hailing. Very probably the followers of both the religions hailed from all the classes of the community.

Society, Religion and Culture during 200 B.C. to 500 A.D. RELIGIOUS

CONDITION.

Buddhism.

schools got a vested interest in some endowments; thus some of the donations at Nāśik were given for the exclusive use of the members of the Bhadrāyaṇīya sect, and some at Kārlī for that of the Mahāsarighika sect. Usually, however, the benefactions were intended for the monks hailing from the four quarters, irrespective of the sects to which they belonged. Even in such cases the administration of the trust property must inevitably have been vested in the hands of the monks in power at the locality.

Almost to the end of our period, Buddhism in Western India was of the Hīnayāna variety. The Mahāyāna school began to become popular only at about 400 A.D. As may be expected, the objects of worship in the early caves are the Stūpas; the human figure of the Blessed One does not occur either at Bhājā or at Bedsā, or either at Kārlī or at Nāśik.¹ In the early Caitya halls at Ajaṇṭā also, the object of worship is the Stūpa. The figures of the Buddha appear in caves Nos. 16, 17 and 19, which belong to the end of the 5th century A.D. The Buddha figure became common in Northern India about two hundred years earlier.

The Buddhist mode of worship was similar to the Hindu one. Lamps were kept burning and scents and flowers were offered to the Stupa after its ceremonial sprinkling. Kudā inscription No. 11 records the gift of a field to provide for the burning of a lamp in the Buddhist Caitya.

The wide popularity of Buddhism must be partly ascribed to the strenuous efforts of the Buddhist monks. The Mahāsthaviras, Sthaviras, Bhāṇakas and Tevijjas incessantly travelled in the country in winter and summer, popularising the gospel of the Blessed One. A record at Nāgārjunīkoṇḍa shows that Western India including Karnāṭak and Konkaṇ was visited by Ceylonese Buddhist monks also for the purpose of evangelisation. The monks travelled both by land and sea. Most of the Buddhist centres like Kalyāṇ, Nāśik, Kārlī and Junnar are situated in the passes leading from Konkaṇ to Ghāṭs; the caves at Kānherī, Kuḍā and Mahāḍ are at the heads of creeks, from where the monks must have embarked for their coastal journeys.

We get a fairly graphic picture of the lives of the monks and nuns of our period. In a solitary record at Bedsā we find a reference to a monk who is described as āraṇaka; probably he lived in a forest and came to the village for begging. As Buddhism became more and more popular, caves began to be constructed for their residence. It is however curious that we have not so far come across any structural monastery or Caitya in Western India, built in bricks during our period.

Buddhist establishments in Western India consisted of a monastery (vihāra) and an attached temple (caitya). Monasteries had a square or rectangular hall with an entrance in front and small cells on all the three sides, each cell being usually intended for one monk. In some establishments as at Junnar, there were reception halls (upasthānaśalās) and dining halls (bhojanamandapas) also.

¹ The Buddha figures appearing at Kārlī are all later additions.

Invariably arrangement was made for the construction of a cistern for drinking water (pāniyapoḍhi) and bath (sanānapoḍhi). Caves in Western India are generally plain with few decorative sculptures. The Buddha had prohibited the decoration of monks' residences by paintings but in Western India paintings were introduced in caves as early as the first century A.D. The Nāśik cave donated by Balaśiri was originally painted; one of the donations made by her son was for providing paintings in it. The paintings have now faded off. At Ajanta paintings became the order of the day from about 400 A.D.

The monastic establishment was given in charge of the head abbot who was called mahāsāmi or mahāsvāmi; he is mentioned as the trustee and recipient of a benefaction in one Nāśik record.¹ He probably corresponded with mahāvihārasvāmī at Sāñcī² and managed the whole establishment. In some records the property is stated as being conveyed into the hands of Samgha;8 even then the actual administration must have been carried on by the vihārasvāmin.

Monks usually came down from hills to the adjoining villages for getting their food; we have rare references to the provision being made for their meals4. The laity however was expected to make provision for the supply of robes and medicines to the monks. Three robes permitted by the order were usually supplied in duplicate at the end of the rainy season, when the monks dispersed for their usual journeys in the country for preaching the gospel. Two sets of three robs usually cost twelve Kārṣāpaṇas. In some caves, however, the provision consisted of sixteen and not twelve Karsapanas. Provision was also made by pious laymen for the medical treatment of the monks; Nāśik inscription No. 15 shows a Saka lady making a permanent endowment for the medicinal expenses of the monks staying at the local monasteries.

In addition to this provision for robes Uşavadāta is seen providing 4% Kārṣāpaṇas to each monk for the expenses connected with Kuśana.5 What however this Kuśana expense was we do not know. Probably it was for out of pocket expenses, incurred while the monks were touring. The Buddha had prohibited the monks from receiving any cash in gold and silver; the monks at Vaisālī had pleaded that this rule should be rescinded, but they were overruled in the second council of Vaiśāli. It would appear that in course of time this taboo against gold and silver was removed and monks were permitted to possess money.

This conclusion is further confirmed by the large number of monks and nuns who figure as donors in our epigraphs. Thus the three elephant sculptures at Karlī were the gifts of the venerable monk Indradeva; two other sculptures there were financed by monk Bhadasama⁶. A nun named Goā was so rich⁷ as to finance the CHAPTER 5.

Society, Religion and Culture during 200 B.C. to 500 A.D. RELIGIOUS

CONDITION.

Buddhism.

¹E.J., VIII, 71. ²C. J. J., III 272. ³ Nāśik inscription No. 17. One such reference occurs in Nasik inscription No. 10.

^{*}At Junnar the monks used to get one Karsapana per month apparently during the rainy season for a similar purpose; see inscriptions Nos. 15, 18, 21.

*E. I., VII 51.

*I.C. T. W. I., p. 6.

Vf 3010-13

Society, Religion and Culture during 200 B.C. to 500 A.D.

> RELIGIOUS CONDITION. Buddhism.

excavation of a cave at Mahād. Kārlī inscription No. 12 discloses another nun donor named Āṣāḍhamitrā. At Ajanṭā, there are several donations made by monks like Sanghamitra, Buddhagupta, Sanghapriya, Drdhadharma, etc. Nāśik cave No. 20 was originally begun by a monk named Bhopaki, but was completed by a Mahāsenāpatinī.

How these monks and nuns got these funds is mystery. Surely the savings out of the small Kuśana allowance of four or five Kārsāpaņas was not sufficient for this purpose. It is not improbable that the lay disciples of monks and nuns may have begun to supply them funds to enable them to finance these benefactions. It is also possible that they might have got the funds from the families which they had renounced at the time of entering the order. Whether they had begun to receive honoraria (daksinās) like the Hindu priests, is not known at present.

About the internal organisation of the monastic life we get some interesting data. The establishment was under the management of the abbot (Vihārasvāmin), who received the donations, provided for the supply of robes and monks, and allotted rooms to the monks and arranged for their boarding when funds had been received for the purpose. Some monks as well as their pupils are described at Traividyas in several Junnar inscriptions1. Traividya was a title given to monks who were well grounded in the three Pīţakas². It is thus clear that in some of our monasteries there were learned monks, who were devoting their time and energy in educating the novices in Buddhist philosophy and literature. This duty had been expressly imposed upon the senior monks by the Buddha himself. Some of the monks, thus devoting themselves to the cause of education, are called ganācāryas, probably because they had a number (gaṇa) of students reading under them. It is quite possible that some of our monasteries had developed into small centres of higher Buddhist learning. It is unfortunate that we do not possess more data to get a better glimpse into their educational activity.

Nuns were admitted into the Buddhist Samgha during our period and we get several references to them. In most cases the nuns appear to have entered the holy order after their widowhood. Thus the donor of Karli No. 18 describes herself as the mother of Gunika; a nun at Mahād, Nāganikā, describes herself as the mother of Padumanika.3 This latter record however does not mention the names of any children of Padumanika, associated with her donation. It is therefore not unlikely that some ladies entered the holy order before their marriage. In this particular case this was quite possible. The record shows that both Nāganikā and her maternal uncle had entered the holy order and it is not unlikely that being zealous Buddhists they may have permitted their ward Padumanikā to enter the order before her marriage. It is, however, not impossible that

Originally it denoted Brahmanas who had mastered the three Vedas.

3I. C. T. W. I., p. 6.

¹Cf. Gan-ācāryānām sthvirānām Bhadanta-Sula-ānām traividyānām antevāsinām sthavirānām Bhdanta—Caityasānām traividyānām, Junnar No. 22. (This is Sanskrt rendering of the original Prakrt inscription.—V.V.M.)

the absence of the mention of the children of Padumanikā as sharer in the merit of her benefaction may also have been due to her being issueless or a child widow.

When nuns were ordained, they could be the disciples either of monks or nuns. The Vinaya-pitaka forbids a monk to become disciple of a nun and our records supply no such instance. Nuns could however become the preceptors of female novices. Thus the nun Padumanikā had two female disciples named Bodhi and Āṣāḍhamitrā. Kuḍā inscription No. 24 shows that Pavailikā was a disciple of the monk Vijaya, but was herself the preceptor of another nun named Bodhī.

While we get sufficient evidence to understand the monastic organisation of Buddhism, we are quite in the dark about the life of Buddhist laymen and laywomen. Our records refer to several laymen and laywomen, both Indian and non-Indian. But we do not know whether they were organically connected with the monastic order. The Buddha had envisaged no such connection and it appears that the Buddhist laymen and laywomen continued to remain members of the Hindu social order. Thus Kudā inscription No. 15 refers to an Upāsikā, who is described as the wife of a Brāhmaṇa. So even after embracing Buddhism, the converts continued their organic connection with the Hindu social order. Probably they also performed Hindu rituals.

As to Buddhist philosophy of our period, Hīnayāna was popular in the Deccan, till about 300 A.D. The traditional founder of the Sunyavāda school was Nāgārjuna and he is associated with Paithan, the Sātavāhana capital and Nāgārjunīkonda, a great centre of Buddhism in Āndhra country. He probably flourished in c. 200 A.D. His pupil Āryadeva composed Catuhśataka in c. 250 A.D. Maitreyanātha, the founder of the Yogācāra school, flourished in c. 200 A.D. and Asanga and Vasubandhu about 100 years later. Both these flourished in Northern India. The works of these scholars, while maintaining the reality of Vtjñāna, seek to refute the reality of the external world. As the Mādhyamika and Yogācāra schools hardly exercised any influence on the Buddhism in Western India, during our period, we need not further explain their philosophical stands.

Let us now try to ascertain the attitude of Indian religions towards the foreigners, who had entered the country as conquerors and settled down as permanent residents. During our period both Hinduism and Buddhism used to convert and absorb all foreigners. The Greeks, the Parthians and the Scythians or the Sakas were the three foreign tribes that had penetrated into Western India, during our period. All of them felt irresistibly attracted to the faiths of the land and became either Buddhists or Hindus. The Western Kştrapas had a great attraction towards Hinduism. Nahapāna was a Parthian and probably continued allegiance to his ancestral faith. His daughter, Dakṣamitrā, who was married to a Saka named Uṣavadāta, became a Hindu along with her husband. We have a large number of benefactions of Uṣavadāta and they show that he was more inclined to Hinduism than to Buddhism. He no doubt donated a cave to the

CHAPTER 5.

Society, Religion and Culture during 200 B.C. to 500 A.D.

> RELIGIOUS CONDITION. Buddhism.

Foreigners and Indian religions.

Society, Religion and Culture during 200 B.C. to 500 A.D.

RELIGIOUS CONDITION, Foreigners and Indian Religions. monks at Nāśik and arranged for their boarding and clothing. But the bulk of his benefactions was in favour of Hinduism. He was in the habit of feeding a lakh of Brāhmaṇas every year; he had also given them in charity sixteen villages, three lakhs of cows, and thirty-two thousand cocoanut trees. He had undertaken holy pilgrimages to Prabhāsa (Somanāth) in Kāṭhiāvāḍ and Puṣkara (near Ajmer) in Rajputānā. When Brāhmaṇas were receiving such liberal donations from the Sakas, it is no wonder that they readily undertook to act as their priests. A Brāhmaṇa named Gajavara of Segrava Gotra was the priest of the Saka ruler Soḍāsa of Mathurā and there can be hardly any doubt that Uṣavadāta and Nahāpaṇa never experienced any difficulty in getting a large number of qualified Brāhmaṇas to officiate at their religious functions.

The Sakas, however, were not only accepted as Hindus but orthodox royal families had no objection to enter into matrimonial alliances with them. The Satavahanas were Brahmanas, but the most famous ruler of the dynasty, Gautamīputra Sātakarņī, who is credited with having stopped a mixture of castes, married one of his sons Vasīsthīputra Sātakarņī to a daughter of the Saka king Rudradāman in c. 130 A.D. A century later we find the Ikşvāku king Sāntamūla marrying his crown prince Mādharīputra Vīrapuruşadatta to Rudradharabhattārikā, who is described as a daughter of the Mahārāja of Ujjayinī. The name of the princess and the capital of her father make it clear that she belonged to the Saka dynasty of Ujjayini. It should not be however, supposed that the Sakas had a partiality only for Hinduism; for our records show that many of them became Buddhists as well. Nāśik inscription No. 15, records the donation of Saka laywoman Visnudattä in favour of the monks at Trirasmi hill for their medical relief. Nāśik inscription No. 26, records the construction of a cave and water cistern by a Šaka named Viṣṇupālita. The names of both these Nāśik donors Viṣṇudattā and Viṣṇupālita smack of Hinduism, but their donations are in favour of Buddhism. The donor in Kārlī inscription No. 20, who excavates hall is described as Harapharana, son of Setapharana, a native of Abulāmā. The name of this donor is obviously Parthian; it is thus clear that some Parthians would often accept Buddhism.

The Yonakas or Yavanas, who appear as donors in several records, were obviously Ionian Greeks, who had settled down in Western India. The Buddhist missionary sent to Northern Konkan by Aśoka was also a Greek. In Sindh there was a Greek settlement established at Demetria or Dattāmitrī, which was founded by the Bactrian king Demetrius in c. 180 B.C. Broach was an international port, where some Greek traders must have come and settled down. ing to one view, after conquering Sindh, Apollodotus penetrated to Broach from where he proceeded along the Narmada to Ujjayini. It is quite likely that this invasion may have left some Greek soldiers behind. In the Satavahana period Demetria in Sindh continued to be a centre of Greek population. Nasik inscription No. 13 records the benefaction of Indragnidatta, the son of Dhammadeva, who is expressly described as a Yonaka from Dantamitri, i.e., Dattāmitri or Demetria in Sindh. Dhenukākaţa, probably located near Bombay, was another centre of Greek population. Two Greeks named Sihadhaya and Dhamma are seen making donations at Kārlī¹. Two other Greek laymen, Irila and Yavana figure among the donors of Junnar².

Curiously enough there is no instance recorded in our epigraphs of Yavanas having embraced Hinduism as well. But this must be regarded as purely accidental. In the 2nd century B. C., we have the instance of the Greek ambassador at Besnagar becoming a devout Bhāgavata and erecting a Garuḍadhvaja before departing back for his home. There may have been Yavanas in Western India also who felt attracted by the Bhaktimārga of Hinduism. Naturally the Greeks mentioned in votive records in Buddhist caves will be found to be belonging to that faith, rather than to Hinduism.

The followers of the different sects were living in peace and harmony. Both Hinduism and Buddhism knew how to absorb foreigners within their folds. Even balance was kept between Dharma and Moksa on one side and Artha and Kama on the other. Notions of astrology had not yet begun to sway the Hindu mind; any time was regarded as auspicious for doing a religious or meritorious work. The life in Buddhist monasteries was still simple and the monks and nuns were making strenuous efforts to spread the gospel among the masses. In the realm of philosophy self complacency had not yet become the characteristic of the mental outlook of the leaders of our philosophical thought. They were anxious to examine new theories and movements and re-examine their position in their light. It is in the last two centuries of our period that the conflict of mind with mind and theory with theory began to occur for the first time in right earnest. Philosophical controversies were however carried on with decorum and without acrimony; the followers of the different religions and sects continued to live in harmony.

It is a matter of regret that we should possess very insufficient data to give an adequate picture of education, language and literature during our period.

We have already shown how several Buddhist monks referred to in our epigraphs are described as Traividya Sthaviras, who had also disciples of the same educational qualifications. It is clear that the Buddhist establishments of our period were gradually developing into modest centres of education, where the Tripitakas and the allied literature were taught, certainly to the monks and nuns and probably to laymen as well. The new Mahāyāna works of Nāgārjuna, Asanga and Vasubandhu had not yet become popular in the Deccan.

Since very early times the private teacher, usually of the Brāhmaṇa class, was the pivot of the Hindu system of education. As their livelihood depended not so much upon the uncertain and voluntary fees paid by their students as upon the income which they obtained as priests, they used to flock into *tīrthas* or holy places and capitals; these therefore tended to become centres of Brahmanical education. Nāśik on the Godāvarī and Karhāṭaka (Karhāḍ) on the Kṛṣṇā were

CHAPTER 5.

Society, Religion and Culture during 200 B.C. to 500 A.D.

RELIGIOUS CONDITION.

Foreigners and Indian Religions.

EDUCATION, Language and Literature.

¹Kārlī inscriptions, Nos. 7 and 10.

²Junnar inscriptions, Nos. Il and 7.

CHAPTER 5. Society, Religion and Culture during 200 B.C. to 500 A.D. EDUCATION Language and Literature.

famous Tirthas and they were most probably centres of learning in our period also, as they certainly were in later centuries. Pratisthana, the capital of the Sătavāhana empire, and Ujjayinī, the capital of the Ksatrapas, were also famous centres of education.

Reference is made in one epigraph to several villages being given by Uşavadāta to Brāhmanas. These Brāhmana settlements were known as Agrahara villages and they used to become centres of learning, as the Brāhmaṇa donees were generally anxious to discharge their traditional duty of teaching in return for the provision made by the state for their livelihood. Unfortunately there is only a passing reference to these Agrahara villages in the records of Usavadata; but the Pandarangapalli grant (c. 000 A.D.), describes the Brahmana donee as the teacher of a hundred Brāhmanas1; we may well presume that similar was the case with other Agrahara donees as well. The Western Ksatrapas were Hindus and lovers of Sanskrt learning. It is quite probable that they may have created several Agrahāra villages to promote higher Sanskrt education.

The Vedas,² Purānas and Smrtis, Nyāya and Philosophy were the main topics of study in the Brahmanical centres of education. Classical Sanskrt literature was gradually developing and it must also have been cultivated, especially under the Kṣatrapas. Rājaśekhara records the tradition that the Satavahanas had made a rule that only Prakrt should be spoken in their court. We may well believe this statement, for all the Satavahana official records are without a single exception in Prakrt. This patronage of Prakrt was probably responsible for making the Māhārāstrī Prākṛt most prominent in the country. A lot of literature also must have been produced in that language. The statement of Hala in the Saptasati that he selected his 700 stanzas from a crore may be an exaggeration, but there is no doubt that he had selected his stanzas from the writings of several poets and poetesses. It is really unfortunate that we should have lost so much of lyrical poetry in Māhārāṣṭrī produced in our age.

Rudradāman proudly claims that he was an expert in writing Sanskrt works both in prose and poetry, which were characterised by simplicity, clearness, sweetness, variety and beauty arising from the use of conventional poetic terminology. The specific use of the term alanketa shows that the author was well acquainted with the science of poetics, though works written in Western India on the subject during our period have not been preserved. The Girnār praśasti is a good example of a neat gadya-kāvya or poetic prose. Compounds are preferred to simple words and they often consist of seven to seventeen words. Alliteration is frequently used with considerable skill and effect. Similes are common and the description is often vivid and telling, as for instance of the terrible destruction caused by the collapse of the dam.

¹Cf. Brāhmanajatamadhyāpakasya, M.A.R., 1929, p. 197. (This reading ■ uncertain. See the original grant which is being published in E.I.—V.V.M.)

¹Brāhmanas, Kṣatriyas and Vaisyas all performed their Upanayana during our age and were regarded as eligible for Vedic studies. The Upanayana and Vedic studies of women were gradually dying down in our period. Manu permits the formal Upanayana of women, but not Yājňavalkya.

What is more interesting is the fact that Sanskṛt poetics was studied by the Prākṛt poets also; it is seen to be considerably influencing their composition. The praśasti of Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi engraved in cave No. 2 at Nāśik is in fine example of gadya-kāvya in Prākṛt. It begins with series of long compounds describing the qualities of the king and the extent of his dominion, forming a fairly long sentence. Similies are numerous and effective and alliteration frequent. Objects of comparison are drawn from the epics and Purāṇas; king's strength is described as equal to that of Himavat, Meru and Mandāra and he is compared to Rāma, Kṛṣṇa, Arjuna and Bhīma.

It is clear that the Kācya style was cultivated during our period in Western India. Unfortunately, no works have been preserved; the only specimens we get are from epigraphical prasastis (eulogies).

The literary activity of our period included the final redaction of the Mahābhārata and the Rāmāyaṇa, but Western India had probably no share in it. Among the poets Aśvaghoṣa, Bhāsa, Kālidāṣa, Sūdraka and Viśākhadatta, no doubt belonged to our period, but probably not to Western India. Among the Smṛtis the present Manusmṛti was probably composed in c. 200 B.C. and Yāṭñavalkyasmṛti in c. 200 A.D. It is not unlikely that the last mentioned Smṛti may have been composed in the Deccan. Its advocacy of the proprietary rights of the widow was accepted earlier by the Deccan than by the rest of India.

It was during our period that the decimal system of notation with the place value of zero was discovered in India. Striking progress in astronomy was recorded in the works of Aryabhatta. Considerable Greek influence is noteworthy in the development of this science during the 3rd and 4th centuries A. D. It is quite probable that this influence became possible on account of the great commercial activities of the ports of Western India like Broach. It is quite possible that Indian astronomers might have gone to Alexandria from Broach, or that Greek almanac-makers may have come to India with the traders like the author of the *Periplus*. All this is however a mere conjecture. We have no definite information on the point.

The Carakasamhitā and the Suśrutasamhitā assumed their present form in c. 200 A.D. The medical treatment to the monks in Western India, provision for which is made in some of our cave inscriptions, was probably according to the theories propounded in these works.

CHAPTER 5.

Society, Religion and Culture during 200 B.C. 500 A.D. EDUCATION. Language and Literature.



CHAPTER 6

THE CALUKYAS OF RADAMI*

THE CALUKYAS OF BADAMI WHO ARE FAMOUS IN HISTORY for evolving a distinctive style of temple architecture, now known as Cālukyan architecture, ruled over Mahārāṣṭra for a period of well nigh two hundred years. Though Pulakesin I was the first paramount ruler of this dynasty, it was actually Kirtivarman I who established his sway over Maharaştra. The reign of Kirtivarman I began in the year A.D. 566-67 and the last ruler of this dynasty who lost control over Mahārāstra soon after A.D. 757 was strangely enough another Kirtivarman, known to historians as Kirtivarman II.

There are various theories regarding the origin of the Cālukyas. The epigraphical records of the period when the Calukyas first emerge into prominence do not say anything about their original home. Nor do we find any contemporary literary works which give us any clue to this. However, inscriptions of the later members of this family, known to historians as the Calukyas of Kalyani and the Cālukyas of Vengī, as also some literary works of their period contain some traditional accounts of their origin. Some of them - mentioned here - would illustrate that these accounts not only differed from one another but were also fanciful inventions.

The Calukyas trace their descent to an original home at Ayodhya claiming their ancestry from the Moon. For example, the Kauthem plates of Vikramaditya V (A.D. 1009) state that there ruled at Ayodhyā fifty-nine kings of the Cālukya family. After these, sixteen more kings ruled over the southern region. Subsequently their power was eclipsed temporarily but eventually their might was restored by Jayasimha I.

Similar accounts are found in the Miraj plates of Jayasimha II (A.D. 1024)², the Yevūr inscription of Vikramāditya VI (A.D. 1077)³ and the Nilgunda plates of the same king. The Kannada poet CHAPTER 6 The Calukyas of Badāmī

^{*} This chapter is contributed by Shri N. Lakshminarayan Rao, Nagpur.

¹ Ind. Ant., Vol. XVI, p. 21. ² Epigraphia Indica, Vol. XII, pp. 309 ff. ³ Ibid., pp. 274 ff.

⁴ Ibid., pp. 150 ff.

CHAPTER 6.

The Cālukyas of Badāmī.

Raṇṇa who was a contemporary of the later Cālukya king Taila II (A.D. 973-997) states in his great poem¹ also that one of the ancestors of the Cālukya rulers reigned at Ayodhyā.

According to another legendary account given in some other inscriptions, the Cālukya race was descended from the Moon, who was descended from Atri, who was descended from Brahmā. A third account - also found in an inscription - tells us that Hiranyagarbha-Brahmā was born from the lotus in Visnu's navel. Hiranyagarbha-Brahmā's son was Manu and Manu's son was Māṇḍavya, whose son was Harita. Harita's son was Hārīti-Pañcaśikha from whose culuka (or hollow of the palms) the Calukyas were born when he was pouring out an offering of water to the gods2. The reference to this origin of the progenitor of the Cālukya race from the culuka is also found in Bilhana's (the court poet of the later Cālukya king Vikramāditya VI, who ruled from A.D. 1076 to 1126) Vikramankadevacarita, where the details are somewhat different. Here it is from Brāhmā's culuka that powerful warrio: was born from whom descended the Calukyas. The story states that when Brāhmā was engaged in his sandhyā oblations, Indra requested him to create a warrior to put an end to the godlessness on earth. At this request Brahma looked at his culuka and the warrior referred to above suddenly sprang up8.

Almost an identical account of the original ancestor of the Cālukyas is also found in an inscription of the Cālukyas of Anhilvād⁴. It states that when Brāhmā was churning his *culuka*, viz., the ocean, warrior whom he named Cālukya sprang forth ready to obey his commands.

The account in the records of the Eastern Cālukyas of Vengīb contains some striking variations from the information given in the records of the Kalyāṇi branch of the family. After tracing the genealogy from Brāhmā through the Moon and through mythical personages like Purūravas and Āyu, it goes on to mention two kings Satānīka and Udayana; and this Udayana was the first of the fifty nine rulers who ruled in uninterrupted succession at Ayodhyā. After these rulers in certain king of this dynasty called Vijayāditya went to the southern region in order to conquer it. But unfortunately after defeating the king Trilocana-Pallava, he died. His queen, who was pregnant at this time, took shelter in the residence of a saintly Brāhmaṇa called Viṣṇubhaṭṭa-Somayājin at the agrahāra of Mudivemu, where she gave birth to il son named Viṣṇuvardhana. She brought him up performing all the rites that were suitable to his descent from the Mānavyas and the Hārīti-putras. The prince, when

⁵ See, for example, South Indian Inscriptions, Vol. I, pp. 53-54.

¹ Gadāyuddha, Afrasa 2.

² Fleet, Bombay Gazetteer, Vol. I, pt. ii, p. 339.

Benares Sarasvatibhavana edition, Sarga 1, verses 39-57.
 Surat Plates of Trilocanapāla of A.D. 1051, Ind. Ant., Vol. XII, pp. 201 ff.

he grew into manhood, worshipped Nanda, the blessed Gauri, on the Cālukya mountain and having propitiated the gods Kumāra, Nārāyaṇa and the assemblage of the Divine Mothers, assumed the insignia of sovereignty. He then conquered the Kadamba, Ganga and other princes and ruled over Daksinapatha (the southern country) comprising seven and a half lakh villages and hamlets. The son of this Visnuvardhana and of his great queen, who was born of the Pallava race, was Vijayaditya. At this point we come to the real historical personage Pulakesi-Vallabha who is introduced as the son of this Vijayāditya.

Evidently all these stories originated round about the 10th century A.D., when the real significance of the name of the family - variously spelt as Cāliki, Cālki, Sālki, Cālkya, Cālikya, Cālukya, Cālukika and so on - had been forgotten. And the earliest account of the original home of the Calukyas being Ayodhya appears only in records of the 11th century, i.e., nearly five centuries after the founding of the Cālukya kingdom. Moreover, the earliest inscriptions of the dynasty do not lay claim to an Ayodhyan origin. Apparently these fanciful stories and genealogies were concocted round about the 10th century A.D. when it was the fashion among many of the southern ruling families to draw up mythical and fabulous genealogies in order to give their families respectability. These genealogies are mostly fabrications until we come up to the authentic historical personages.

But there are quite a few sound reasons to believe that the Cālukyas of Badāmī are of Kannada stock. Firstly, there is the reference in Rastrakūta inscriptions1 to the invincible Karnātaka army which had attained great glory by defeating the mighty monarchs Srī-Harşa and Vajrata and by defeating which the Rastrakūtas obtained the kingdom of the Calukyas. This would show that the Cālukya army was known as the Karnāṭaka army and that the Cālukyas were renowned as Karnāţakas, i.e., of Kannada origin. Secondly, there is the fact that the names of some of the rulers of this family end in a typical Kannada regal suffix arasa, standing for the Sanskrt word rājā (king). For example we have the name of Kirtivarman I being given as Katti-arasa even in a Sanskrt inscription issued by him2. The Sătărā plates (which will be noticed later) of Kubja-Vișnuvardhana, the younger brother of Pulakeśin II, give the name of Kubja-Visnuvardhana as Bittarasa on the seal of the grant. The Manor plates of Vinayaditya Mangalarasa of the Gujarat branch of this family dated \$aka 613, which are also in Sanskrt, give the name of this prince as Mangalarasarāja3. The Adur inscription of

CHAPTER 6. The Calukyas

of Badāmi.

¹ Talegaum Plates of Kṛṣhṇa I, *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XIII, pp. 275 ff; Sāmangad Plates of Dantidurga, *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XI, pp. 110 ff. and Pimpari Plates of Dharavarşa Dhruva rāja, *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. X, pp. 81 ff.:—

Kāncīi fa-Kerala-narādhi pa-Cola-Pāndya-fri-Harsa-Vajrāta-vibheda-v i d h a n as daksam Karnatakam balam=anantam=ajeyam-anyair = bhrtyaih kiyadbhir=api yah sagasa jigaya.

Godachi plates Ep. Ind., Vol. XXVIII, p. 62.
Jbid., Vol. XXVIII, pp. 17 ff.

CHAPTER 6.

The Calukyas of Badāmi.

Kirtivarman II mentions his name as Kirtivarmmarasa¹. Finally the Daśāvatāra Cave inscription at Ellorā mentions Dantidurga as having conquered Vallabharasa², i.e., the Cālukya king. These name endings would show beyond any doubt that the Calukyas were of Kannada origin considering the fact that the suffix arasa appears even in Sanskrt inscriptions.

The third reason, which is stronger than the first two, is that not only the name endings but that even some of the names are purely Kannada. We have the first paramount ruler of this dynasty bearing the name Polekesi and this form of the name is the one found in the earliest inscriptions of this dynasty, though we find other forms like Polikeśi, Pulekeśi, Pulakeśi, Pulikeśi and Polakeśi in some inscriptions. Various explanations have been offered regarding the etymology of this word. Most of these explanations take the first half of the word to be puli, meaning "tiger" in Kannada and the second half to be Sanskrt keśin meaning "haired", the two halves making the meaning "tiger-haired" or "having a coat of short, thick and close hair like that of a tiger"3. A verse in the Kauthem plates would suggest that the name signifies "one by hearing whose name the hair of the hearers stand on end as with joy", by connecting the first part of the name with the Sanskit word pulaka (horripilation)4. One scholar derives the first half of the word from the Sanskrt root pul meaning "to grow" or "to be great" and takes keśin to mean a lion and explains the whole word as "the great lion "5.

But the earliest form of the name is Polekesi and, as suggested by Fleet,6 is in all probability the original form. And it is worth noting that it is this form which even Kielhorn has adopted. So an attempt is made here to interpret this original form Polekeśi. Pole in Kannada means impurity of child-birth, i.e., of the natal chamber, and in Kannada the word keśi as a shortened form of Keśava is found not only in literature but also in inscriptions. For example, the author of the famous Kannada grammar Sabdamani-darpana is Keśirāja and he also calls himself Keśava. In one of the inscriptions8 an officer of the Kalacuri monarch Bijjala is called by the alternative names of Keśava, Keśirāja and Keśimayya. An inscription of the Cālukya king Someśvara I mentions a general named Keśava-gavunda, who is also referred to therein as Keśi-gavunda and Keśi-rāja⁹. So the expression Polekeśi can be taken to mean "he who was like Keśava, i.e., Lord Krsna (in his prowess) even in the natal chamber". And we know that according to the Puranas Lord

¹ Bom. Gaz., Vol. I, pt. ii, p. 376.

2 Ep. Ind., Vol. XXV, p. 29, f.n. 1.

3 Fleet, Bom. Gaz., Vol. I, pt. ii, p. 343, f.n. 5.

4 Ibid. The Miraj plates etc. also give this verse.

5 "The Hindu" Weekly Magazine, April 2, 1961, p. I.

6 Bom. Gaz., Vol. I, pt. ii, p. 343, f.n. 5.

7 Supplement to the List of Inscriptions of Southern India, pp. 1-2.

8 Bom. Gaz., Vol. I, pt. ii, p. 473.

9 Ep. Ind., Vol. XVI, p. 82.

CHAPTER 6.

The Cālukyas of Badāmī.

Kṛṣṇa exhibited superhuman qualities even in the natal chamber. Evidently this ruler was given the name Polekeśi because he showed extraordinary qualities like Lord Keśava or Kṛṣṇa even from the time of his birth. Accordingly we are led to the unexceptionable conclusion that this name is a Kannada word meaning "one who resembled Kṛṣṇa in prowess from babyhood". And this name Polekeśi, as explained here, is quite appropriate in the case of one who was the real founder of the Cālukyan kingdom and even more appropriate in the case of his famous grandson, the great Pulakeśin II, who struck terror even in the heart of the mighty monarch of the north, Haṛṣavardhana. [However, Pulakeśin is the form of the name used by historians for these two monarchs, and so this form is adopted in the following pages for the sake of uniformity.]

The name of another prince of this family also shows the Kannada origin of this family. Kirtivarman I, the son of Pulakesin I, calls himself Katti-arasa in his Godaci plates¹ which are entirely in Sanskṛt. Katti is a purely Kannada word meaning "sword" and arasa (Sanskṛt rājā), as already explained, means "king". So Kirtirāja (by which name Kirtivarman calls himself in some inscriptions) is apparently a Sanskṛtised form of Katti-arasa. This name Katti-arasa or Kattiyara seems to have been quite common in the Cālukya family.

Yet another name in this family indicative of a Kannada origin is Bittarasa, borne by the ruler Visnuvardhana, the younger brother of Pulakeśin II. As pointed out above, this form of the name Bittarasa is found on the seal of the Sātārā plates² of A.D. 617-18 and there can be no doubt that Visnuvardhana is the Sanskrt form of Bittarasa. It may be noted in this connection that another king of the Kannada country i.e., the Hoysala king Visnuvardhana was better known as Bittiga or Bittidēva which are only variants of Bittarasa. Bitta is only the Kannada form of Visnu and the fact that the prince used the Kannada form of his name—and not the Sanskrt form—on his seal proves that he belonged to the Kannada country.

Another reason which may be adduced to prove that the Cālukyas belonged to the Karnāṭaka country is that some of their inscriptions found even in the Tāmil and Telugu countries are in Kannaḍa. For example, the inscription of the king Vikramāditya II found at Kāñcīpuram³ in the Tāmil country is written entirely in the Kannaḍa script and language. An inscription of Vijayāditya⁴ of this family found at Dānavulapāḍu in the Kuḍḍappah district (Āndhra Pradeśa) is also written in the Kannaḍa language. This fact would

Ep. Ind., Vol. XXVIII, p. 62.

² Ind. Ant., Vol. XIX, p. 309.

⁸ Ep. Ind., Vol. III, p. 360.

⁴ South-Indian Inscriptions, Vol. 1X, No. 49.

CHAPTER 6.

The Calukyas of Badami.

show the intense love which they had for their Kannada language thereby indicating their Kannada origin.

There is yet another piece of evidence to support this conclusion. The Vemulavāda inscription¹ (10th century) of Arikesarin II—who belonged to a branch of this family and who was the patron of the famous Kannada poet Pampa—gives to this ruler some titles which are in Kannada, e.g., noduttegelvom and priyagallam though the inscription itself is in Sanskrt.

According to the preambles found in their inscriptions the Cālukyas are said to be princes, who belonged to the Mānavya-gōtra; who were Hāritīputras (descendants of Hārita); who were nourished by the Seven Mothers, who are the mothers of the seven worlds; who acquired uninterrupted prosperity through the protection of lord Kārttikeya; who obtained through the favour of god Nārāyaṇa the boar crest even at the sight of which all kings were subjugated. The grants issued by the Eastern Cālukya branch of this family state that the Cālukyas acquired their kingdom through the favour of the goddess Kauśikī. Though in the western Cālukya records the acquisition of the kingdom is not attributed to the favour of Kauśikī, in one² of them it is stated that the Cālukyas were brought up by Kauśikī and were anointed by the Seven Mothers. We also learn from inscriptions that the banner of the Cālukyas was the pālidhvaja.

These preambles very closely resemble those of the Kadambas of Banavāsī excepting for the reference to the boar crest. Evidently the Cālukyas, who were the political successors of the Kadambas, borrowed practically the whole preamble found in Kadamba records. Moreover, the fact that the Cālukyas also claim descent from the same ancestors as the Kadambas, and that they were having the same tutelary deities, would even indicate that the Cālukyas belonged to the same stock as the Kadambas to whose fortunes they succeeded.

The main authentic sources for the history of the Cālukyas are inscriptions, though scattered references are available elsewhere. Among these references are the vivid accounts of the Chinese pilgrim Hieun Tsang who travelled in India between the years A.D. 629 and 645 in the kingdoms of Pulakeśin II and Harşavardhana. We then have a Persian chronicle giving an account of the time of Khuśrū II of Persia which says that there was an exchange of presents and letters between the Persian monarch and Pulakeśin II. And we also have some information in later literature of the 10th and 11th centuries. But as stated at the outset, the authentic sources are, by and large, inscriptions.

¹ Journal of the Mythic Society, Vol. XLV, p. 226(a).

² Lohaner plates of Pulakeśin II, Ep. Ind., Vol. XXVII, p. 37.

The earliest mention of this family is found in one of the Prakrt inscriptions1 of about the third century A.D. of the Iksvāku family at Nāgārjunikonda (Guntur district, Andhra Pradeśa) where the word Caliki appears as part of a compound personal name Khandacaliki-Remmanaka. This person is described as a Muhāsenāpati and Mahātalavara, which have been taken to be titles denoting a high dignitary. The next reference, in point of time, to this family is in the Badami inscription² of Vallabhesvara (i.e., Pulakesin I) of A.D. 543, where the king describes himself as a Cālikya. However, the first prince mentioned in genealogies given in the inscriptions of this dynasty is Jayasimha.

CHAPTER 6.

The Calukyas of Badamī.

[AYASIMHA.

Strangely enough so far we have no inscriptions of Jayasimha, and all that we know of him is from the inscriptions of some of his successors. For instance, in the Aihole inscription⁸ of Pulakeśin II, Jayasiniha is described as a very brave warrior, but no specific exploit of his is mentioned. In inscriptions of the 11th century, however, he is described as having founded the kingdom of the Calukyas, after defeating the Rastrakuta prince Indra, son of Krsna4. But we do not know of any Rastrakuta princes bearing these names at the beginning of the 6th century to which period Jayasimha can be assigned. Further not much credence can be given to the information contained in inscriptions of the 11th century about the achievements of a prince of the 6th century especially when the contemporary records are totally silent about any such achievement. It may be noted, however, that a Rāstrakūta chief called Dejjamahārāja was ruling about the sixth century somewhere near Gokāk (Belgānv district, Mysore State)⁸. Even if the statements of the later inscriptions, namely that the Calukyas defeated the Rastrakūtas before they became independent should be accepted, we cannot say whether this Dejjamahārāja was related to Kṛṣṇa or Indra; and if he were related, the exact nature of the relationship cannot also be ascertained.

RANARAGA.

Of Jayasimha's son Ranaraga, the Mahakuta pillar inscription⁶ of Mangaleśa states that "by (his) fondness for war (he) elicited the affection of his own people and caused vexation of mind to (his) enemies". We do not know who these enemies were. Apparently this is just conventional praise. And the Aihole inscription bestows similar conventional eulogies on this prince.

As Raņarāga's son Pulakeśin I is known to have performed the Aśvamedha sacrifice signifying that he was the paramount ruler. he appears to have been the first independent ruler of this family. Further the fact that he was the first prince of this dynasty to call

¹ Ep. Ind., Vol. XX, p. 18.

² Ibid., Vol., XXVII, p. 8.
3 Ibid., Vol. VI, p. 1.
4 See, for instance, ibid., Vol. XII, p. 143.
5 Ibid., Vol. XXI, p. 289.
6 Ind. Ant., Vol. XIX, p. 7.

CHAPTER 6. The Călukyas of Badāmi.

himself Mahārāja is another proof of his suzerainty. Evidently his father and grandfather viz., Ranaraga and Jayasimha were feudatories, probably of the Kadambas.

Pulakeshin I

As stated above the first independent ruler of this dynasty was Pulakeśin I. In the Aihole inscription he is stated to have acquired the town of Vātāpī (modern Badāmī, Bijāpur district, Mysore State) which became the Cālukya capital and thus he was the real founder of the Cālukya kingdom. However, the circumstances under which this kingdom was founded are not set forth anywhere. But as Vātāpī lay apparently in the dominions of the Kadambas, it may be taken that the Calukyas, who presumably were the feudatories of the Kadambas, acquired a kingdom of their own by appropriating a part of the Kadamba dominion when the latter became weak. The Badami inscription of Pulakeśin I - which is the only available inscription of his reign dated Saka 465 (A.D. 543)-calls him Vallabheśvara and says that he fortified Vătăpî. It also states that he performed the Aśvamedha and other sacrifices according to Vedic rites and that he celebrated the mahādāna of Hiranyagarbha. The Mahākūţa pillar inscription² also credits him with the performance of this mahādāna in addition to Agnistoma, Vājapeya, Paundarika Bahusuvarna and Asvamedha sacrifices. The fact that he performed so many principal sacrifices indicates his paramountcy. In the Nerūr copper-plate inscription of Mangaleśa⁸ Pulakeśin is stated to have been acquainted with Manudharmaśāstra, the Purānas, the Rāmāyana, and the Bhārata (Mahābhārata). He assumed the significant title of Satyāśraya, the asylum of truth, which became a distinctive title of the rulers of this dynasty and was assumed by almost all of his successors. Though he was such a powerful ruler and wielded great authority, we have no specific information about any of his conquests or the extent of his dominions. He had also the titles of Ranavikrama and Sriprthivivallabha.

He had married Princess Durlabhadevi of the Batpura family and he seems to have had another wife named Indukantia. He had two sons named Kirtivarman and Mangaleśa. As Mangaleśa in his Mahākūţa pillar inscription refers to Durlabhadēvī as his father's wife (sva-guru-patnī), it is probable that Durlabhadevī was his step-mother.

Besides the Badami stone inscription mentioned already there are two copper-plate records which purport to have been issued

¹ Ep. Ind., Vol. XXVIII, p. 8. This inscription is the earliest record which gives date in the Saka era.

² Ind. Ant., Vol. XIX, p. 356.

³ Ibid., Vol. VII, p. 161.

⁴ See Aiho le inscription of Pulakeśin II, text-line 3. The word Indukānti has been taken to be a general epithet of Pulakeśin I, meaning "he who had the brightness of the moon". However it seems more appropriate to take Indukānti to mean the name of his wife for in that case the virodhabhasa contained in the verse would be better brought out. Indukanti is taken by J. Dubreuil to refor to the name of a city. (Ancient History of Deccan, p. 11).

during his reign. But since they have been found to be spurious, they are not of any historical value1.

CHAPTER 6. The Calukyas of Badāmī. Kirtivarman L

Pulakeśin I was succeeded by his elder son, Kirtivarman I. Two inscriptions of his time have been found, both of them dated in the twelfth year of his reign. One of them is on copper-plates, while the other is engraved on stone. Since the latter² says that the twelfth year of his reign corresponded to Saka 500 (i.e., A.D. 578) the first year of his reign would be A.D. 566-67. According to Kirtivarman's copper-plate inscription,3 he vanquished all his rival kinsmen (dāyāda) by diplomacy and valour and was ruling his subjects in accordance with the code of conduct pertaining to different castes and religious orders, and was keeping them pleased and happy. This inscription also gives him the purely Kannada form of his name, Kattiarasa, though the inscription itself is in Sanskrt.

The Mahākūta pillar inscription of Mangaleśa credits Kīrtivarman with victory over the rulers of Vanga, Anga, Kalinga, Vattūra, Magadha, Madraka, Kerala Ganga, Musaka, Pandya, Dramila, Coliya, Aluka, Vaijayanti etc. Though it is impossible to believe that he could have conquered all the northern kingdoms mentioned here, his success over the rulers of the south and south-west may be regarded as fairly authentic, as some of them like the conquest of Vaijayanti have been corroborated by the Aihole inscription of Pulakesin II which states that Kirtivarman was "the night of doom" to the Nalas, the Mauryas and the Kadambas. The Kadambas were the rulers of Banavasi (also known as Vaijayanti) and the surrounding country in the present Mysore State. As this inscription states that Kirtivarman inflicted utter defeat on groups of Kadambas, it is evident that there were several branches of the Kadambas all of which he crushed. And we know from the Kadamba records themselves that there were at least two, if not three such branches ruling independently.

The Nalas were ruling in parts of the present Madhya Pradeśa (Bastar), Orissa (Jeypore) and Vidarbha. Their inscriptions have been found at Podagadh and Kesaribeda (Koraput district, Orissa). One of their copper-plates4 was issued from Nandivardhana identified with Nagardhan near Ramtek (Nagpur district) and mentions the grant of the village of Kadambagiri, identified with Kalamba in the Yeotmāl district. A hoard of gold coins of this family was discovered at Edengas, a village in the Bastar district of Madhya Pradesa. It is known from inscriptions that the Mauryas were ruling in Konkan. The Coliya, Pandya, Dramila and Kerala kingdoms are too well known to require any identification. The Mūsaka territory comprised parts of modern Kerala and the Alukas (Alupas) were

¹ Bom. Gaz., Vol. I, pt. ii., p. 344, note 6. ² Ind. Ant., Vol. III, p. 305, Vol. V, p. 363. ³ Ep. Ind., Vol. XXVIII, p. 62. ⁴ Ep. Ind., Vol. XIX, pp. 100 ff.

Journal of the Numismatic Society of India, Vol. I, pp. 29 ff.

CHAPTER 6.

The Cālukyas of Badāmī.

ruling over parts of South Kanara district (Mysore State). The Gangas were reigning in south Mysore with their capital at Talakad (Mysore district). Thus Kirtivarman was the first king of this dynasty to have established his sway over parts of the present Kirtivarman I. Mahārāṣṭra State. He was a great patron of art and perhaps he was the first to adopt the Buddhist rock-cut temple architecture to Hindu shrines. His stone inscription which is found in the Vaisnava cave at Badāmī¹ states that his brother Mangaleśvara got made under his orders a temple of Vișnu (Vișnu-grha) and installed in it the image of Vișnu and granted village of Lañjiśvara (modern Nandikeśvara near Badāmī) for meeting the expenses connected with the worship and offerings at the temple. Evidently this temple is the magnificent cave temple at Badāmī, 'containing admirable reliefs of Vișnu seated on Ananta and Narasimha'. The record is dated in Saka 500, the 12th year of the king's prosperous reign on the fullmoon day of the month of Kārtika (31st October, A.D. 578). In this connection it is worth noting that it may be inferred from the Ciplun copper-plate inscription of Pulakeśin II² that he (Kirtivarman) beautified the town of Vātāpī.

> Like his illustrious father he too performed the sacred sacrifices of Bahusuvarņa and Agnistoma. He bore the titles Raņaparākrama, Puru-Ranaparākrama and Satyāsraya (?). Śrīvallabha Seṇānandarāja of the Sendraka family is mentioned in the Ciplun copper-plates as the maternal uncle of Pulakeśin II, son of Kirtivarman I. So Kirtivarman's wife must have been a Sendraka princess, though we do not know her name. He had two sons named Pulakeśin and Vișnuvardhana. Two spurious copper-plate grants3 mention two other sons of his named Dharāśraya Jayasimhavarman and Buddhavarasa, but since their names are not found anywhere else, we cannot be sure whether he had these two sons or not.

MANGALESHA

His younger brother Mangaleśa, succeeded him, as Kirtivarman's eldest son, Pulakesin was evidently too young to ascend the throne. The Mahākūţa pillar inscription cites the cyclic year Siddhārtha as the fifth year of his prosperous reign. This year corresponds to A.D. 601-02 and so Mangalesa must have begun to rule in A.D.

Mangalesa was a great warrior and is described in the Aihole inscription as having led successful campaigns to the limits of the eastern and western seas. Evidently in one such campaign to the west he conquered Revati-dvipa which has been identified with modern Redi, a fortified promontory about eight miles from Vengurlā in the Ratnagiri district. The Mahakuta pillar inscription tells us that Mangalesa "having set his heart upon the conquest of the northern region, conquered king Buddha and took possession of all

¹ Ind. Ant., Vol. III, p. 305; Vol. VI, p.368 and Vol. X, pp. 57-48.

² Ep. Ind., Vol. III p. 51

³ Ind. Ant, Vol. IX, p. 124 and Ep. Ind., Vol. XIV., p. 144.

CHAPTER 6.

The Cālukyas

of Badāmi.

MANGALESHA

his wealth". From his undated Nerūr copper-plates1 we learn that this Buddha (Buddharāja) was the son of Sankaragaņa and the Aihole inscription of Pulakeśin II states that Mangaleśa "took in marriage the damsel, viz., the Fortune of the Kataccuris having scattered the gathering gloom, viz., the array of elephants (of the adversary) with hundreds of bright lamps which were the swords of his followers". All these put together show clearly that this Buddharāja, son of Sankaragana, was the Kalacuri monarch who reigned in the first quarter of the seventh century. This victory over Buddharāja must have taken place before 601-02, which is the date of the Mahākūṭa pillar inscription, which also states that Mangaleśa had an eager desire to set up a pillar of victory on the Bhagirathi. But apparently he could not proceed beyond the Kalacuri dominions because he had to turn his attention towards quelling the rebellion of Svāmirāja of the Cālukya family who, according to the Nerūr copper-plates, was killed by Mangaleśa. Though this Svāmirāja is described as belonging to the Calukya family, we have no means of ascertaining the exact relationship between him and the members of the ruling family. The Nerur copper-plates describe this Svamirāja as m great warrior who had attained victory in eighteen battles and possibly Mangalesa had to kill him because he would not bow down to the Calukya monarch. These plates record that Mangalarāja (Mangaleśa) granted the village of Kundivātaka in Konkanavişaya. This village has been identified with Kundi in Sangameśvar Taluka, Ratnāgirī District,2 or with Kudāl about three and a half miles north-east of Nerūr3.

Since Buddharāja mentioned above continued to rule till about A.D. 610, it may be surmised that he retrieved his possessions as soon as Mangaleśa's attention was diverted towards troubles at home. So Mangalesa, who had the lofty ambition of carrying his conquests upto the Bhagirathi, had to content himself with creeting a dharmastambha (pillar of religion) at Mahākūţa. Mangaleśa's reign ended in disaster and he lost his life in the civil war which ensued between him and his nephew Pulakesin (who became later on Pulakeśin II) who, as stated in his Aihole inscription, had to fight his own uncle Mangaleśa who had tried to install on the Calukya throne his own son ignoring the lawful claims of Pulakeśin. As it is known from inscriptions that the reign of Pulakeśin II commenced in the year A.D. 610-11, Mangalesa must have died before this date.

We do not know the name of Mangalesa's son for whose sake he is stated to have made attempts to alienate the throne from the rightful heir, Pulakeśin II. Mangaleśa had the titles of Ranavikranta and Uru-Ranavikrānta.

As already stated, Pulakeśin, who succeeded Mangaleśa, had to wrest the throne from his uncle after a hard fight. In the Aihole inscription it is stated that Pulakesin went into exile, when he came to know the machinations of his uncle to secure the throne for his son;

PULAKESHIN II.

¹ Ind. And., Vol. VII, p. 161. ³ Bom. Gaz., Vol. I, pt. ii, p. 348 n.

³ Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum, Vol IV, p. xlviii n.

The Calukyas of Badami.

and by wise counsel and prowess he crushed his uncle. His Kopparam copper-plate inscription is dated on the Mahānavamī day in the month of Kārttika in the twentyfirst year of his reign. Sewell has reckoned this date² as equivalent to 10th October, A.D. 631 and he considers that accordingly the accession of Pulakesin should have taken place on or after 11th October, A.D. 610. In this king's Goä copper-plates³ Satyāśraya Dhruvarāja Indravarman of the Bappūra family - evidently the same as the Batpura family to which his grandmother i.e., wife of Pulakeśin I belonged - is reported to have made a grant on the full-moon day of the month of Magha in the Saka year 532 while ruling Revatidvipa and other regions as a subordinate of Pulakesin II. As the equivalent of this date in the Christian era works out to 5th January, A.D. 611, Pulakeśin must have ascended the throne between these two dates i.e., 11th October, A.D. 610 and 5th January A.D. 611. At the time of his accession the Cālukya kingdom, which had been vastly enlarged by the additions made by his father and uncle, had become engulfed in chaos and confusion owing to revolts and uprisings on all sides. A graphic account of how he put down the rebels and other enemies, and established order in his dominions is given in the Aihole inscription. First of all he is stated to have encountered two chieftains named Appāyika and Govinda, who tried to overrun Pulakeśin's territories north of the Bhimarathi with a huge army of elephants. One of them terrified at Pulakeśin's might fled from the field, while the other was won over by Pulakeśin, who then turned his attention towards the wealthy city of Vanavāsī on the banks of the Varadā, laid seigė to it and captured it. Evidently, the Kadambas, the rulers of Vanavāsī, who had formerly been the feudatories of the Calukyas had revolted during the period of confusion following the death of Mangaleśa; and Pulakeśin had therefore to resubjugate. After this exploit he subdued the Ganga and Alupa rulers, who submitted to him meekly. It has already been noticed that the Alupas and Gangas were subordinates of the Calukyas even during the reign of his father, Kirtivarman I. It looks as though every subordinate of the Calukyas had taken advantage of the chaos and confusion following Mangalesa's demise and had tried to declare himself independent. So Pulakesin had the herculean task of reconquering them all. In addition to the Kadambas, the Alupas and the Gangas, he had to reduce the Mauryas of Konkan also to submission and capture Puri (probably their capital) with the assistance of his fleet of innumerable ships. Puri has been described as "the fortune of the Western Seas" and has been identified variously with Elephanta near Bombay or Rajapuri in Kolābā District, Rājāpur in Ratnāgirī District, or Thāṇā4. Seeing the invincible might of Pulakeśin, the Lātas, the Mālavas and the Guriaras voluntarily became his feudatories. Apparently at this time Harsa was trying to expand his dominions by invading the Deccan. This infuriated Pulakeśin whose authority had by now

¹ Ep. Ind., Vol. XVIII, p. 257.

Ibid., p. 261.

³ J. Bo. Br. R. A. S., V.J. X, p. 365.

⁴ Bom. Gaz., Vol. I, pt. II, p. 284.

extended up to the river Māhī and consequently the forces of these two mighty rulers met in battle in the region of the river Revā in the neighbourhood of the Vindhyas. In this battle Pulakeśin inflicted a crushing defeat on the great Harṣa destroying his army of innumerable elephants.

CHAPTER 6.

The Cālukyas of Badāmi.

PULAKESHIN II.

By these numerous victories Pulakeśin acquired the sovereignty over the three Maharastrakas with their 99,000 villages. The three Mahārāstrakas mentioned here do not denote any specific geographical areas but 'the three great administrative divisions' of his dominions. The expression Mahārāstraka-traya is to be taken in its literal sense of the three great administrative divisions of his kingdom (Mahā = big or great, rāṣṭra = administrative division). It is well known that the word rastra occurs in the sense of administrative division in innumerable inscriptions. In this connection, attention may be drawn to the fact that in the Rāmāyana1 of Vālmīki, King Dasaratha is described as Mahārāṣṭra-vivardhana i.e., one who increased the prosperity of his extensive country. Evidently the word Mahārāstra here refers to Dasaratha's own large kingdom in general and not to any specific geographical unit of India. That the word Mahārāṣṭra is used in the sense of an "area bigger than a rāṣṭra" becomes clear from cognate expressions like nādu, Mahānādu; (nādu = assembly; mahānādu = a big assembly) grāma mahāgrāma; agrahāra, Mahāgrahāra. Thus it would be most appropriate to take the word Mahārāstraka-traya to mean the three great administrative divisions of Pulakeśin's dominions, of which the present Mahārāṣṭra no doubt formed a part.

The victory over Harşa was the most noteworthy of all his victories since it was a victory over a great monarch who was the supreme lord of the whole of Northern India. This outstanding achievement of Pulakeśin's was prized so highly by his successors, that it finds a prominent mention in their records. They proclaim that Pulakeśin acquired the title of Parameśvara after defeating. 'Harsavardhana, the lord of the whole of Uttarāpatha (Northern India)." In contrast to this Pulakeśin calls himself 'the lord of Dakṣiṇāpatha'' (Southern India). There are differences of opinion among scholars as to the date of the conflict between the two great monarchs of the time—Harşa and Pulakeśin. The Hyderābād copper-plate incription of A.D. 613, says that Pulakeśin acquired the title of Parameśvara by defeating a hostile king who had devoted himself to the contest of India hundred battles. It has been noted above that records of Pulakeśin's successors state that he acquired this title by defeating

¹ Balakanda, Sarga 5, v. 9.

² Yekkeri rock inscription, Ep. Ind., Vol. V, pp. 7-8.

^{*} Ind. Ant., Vol. VI, p. 73; sumara-sata-sanghatta-samsakta-para-nripati-parājay-opalabdha-paramesvar-para-namadheyah. The relevant passage in inscriptions of Pulakesin's successors is:

samara-samfakta-sakala-uttarā pathā-esvara-ṣri-Harṣʻavardhana-parājaya-upalabdha pa-Parameṣʻvara-apara-namdheyasya

The similarity between these is eloquent,

CHAPTER 6,

The Calukyas of Badami. Pulakeshin II.

Harsa. So some scholars think that the conflict mentioned in all these records refer to Pulakeśin's war with Harşa. Hence these scholars consider that this conflict took place before A.D. 613 i.e., in the first three or four years of his reign. Others think that because the defeat of Harsa is not mentioned in his Lohaner plates of 630 A.D., Pulakeśin was too busy with his domestic troubles to pit his strength against Harsa till A.D. 630 and hence the great conflict could have taken place only after A.D. 630. But we cannot so easily brush aside the definite statements found in his own son's records that 'Pulakesin acquired the title of Parameśvara after defeating Harşa', and as stated above, the first mention of the acquition of the title Parameśvara is in Pulakeśin's inscription of A.D. 613. And it is not quite safe to assume that as Pulakeśin's Lohaner Plates of A.D. 630, are silent about this conflict, it could not have taken place earlier than A.D. 630. There are quite a few instances where a particular event, which is not mentioned in a record of a particular date had actually taken place earlier than the date cited in the record. For example, the late Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar has pointed out that the Calukya king Vinayāditya's (grandson of Pulakesin II) subjugation of the Pallavas, Kalabhras and others is mentioned in his Jejuri plates² of the ninth year of his reign, though it is not mentioned in the copper-plate inscription of the eleventh year of his reign. Till the discovery of the Jejuri plates it was thought that this subjugation took place only after the eleventh year. And there is nothing inherently impossible in a powerful monarch of the calibre of Pulakesin punishing the defection of his feudatories and stemming the tide of Harşa's invasion of the Calukyan territories within the first few years of his reign.

After describing the victories mentioned above, the Aihole inscription proceeds to narrate Pulakeśin's campaigns against the countries of Kosala and Kalinga, whose rulers were the first to bow down to the might of his arms. Kalinga was probably ruled by the early Eastern Gangas at that time and Kosala by the Somavanisī kings. He then stormed the inaccessible fortress of Piṣṭapura (modern Piṭhāpuram in the East Godāvarī District of Āndhra Pradeśa), the ruler of which was possibly Pṛthivīmahārāja of the Rana-Durjaya family. He then marched towards the banks of the Kunāla lake (Kolleru lake in the West Godāvarī District, Āndhra Pradeśa) where sierce battle took place in which he won si resounding victory. His opponents in this battle were apparently the Viṣnukundins.

Proceeding further south he inflicted a crushing defeat on the lord of the Pallavas, who was forced to 'vanish behind the walls of Kāñcīpurī'. The Pallava monarch at this time was Mahendravarman I, who in the Pallava inscriptions is described as having inflicted an utter defeat on his principal foes at Pullalūra about fifteen miles north of the Pallava capital Kāñcī. This evidently refers to the conflict with Pulakeśin. Pulakeśin then crossed the river Kāverī with a view to conquering the Colas but apparently made them as well as the Keralas and Pāndyas his joyous allies.

¹ Ep. Ind. Vol. XXVII p. 37. ² Ibid., Vol. XIX, p. 63.

After thus conquering all the four quarters i.e., the land between the Bay of Bengal and the Arabian sea on the one hand and the Indian ocean and the Narmada on the other, he returned to his capital Vātāpī (Badāmī) in triumph. And to administer this vast empire he appointed some of his trusted kinsmen to act as governors at some strategic points. He appointed his younger brother Kubja-Visnuvardhana as Yuvarāja and placed him in charge of the territory on the East Coast i.e., the Vengi country. Later on Pulakesin seems to have allowed him to rule independently over this tract and so Kubja-Visnuvardhana became the founder of the dynasty known to historians as the Eastern Calukyas of Vengi. Before his appointment as governor of the Vengi country (which probably took place in A.D. 624) he was in charge of the Sātārā region; for according to the Satara plates1 of Visnuvardhana dated in the eighth year of the reign of Pulakeśin II (i.e., A.D. 617-18), Vișnuvardhana made a grant of the village of Alandatirtha on the south bank of the Bhimarathi. This village has been indentified with Alanda, thirtyfive miles north of Satara. Probably he was also ruling over the region of Acalapura (modern Acalpur, Amravati District) according to the Sanskrt work Avantisundarikathā2.

Another relative of his named Satyāśraya Dhruvarāja Indravarman of the Bappūra family to which his grandmother (Kīrtivarman's mother) belonged was placed in charge of the Revatī-dvīpa and the surrounding country, for according to the Goā plates of this Indravarman dated Saka 532 (A. D. 610-11) he (Indravarman) made a grant of the village of Kārellikā in Khetāhāra (Khetāhāra has been identified with the Khēd Taluka in Ratnāgiri District). This inscription is dated in the twentieth year of the reign which has been rightly taken by Fleet to be that of Dhruvarāja Indravarman. So the first year of his rule was A.D. 590-91; but we do not know whether he began to rule on this date, from which he counts regnal years⁸.

A third kinsman, Srīvallabha Senānandarāja of the Sendraka family—Pulakeśin's maternal uncle—was placed in charge of the region round about Ciplūn in South Konkan. We know from the Ciplūn copper-plates of Pulakeśin that Srīvallabha Senānandarāja of the Sendraka family made a grant of the village Āmravāṭaka in Avaretikā-viṣaya, which is possibly modern Āmboli near Ciplūn.

CHAPTER 6.

The Cālukyas of Badāmī. Pulakeshin II.

¹ Ind. Ant., Vol. XIX, p. 309.

[&]quot;Avantisundari kathāsāra, ed. by G. Harihara Shastri, Summary of Contents, p. 1. (Supplement to Journal of Oriental Research, Vol. XXV).

^a Since A. D. 590-91 fell in the reign of Kīrtivarman, Fleet thought that Kīrtivarman appointed him (Dhruvarāja Indravarman) as the governor of his possessions in Konkan as we find him stationed in A. D. 610-11 in Revatī-dvīpa (Bom.Gaz., Vol. I, pt. ii p. 345). But according to the Aihole inscription it was Mangaleśa who conquered Revatī-dvīpa. Dr. Mirashi, however, conjectures that Mangaleśa appointed Indravarman as governor of Revatī-dvīpa about A.D. 601-02 (C. I. I. Vol. IV, p. XLVIII n.); but Dhruvarāja Indravarman counted his regnal years from A. D. 590-91.

CHAPTER 6. The Calukyas of Badāmī. PULAKESHIN II.

The Kairā Plates¹ of Vijayarāja son of Buddhavarman, who was the son of Jayasimharaja of the Calukya family, would show that he was in charge of the Kairā region, where he made a grant in A.D. 643 of the village of Pariyaya (modern Pariya in the Olpad Taluka, Surat District). It has been considered that he had been in charge of this region under Pulakesin II after his conquest of Lāta². But this appears to be a spurious grant and hence no credence can be given to the historical information contained in it.

The fame of Pulakeśin spread far and wide and the contemporary ruler of Perśiä, Khuśrū II, sent an ambassador with valuable presents to his court and friendly letters and presents were exchanged between the two monarchs. These facts we learn from the Persian historian Tabari. Many historians were thinking till a few years ago (and some do even now) that one of the paintings in Cave No. 1 at Ajintha, frequently reproduced in history books, represented this Persian embassy to the court of Pulakesin. But Ananda Kumaraswamy has opined that the subject of this picture is Buddhist³, and this view is quite tenable, for the entire group of paintings at Ajintha is about the Buddha and Buddhism, though traces of Persian influence are visible in the dresses depicted in some of the paintings.

The famous Chinese pilgrim Hiuen Tsang, who travelled in India between A. D. 629 and 645 visited parts of Pulakesin's kingdomapparently Mahārāstra, which he calls Mo-ho-la-ch'a. This pilgrim gives the following interesting account of Mahārāṣṭra:-

"This country is about 5000 li in circuit. The capital borders on the west on a great river. It is about 30 li round. The soil is rich and fertile; it is regularly cultivated and very productive. The climate is hot; the disposition of the people is honest and simple; they are tall of stature, and of a stern, vindictive character. To their benefactors they are grateful; to their enemies relentless. If they are insulted, they will risk their life to avenge themselves. If they are asked to help one in distress, they will forget themselves in their haste to render assistance. If they are going to seek revenge, they first give their enemy warning; then, each being armed, they attack each other with lances (spears). When one turns to flee, the other pursues him, but they do not kill man down (a person who submits). If a general loses a battle, they do not inflict punishment, but present him with women's clothes, and so he is driven to seek death for himself. The country provides for band of champions to the number of several hundred. Each time they are about to engage in conflict they intoxicate themselves with wine, and then one man with lance in hand will meet ten thousand and challenge them in fight. If one of these champions meets a man and kills him, the laws of the country do not punish him.

¹ C. I. I. Vol. IV, p. 165. ² Bom. Gaz., Vol. I, pt. ii, p. 360. * Indian and Indonesian Art, p. 99.

CHAPTER 6. The Calukyas of Badāmi. PULAKESHIN II.

Every time they go forth, they beat drums before them. Moreover they inebriate many hundred heads of elephants, and taking them out to fight, they themselves first drink their wine, and then rushing forward in mass, they trample everything down, so that no enemy can stand before them. The king, in consequence of his possessing these men and elephants, treats his neighbours with contempt. He is of the Kşatriya caste, and his name is Pulakeśi (Pu-lo-ki-she). His plans and undertakings are wide-spread and his beneficent actions are felt over a great distance. His subjects obey him with perfect submission. At the present time Sīlāditya Mahārāja has conquered the nations from east to west and carried his arms to remote districts, but the people of this country alone have not submitted to him. He has gathered troops from the five Indies and summoned the best leaders from all countries, and himself gone at the head of his army to punish and subdue these people, but he has not yet conquered their troops. So much for their habits. The men are fond of learning and study both heretical and orthodox (books). On the eastern frontier of the country is a great mountain with towering crags and a continuous stretch of piled up rocks and scarped precipice. In this there is a sanghārāma constructed in a dark valley. Its lofty halls and deep side-aisles stretch through the (or open into the) face of the rocks. Storey above storey they are backed by the crag and face the valley (water-course) Going from this 1000 li or so to the west and crossing the Nai-mo-to (Narmadā) river we arrive at the kingdom of Po-lu-kieche-po (Bharukaccheva, Barygaza or Broach)."1

The capital city mentioned here is very likely to have been Nāśik and the mountain containing the sanghārāma is Ajinthā as shown by Fleet.

On the basis of the Nirpan copper-plate charter² it was supposed that Pulakeśin had a brother named Dharāśraya Jayasimhavarmarāja, who was a governor of the Nāśik region during Pulakeśin's reign; and the Sanjan plates3 of Buddhavarasa, describe him as the younger brother of Pulakesin, and state that he was ruling at this time over the present Thana region. But since both these grants are spurious, it is doubtful whether Pulakesin had these two brothers. We know that Pulakeśin had a son named Dharāśraya Jayasimhavarman and it is not likely that both his brother and son should have had the same name. Pulakeśin had four sons named Adityavarman, Candraditya, Vikramāditya and Dharāśraya Jayasimha. According to a spurious copper-plate grant¹, he had also a daughter named Ambera.

Hiuen Tsang's graphic description of Pulakeśin's kingdom would show that when he visited Mahārāstra, Pulakeśin was at the zenith of his power. But shortly afterwards he seems to have suffered some

Bom. Gaz., Vol. I, part II, p. 353 ff.
 Ind. Ant., Vol. IX, p. 123.
 Ep. Ind., Vol. XIV, p. 144.
 Ind. Ant. Vol. VIII, p. 96; Rice: Mysore and Coorg from Inscriptions, p. 64.

CHAPTER 6. The Calukyas of Badāmī. PULAKESHIN II. serious setbacks for according to the Kūram plates1 of the Pallava king Parameśvaravarman I, Pulakeśin was thoroughly routed by his grandfather Narasimhavarman in the battles of Pariyala, Manimangala and Sūramāra etc., and these plates describe these defeats in these colourful words:-"Narasimhavarman who wrote the three syllables of the word vijaya as on a plate on Pulakeśin's back, which was caused to be visible in the battles of Pariyala, Manimangala and Sūramāra." As one of these battle fields, Manimangala, has been identified with Manimangalam about twenty miles from the Pallava capital Kāñcī², Pulakeśin must have attacked the Pallava dominions a second time in order evidently to annex the whole of the Pallava kingdom, the northern part of which he had already conquered. Since he was defeated by Narasimhavarman, evidently by the time of this defeat it was Narasimhavarman, son of Mahendravarman who was on the Pallava throne. The Kuram plates also say that Narasimhavarman destroyed the city of Vātāpī (i.e., Badāmī), the Cālukyan capital. This fact is not only supported by Narasimhavarman's title Vātāpikonda but also by an inscription³ of the thirteenth year of this very Narasimhavarman's reign found at Badami itself. After this we do not hear of Pulakeśin and we may therefore presume that he was killed in battle at Badami, probably in A.D. 642, by Narasimhavarman, who must have taken full possession of the Calukyan capital. Since Pulakeśin's son Vikramaditya is known to have ascended the throne in A.D. 654-55, the Calukya dominions were under the sway of the Pallavas for a period of nearly thirteen years. In this fight against the Calukyas, Narasimhavarman seems to have been aided by the Ceylon prince Manavarman according to Mahāvamsa, Buddhist chronicle of Ceylon.

Pulakesin, in addition to the usual paramount titles, bore the following titles as well: Ranavikrama4, Satyāśraya (which he seems to

have cherished most), Ereyya⁵ and Ereyitiadigal⁶.

The inscriptions of Vikramāditya and his successors declare that VIKRAMADITYA I. Vikramāditya who is called the dear son of his father Pulakeśin, acquired for himself the regal fortune of his father. And after defeating the hostile kings in battle in country after country he acquired the fortune and sovereignty of his ancestors. His Talamanci plates are dated in the sixth year of his reign on the day of the solar eclipse in the month of Sravana, which has been equated with 13th July, A.D. 660. On the basis of this record and the Nerur plates of Vijayabhaţţārikā Kielhorn fixed the commencement of the reign of Vikramāditya sometime between September A.D. 654 and July A.D. 6557. His Gadval plates8 are dated on Tuesday, the full-moon day of the month of Vaisākha in the Saka year 596, which is stated to be the twentieth year of his reign. The equivalent of this

¹ S. I. I., Vol. I, p. 144.

⁸ G. Jouveau Dubreuil, The Pallavas, p. 40

⁸ S. I. I., Vol. XI, pt. i, p l . ⁴ Lohaner plates.

^{**} Ind. Ant., Vol. VII, p. 106.

** S. I. I., Vol. IX pt. i., No. 46.

** Ep. Ind., Vol. IX, p. 102.

** Ibid., Vol. X, p. 100.

date in the Christian Calendar is 25th April, A.D. 674, or in other words his reign must have commenced some-time between September 654 and April, A.D. 655. Apparently, in the interval The Cālukyas of between the death of Pulakesin in A.D. 642 or so and the accession of Vikramāditya I, the Cālukya country was in the hands of the VIKRAMADITYA I. enemies, though, as we shall presently see, another son of Pulakeśin named Adityavarman and his son Abhinavaditya were ruling in parts of Karnool (Andhra Pradeśa), Bellary and Citaldrug (Mysore State) districts. But these princes do not find mention in the genealogies given in the inscriptions of Vikramaditya and his successors. Yet Adityavarman in his Karnool District plates1 which record the grant of a village in the Karnool region calls himself the dear son of Pulakeśin and bears the paramount titles like Mahārājādhirāja. So it has been surmised by scholars that Adityavarman was a rival claimant to the Calukyan throne and was probably the elder brother of Vikramāditya. It may be noted that a recently found copperplate grant2 of Abhinavādityā, son of Ādityavarman also gives both father and son all the paramount titles and states that Abhinavāditya granted the village Nelkunda situated in Uchchaśringa-visaya. As Uchchasringa-visaya comprised parts of the present Bellary and Citaldrug Districts of Mysore State we may conclude that these princes were ruling over parts of the present Citaldrug, Bellary and Karnool Districts. There is nothing definite to show that Vikramaditya and Adityavarman were rival claimants and Vikramāditya ousted his elder brother; but we can definitely infer that Adityavarman or his son were unable to drive out the enemy from the Cālukyan kingdom whereas Vikramāditya could and did. Consequently, Vikramāditya succeeded to the Cālukyan throne after acquiring the regal fortune of his father which had been interrupted by the confederacy of three kings (avanipati-tritaya) and so brought the whole kingdom under the sway of himself as the sole ruler and re-established the grants to gods and Brāhmanas which had lapsed during the rule of the three kings (rājya-traya). There is a difference of opinion as to who these three kings were. In inscriptions of the successors of Vikramāditya the cognate expression trairājya8 is used with reference to the same event. Tradition explains this word as the kingdoms of the Cola, Kerala and Pandya monarchs. Moreover in inscriptions of the Gujarāt Cālukyas the expression rājyatraya with reference to the same event is elaborated as the three kingdoms of Cera, Cola and Pandya. Some scholars held the opinion that the expression trairājya-Pallava referred to the three branches of the Pallavas ruling over different parts of their dominions. But the Surat Plates⁵ of Satyāśraya Śīlādītya of the Gujarāt branch of the Calukyas and a recently discovered inscription of Vinayadityas

CHAPTER 6.

Badāmī.

Ind. Ant., Vol. XI, p. 67.
 Ep. Ind., Vol. XXXII. 213.
 See, for instance, Ep. Ind., Vol. XIX, p. 64, text-line 16.
 See Manor Plates of Vinayaditya Mangalrasa, Ep. Ind., Vol. XXVIII, p. 21, text-

C. I. I., Vol. IV. p. 132.
 Karnātak Inscriptions, Vol. II, p. 8.

CHAPTER 6. The Calukyas of Badāmi,

of A.D. 693 make a clear distinction between the kings of trairājya and the Pallava king. We have noticed, however, that it was the Pallavas who inflicted a crushing defeat on Pulakesin and occupied VIKRAMADITYA I. Badāmī, the Cālukya capital. Therefore the occupation of the Cālukya kingdom by the confederacy of three kings can be explained by the fact that the Pallavas were supreme in the south and that the three kings viz., Cola, Kerala and Pandya were under the Pallava hegemony. Vikramāditya had to fight very hard to drive out the Pallavas and to regain his authority. He was mostly occupied in fighting numerous battles with the Pallavas and his inscriptions give us some elaborate details about ris battles. They1 state that he destroyed the glory of Narasimhavarman, broke the prowess of Mahendravarman and by diplomacy conquered Parameśvaravarman. As these victories are mentioned in the inscriptions of the twentieth year of his reign i.e. A.D. 674, the defeat of these three Pallava kings must have taken place before this date. It is quite well known that there were severe conflicts between the Calukyas and Pallavas during Vikramāditya's reign. We have already seen that Narasimhavarman had occupied Badāmī during Pulakeśin's reign; and so Vikramāditya had to drive him out in order to recapture the lost Călukyan capital. The conflict evidently continued during the reign of Narasimhavarman's successor, Mahendravarman II, who appears to have sustained a severe defeat at the hands of Vikramāditya. But Parameśvaravarman I, the son of Mahendravarman II, tried to wreak his vengeance on Vikramaditya and possibly tried to attack him. Being enraged at this, Vikramaditya led a campaign right into the heart of the Pallava territory, took the unassailable city of Kāñci and vanquished Parameśvaravarman. In the course of this campaign he marched right upto the southern bank of the Kaveri and was camping at Uragapura (modern Uraiyūr near Trichinopoly) in the Coika-visaya. But one of the Pallava inscriptions states² that Vikramāditya was put flight covered only by a rag. Another Pallava inscription³ says that Paramesvaravarman defeated the army of Villabha (i.e., Vikramāditya) at Peruvalanallūr, which has been identified with a place of the same name at a distance of ten miles north-west of Trichinopoly i.e., not far from Uraiyūr4. A third Pallava inscription⁵ states that Ugradanda (i.e., Parameśvaravarman) was the destroyer of Ranarasika's (i.e., Vikramaditya) city. These varying accounts would make it clear that there were bitter conflicts between the Cālukyas and Pallavas in the heart of the Pallava dominions; and probably after the battle of Peruvalanallur, Vikramāditya had to withdraw to his own kingdom without annexing any part of the Pallava country. The inscriptions of Vijayaditya6, grandson of Vikramāditya, state that Vikramāditya humbled the pride of the

Gadvāl Plates, Ep. Ind., Vol. X, p. 100 and Sāvanur plates, ibid., Vol. XXVII, p. 115.
 Ep. Ind., Vol. XVII, p. 343.
 S. I. I., Vol. II, pt. iii, p. 371.
 Dubreuil, The Pallavas, p. 43.
 S. I. I., Vol. I, pp. 12-13.
 Ep. Ind., X, p. 15, text-line 11.

Kalabhras besides that of the Colas, Keralas and Pāndyas. The Kalabhras are yet to be definitely identified, though they seem to have given a good deal of trouble to the southern kings for quite a long time. The onslaught of the Kalabhras seems to have been VIKRAMADITYA I. checked to some extent by the Pandyas and the Pallavas also, in addition to the efforts of the Calukyas in quelling them.

CHAPTER 6. The Cālukyas of Badāmi.

Vikramāditya seems to have been ably assisted by his son Vinayāditya in his campaigns against the Pallavas and the other southern powers and by his grandson Vijayaditya in maintaining peace and order in the home provinces. At the command of his father, Vinayaditya is stated, in the Cālukya inscriptions,1 'to have arrested the excessively exalted power of the three kings of Cola, Pandya and Kerala, and of the Pallavas and thus gratified his father's mind by bringing all the provinces into state of quiet'. And of Vijayāditya it is said that 'while his grandfather was successfully dealing with his enemies in the south, he himself completely rooted out all the troubles that had beset the kingdom'2. Vikramāditya's younger brother Dharāśraya Jayasimha appears also to have been of assistance to his elder brother in putting down the local rebellions in the north and north-western parts of the Calukyan kingdom and in preserving law and order. He is described in his Nāśik plates⁸ as having defeated and exterminated with his bright-tipped arrows the whole army of Vajjada in the country between the Mahī and Narmadā rivers. Inscriptions say that his prosperity had been increased by his elder brother, the illustrious Vikramāditya. Evidently this refers to Jayasimha's appointment as Viceroy over Lata (south Gujarat) and Mahārāṣṭra and in this capacity we see him issuing the Nausārī,4 and Nāśik plates. The former records the grant of the village Āsattigrāma by Yuvarāja Sryāśraya Silāditya, son of Dharāśraya Jayasimha, on the 13th day of the bright fortnight of Magha in the Kalacuri year 421 (A.D. 671). The grant was made when the Yuvarāja was camping at Navasārikā (modern Nausārī).

As in the case of the Eastern Calukyas of Vengi the descendants of Dharāśraya Jayasimha continued to rule over Lāṭa for nearly seven decades and are known to historians as the Calukyas of Gujarāt. The Mānor Plates⁵ of Jayāśraya Mangalarasa establish clearly that the date of the founding of this branch of the Calukya dynasty was A.D. 671 by specifying that the grant recorded therein was made in the twentyfirst regnal year, which was Saka year 613 (A.D. 691-92).

In two copper-plate inscriptions found at Nerūr and Kochrem in the Ratnagiri District, Candraditya, an elder brother of Vikramaditya speaks in glowing terms of the prowess and victories of his younger

e.g., Jejurî plates of Vinayāditya, Ep. Ind., Vol. XIX, p. 62.
 Rāyagad plates of Vijayāditya, ibid., Vol. X, p. 14.
 C. I. I., Vol. IV, p. 127.
 Ep. Ind., Vol. VIII, p. 229.
 Ep. Ind., Vol. XXVIII, p. 17.

CHAPTER 6. The Calukyas of Badāmī. VIKRAMADITYA I.

brother, in conquering the enemies and acquiring the fortune and sovereignty of his ancestors. Apparently Candraditya himself could not regain the lost Calukyan fortunes and so he did not oppose his younger brother's elevation to the throne of his ancestors. In appreciation of this attitude of Candraditya's, he seems to have been placed by Vikramāditya in charge of the administration of the Konkan region. The Nerūr inscription1 records a grant of land by Vijayabhattārikā, wife of Candraditya in the fifth year, evidently of Vikramaditya's Kocrem grant² states that Candraditya's reign. The Vijayamahādevī, the same as Vijayabhaṭṭārikā mentioned above, made a gift of land at Koccuraka, the modern Kocreni about seven miles to the north of Vengurlä. This Vijayabhattarika has been identified on good grounds with the famous Sanskrt poetess Vijayānkā or Vijjakā praised by Rājaśēkhara and others.

We have already seen that the Sendraka Prince Senānandarāja, the maternal uncle of Pulakesin II, was ruling in the Konkan region near Ciplūn as a subordinate of Pulakeśin II. Another chief of this family named Allasakti is stated in his Kāsāre plates³ to have made a grant of land in the village of Pippalakheta, modern Pimpalner in Dhulia District. The inscription is dated in the Kalacurī year 404 (A.D. 653). And the Nāgad Plates⁴ of the same chief dated in Saka 577 (A.D. 656) record a grant of the village Suścirākholī in the district of Nandipuradvārī, the present Nandurbar in Dhulia District. Another inscription⁵ of this same family issued by Jayaśakti, son of Allaśakti, records the grant of the village Seṇāṇa (probably modern Saundāne in Dhulia District) in the Saka year 602 (A.D. 681). None of these records mention any overlord, though this part of the country was under the sway of Vikramāditya I from A.D. 655 to 681. But it may be surmised that the Sendrakas continued to remain loyal to the Cālukya family; for another Sendraka prince named Devasakti was a subordinate of Vikramāditya in the Karnool region. At his request Vikramāditya made a gift of some lands to a Brahmana in the tenth year of his reign (A.D. 664)6.

Another loyal feudatory of Vikramāditya was Svāmicandra of the Hariścandra family who is known from two grants of his grandson Pṛthvicandra Bhogaśakti⁷. In these inscriptions he is described as living upon the favour of the feet of Vikramaditya who looked upon him as his own son. He is stated to have been governing the entire Puri-Konkan, a region consisting of 14000 villages.

The latest regnal year of Vikramāditya (found in an inscription at Dimmagudi in Anantapur District, Andhra Pradesa) is the twentyseventh year which would take his reign upto April, A.D. 681. And

¹ Ind. Ant., Vol. VII, p. 163. 2 Ibid., Vol. VIII, p. 45. 3 C. I. I., Vol. IV, p. 110. 4 Ep. Ind., Vol. XXVIII, p. 201.

Ibid., Vol. XXIX, p. 116.
 J. B. B. R. A. S., Vol. XVI, p. 238.
 Ibid., Vol., XXV, pp. 225 ff.

as the reign of his son began sometime in April, A.D. 681, we may conclude that Vikramāditya ceased to reign in April, A.D. 681.

CHAPTER 6. The Calukyas of Badāmi. VIKRAMADITYA, I.

Besides the usual titles assumed by the Calukyan monarchs he had the additional epithets of Kokkuli, Ranarasika, Anivārita and Rājamalla.

It has been noticed already that king Vikramāditya had two brothers, Adityavarman and Candraditya. Another brother of Vikramāditya-his elder one-by name Raņarāgavarman is mentioned in the Honnur copper-plates,1 which state that Vikramāditya made a gift of land at the request of his niece (daughter of Ranaragavarman), when Vikramāditya was camping at Malliyūr to the west of Kāñcīpuram. Vikramāditya's queen Gangamahādevī is mentioned in the Gadval plates of this king. He had a son named Vinayaditya who succeeded him on the Calukyan throne.

VINAYADITYA.

A recently discovered inscription² of Vinayaditya gives the earliest date known so far for this king, i.e., the full-moon day of Vaiśākha in the Saka year 604 (approximately 27th April, A.D. 682). The inscription cites this year as the second year of his prosperous reign. This would show that he must have ascended the throne some time before 27th April, A.D. 681. But there are two inscriptions,3 which would place the starting point of his reign between 18th October, A.D. 678 and 2nd July, A.D. 679. Probably in some cases he counted his regnal years from the date from which he was associated with his father in the administration of the kingdom and it has already been pointed out that he was actively assisting his father in various ways. His inscriptions state that he ably assisted his father in crushing the might of the Pandya, Cola, Kerala and Pallava kings and in reducing the Kalabhras, the Haihayas (i.e., the Kalacuris), Vila and Malava kings to a state of servitude similar to that of the hereditary subordinates, namely the Alupas, the Gangas and others. And the subsequent records of the dynasty state that he levied tributes from the rulers of Kavera (or Kamera), Pārasīka and Simhala and that he acquired the pālidhvaja banner and other insignia of sovereignty by inflicting a crushing defeat on the overlord of the whole of North India. We cannot specifically say who the Pārasīka or Simhala kings referred to in these inscriptions were. As regards the paramount ruler of North India, Fleet conjectured that 'he may perhaps be the Vajrāta, whom some of the Rāstrakūta records mention in connection with the victories of the Western Cālukyas'. The Nāśik plates of Dharāśraya Jayasimha which are of the time of Vinayaditya do mention Jayasimha's victory over Vajjada (Sanskrt Vajrāta). They clearly state that he exterminated the army of Vajjada. But Dr. Mirashi thinks that this lord paramount of North India is not identical with the Vajrāta defeated by Jayasimha. He identifies Vajrāţa with the Valabhī king

Mysore Archaeological Report, 1939, p. 129.
 Copper-plate No. 13, Ar. Rep. on Indian Epigraphy for 1955-56.
 Ep. Ind., Vol. XXII, p. 26.

CHAPTER 6. The Calukyas of Badāmī. VINAYADITYA I. Sīlāditya III, who was a very powerful king and who bore the paramount titles of Paramabhattāraka Mahārājādhirāja Parameśvara and Cakravartin¹. During the reign of Vinayaditya the feudatories like the Gujarāt Cālukyas, Āļupas and Sendrakas remained loyal and continued to rule over their respective territories as subordinates. For example in Mahārāstra we see the Gujarāt Cālukya prince Dharāśraya Jayasimhavarman issuing his Nāśik plates² which are dated on the 10th day of the bright fortnight of Caitra in the Kalacurī year 436 (A.D. 685). They state that Dharāśraya Jayasimhavarman granted the village of Dhondhaka in the Nasikya-vişaya to the Brāhmaṇa Trivikrama. Nāsikya is undoubtedly Nāśik and Dhondhaka is the modern Dhondleganv, twelve miles to the northwest of Nāśik.

And Dharāśraya Jayasimha's son Jayāśraya Mangalarasa made the grant3 of some villages for the benefit of the temple of the sungod at Mānapura situated in Kuraţa-viṣaya. Mānapura has been identified with Manor in the Palghar Taluka of Thana District. The name Kurața-vișaya has perhaps survived in the name of the village Kirāt, twelve miles to the north-east of Pālghar. The date of this grant is the 15th day of the bright half of Vaisakha in the Saka year 613 (A.D. 691-92) and Mangalarasa here bears the titles of Vinayāditya and Yuddhamalla in addition to the title of Jayāśraya, already mentioned.

A stone inscription4 at Belaganv in Simoga Taluka (Mysore State) states that when Vinayaditya Rajaśraya was ruling, feudatory Mahārāja Pogilli of the Sendraka family was governing the Nayarakhanda district. We have no means of ascertaining how this Pogilli was related to the Sendraka chiefs, who were governing parts of Mahārāṣṭra during Vikramāditya's reign.

In addition to these grants we have a grant of Vinayadityab himself in the Mahārāstra region, made when he was encamped at the village of Bhadali near Palayatthana (modern Phaltan, the chief town of the lower Nīrā valley; and Bhādalī is the present Budlee Budruk, five miles to the south-east of Phaltan). It records the grant of a village called Vira on the north bank of the river Nīrā in the [Sā]timāla bhoga in the Paļayatthāņa-viṣaya. Vīra is the modern Vir, a mile and half north of the river Nīrā. The record is dated in the ninth year of Vinayāditya's reign and Saka 609 (A.D. 687).

Vinayāditya had the titles of Rājāśraya and Yuddhamalla. The existence of the latter title was in doubt till recently, as it was found only in inscriptions of the 11th century (e.g., Kauthem plates). But a recently discovered stone inscription⁶ at Itagi in the Yalbargī Taluka, Raichur District (Mysore State) would show that

¹ C. I. I., Vol. IV, pp. LXI ff.

Ibid., p. 127.

^{**}Ep. Ind., Vol. XXVIII, p. 17.

**Ind. Ant., Vol. XIX, p. 142; Rice, Mysore and Coorg, from Inscriptions, p. 64.

**Ep. Ind., Vol. XIX, p. 62.

⁶ Ar. Rep. Ind., Ep., 1955-56, No. 210, Appendix B.

Yuddhamalla was in fact a title of Vinayaditya. This inscription which is written in characters of the seventh century, refers itself to the reign of Yuddhamalla Satyāśraya who can be no other than Vinayaditya, as this title was not known to have been adopted by any earlier or later monarch of the Badami Calukya family.

CHAPTER 6.

The Calukyas of Badami. VINAYADITYA

He had a son named Vijayāditya, who succeeded him, a daughter named Kumkumamahādevī¹ or Kumkumadevī², who is said to have built a Jain temple called Anesejjeya-basadi at Purigre. The inscriptions of his son and successor Vijayāditya show that Vijayaditya was crowned sometime in July, 696. So we will have to presume that Vinayaditya ceased to rule before this date.

Though Vijayāditya ascended the throne in A.D. 696, he must VINAYADITYA. been nominated as Yuvarāja before 10th January, A.D. 692, as he is actually called Yuvarāja in the Karnool District copper-plate grant⁸ issued by his father on this date. His inscriptions describe him as having acquired even in his childhood the skill in the use of arms and as having mastered all the śāstras. As mentioned already he was maintaining peace and order in the home provinces, when his grandfather was engaged in his southern campaign. While assisting his father in his northern campaigns he advanced farther than his father and won for him the insignia of Gangā, Yamunā and pālidhvaja, and also the riches of the enemy consisting of elephants and jewels. On a certain occasion he was somehow captured by the enemy, who had actually been defeated and had taken to flight. But cleverly he escaped without assistance like Vatsarāja of legendary fame and averted the danger of anarchy in his country. The Ulchāla inscription4 dated in the thirtyfifth year of his reign (A.D. 730-31) states that Yuvarāja Vikramāditva (i.e., son of Vijayāditya) after he returned from Kāñcī having raided that city and having levied tribute from Paramēśvara-Pallava made a gift of the villages, Ulchain and Pariyalu to Durvinīta Ereyappor of the Konguni family. This would show clearly that the conflict between the Pal'avas and the Calukyas, which had been going on for many decades continued even in the time of Vijayaditya. This inscription is not only important in showing the continuance of the Pallava-Cālukya conflict but also in fixing the initial year of the reign of Nandivarman Pallavamalla of the Pallava dynasty, who could not have come to the throne carlier than A.D. 730-31, as his predecessor Paramēśvara II figures in this record as the adversary of Vijayāditya.

The Gujarāt Cālukya prince Jayāśraya Mangalarasa continued to rule as subordinate of Vijayāditya as attested by Jayāśraya Mangalarasa's Balsar (Gujarat) copper-plate grants. This is dated

¹ Gudigeri I seription, Ind. Ant., Vol. XVIII, p. 38.
2 p. Ind., Vol. XXIX, p. 207.
3 Ind. Ant., Vol. VI p. 89.
4 Journal of Indian History, Vol. XXX, part iii, p. 288.
5 J. Bo. Br. R. A.S., Vol. XVI, p. 5.

CHAPTER 6.

The Calukyas of Badāmī. VIJAYADITYA

in the Saka year 653 (A.D. 731-32) and not in the Kalacuri era as is usual with the records of these princes.

There are some grants relating to Mahārāṣṭra made by the king himself. Two Nerūr copper-plate inscriptions1 of Vijayāditya dated Saka 622 (A.D. 700) and Saka 627 (A.D. 705-06) respectively, record grants made in the Iridige-visaya, identified with one of the divisions of Konkan. The Raygad plates2 of Saka 625 record the grant of two villages made by the king when he was staying at the victorious camp of Karahatanagara (modern Karnad). The Elāpur copper-plates³ of this monarch dated in Saka 626 (A.D. 704) record a grant made by the king when he was camping at Elāpura (modern Ellorā in Aurangābād District). Another copperplate4 grant dated Saka 632 (A.D. 710) records the grant of the village Kārucgrāma (probably modern Koregāńv) near Karahāṭanagara and situated on the bank of the Kṛṣṇā Veṇṇā.

Vijayāditya's reign is the longest in Cālukya history and it lasted over thirtyseven years; for his son Vikramāditya II ascended the throne in the year A.D. 733-34. This long reign is noteworthy for its manifold cultural activities, especially the construction of temples of great magnificence and grandeur. An inscription at Badāmī dated Saka 621 (A.D. 699) mentions that he installed the images of Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Mahēśvara at the victorious capital of Vātāpī. He also built the beautiful temple of Vijayeśvara, now known as Sangameśvara, at Pattadakal⁵.

Besides the usual titles of the Calukya rulers he had the title of Niravadya and Sāhasarasika. He had son called Vikramāditya who succeeded him in A.D. 733-34. Inscriptions of the Calukyas of Kalyāni trace their descent from Bhīmaparākrama who, according to these inscriptions, was the younger brother of Vikramāditya.

VIKRAMADITYA II.

During the reign of Vikramāditya the wars with the Pallavas were intensified. In one of the inscriptions at Pattadakal6 Vikramāditya is stated to have conquered Kāñcī thrice. We have already noticed that even when he was Yuvarāja he raided Kāñcī during his father's reign and levied tributes from the Pallavas. The other two invasions of Kāñcī are mentioned in the inscriptions of his reign7 and those8 of his successors. These inscriptions give a detailed account of these two campaigns against Kañei. According to them he made a strong resolve to destroy the natural enemies of the Cālukvas (namely the Pallavas) and made a sudden and expeditious incursion into Tundaka country and put to flight the Pallava king Nandipotavarman. He captured the Pallava king's musical instru-

Ind., Ant., Vol. IX, p. 126 and ibid. p. 130.
 Ep. Ind., Vol. X, p. 15.
 Ind. Hist., Quart., Vol. IV, p. 425.
 Ep. Ind., Vol. XXVI, p. 322.
 Ibid., Vol. III, p. 1.
 Ind. Ant., Vol. X, p. 164.
 Narvan plates, Ep. Ind., Vol. XXVII, p. 125 ff.
 See e.g., Vakkaleri plates, Ep. Ind., Vol. V, p. 202; and Kendur plates, ibid., Vol. XX VII. IX, p. 200.

ments, katumukha and samudraghoşa and his flag khatvāngadhvaja in addition to heaps of gold, rubies and herds of elephants. He then entered the city of Kāñcī in triumph, but did not raze it to the ground. On the other hand he acquired great merit by making munificent gifts to the temples of Rajasimheśvara and others, which VIKRAMADITYA II. Narasinghapotavarman had built. He then crippled the Pandya, Cola, Kerala and Kalabhra kings and set up a pillar of victory on the shore of the southern ocean. His son Kirtivarman, even when he was Yuvarāja obtained his father's permission to lead another attack against the king of Kāñcī, who unable to meet this onslaught took refuge in his fortress. Kirtivarman then seized a number of elephants and heaps of gold and rubies, all of which he presented to his father. The Ainūli copperplates1 give the name of Kīrtivarman's adversary as Nandipotavarman. So both these invasions of Kāncī took place in the reign of Nandipotavarman i.e., Nandivarman Pallavamalla who had a long reign of 65 years. The three campaigns recorded in the Pattadakal inscription are thus accounted for and they took place in the following order. The first, as shown above, took place during the time of Pallava Parameśvara II. In this Vikramāditya seems to have been assisted by the Western Ganga prince Durvinita-Ereyappor. The second campaign is mentioned in the Narvan plates of A.D. 741-42 and so it must have taken place before that date, and the third between A.D. 741-42 and the end of Vikramāditya's reign (i.e., A.D. 744-45). That his conquest Kāncī is not a mere boast is borne out by an inscription of his at Kāñcī in the Rājasimhēśvara temple2, which says that after the conquest of Kañci the king made grants to the temple.

His reign is also noteworthy for the repulsion of the formidable Arab invasion of Gujarāt, which was a part of the Cālukya dominions. The Tājikas (i.e., the Arabs), who, according to the Navasārī plates3 of A.D. 739, had already destroyed the Saindhavas, the Kacchellas, the Cavotakas, the Saurastras, the Mauryus and the Gurjaras tried to attack the Câlukya dominions with a view to overrunning the whole of South India but were routed by Avanijanāśraya Pulakeśin of the Gujarāt Cālukya branch and evidently a feudatory of Vikramāditya II who was so pleased with Pulakeśin that he conferred on him (Pulakeśin) the titles of Dakṣiṇāpatha-sādhāra (pillar of the southern country) and Anivartaka-nivartayitr (the repeller of the unrepellable).

Thus while the Gujarat Calukyas continued to rule the Lata (Gujarāt) province, two Rāṣṭrakūṭa princes were in charge of parts of Maharastra. The Narvan plates of Vikramaditya II4 state that the king, while staying in his victorious camp at Adityavada, granted Naravana and other villages in the Ciprarulana-visaya at the request of Rāstrakūta Govindarāja to some Brahmins in the Saka year 664

CHAPTER 6.

The Calukyas of Badami.

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Mys. Arch. Report, 1909.

² Ep. Ind., Vol. III, p. 360. ³ C. I. I., Vol. IV, p. 137. ⁴ Ep. Ind., Vol. XXVII, p. 125.

CHAPTER 6.

The Calukyes of Badami.

VIERAMADITYA II.

(A.D. 741-42). Ciprarulana is modern Ciplun in the Ratnagiri District and Naravana is the modern Narvan in the same district. Adityavada has been tentatively identified with one of the two Aitavades in the Valva Taluka of the Sangli District.

Dantidurga, the founder of the Mānyakheta branch of the Rāstrakūţa family, who later on overthrew the Cālukyas, made a grant to certain Brahmans the village of Pippaläla, in the district of Candanapuri-84, in the year Saka 663 (A.D. 742) after bathing in the Guheśvaratīrtha at Elāpura is the famous Ellorā, Dantidurga excavated the Daśavatārā cave temple. Candanapurī is even to-day called by the same old name and is situated on the Girnā river about forty-five miles from Ellorā. Pippalāla is the modern Pimpral, twelve miles south-east of Candanapuri. Though Dantidurga does not mention his overlord in this grant, the fact that he calls himself Mahāsāmantādhipati shows that he still owed allegiance to the Calukyas who were the lords of this part of the country.

The reign of Vikramāditya II also continued the great cultural and building activities for which this dynasty is noted. In an inscription of his son's time at Pattadakal2 his queen Lokamahādevī of the Haihaya family is stated to have constructed the temple of the god Lokeśvarabhattāraka at Pattadakal; and his other queen Trailokyamahādevī, the younger sister of Lokamahādevī and the mother of Kirtivarman II (son of Vikramaditya) constructed the temple of Trailokyeśvarabhaţţāraka at the same place. The family gave great encouragement to temple architecture, as for example, by conferring the title of Tribhuvanācārya (preceptor of three worlds) on Gunda or Anivāritācārya, the chief architect of the temple of Lokeśvara, mentioned above. This architect was also honoured by the conferment of a fillet of honour called perjerepu-patta3.

Music too was encouraged, as is witnessed by the fact that Lokamahadevi confirmed the covenants which had been given to the musicians and dancers (gandharvas) by Vijayāditya earlier. One of these dancers, named Acala seems to have founded a new school of dancing4.

Vikramāditya II had a son named Kīrtivarman, who succeeded him and perhaps a daughter named Vinayavatī⁵, queen of the Rāstrakūta prince Govindarāja mentioned above. He had the title of Anivārita besides the usual Cālukyan titles.

KIRTIVARMAN II.

Kirtivarman II succeeded his father probably in A.D. 744-45, for the only verifiable date in his inscriptions is found in the Kendur

¹ Ep. Ind., Vol. XXV, p. 29. ⁸ Ibid., Vol. III, p. 1.

⁸ Ind. Ant., Vol. X, pp. 162-164.

⁴ Ibid., pp. 166-67. 5 Ep. Ind., Vol. XXVII, p. 151. Vinayavati is described as the daughter of Vikramaditya, the lord of the four quarters.

copper-plates1 issued in the sixth year of his reign on the fullmoon day, in the month of Vaiśākha when there was a lunar eclipse in Saka 672. The corresponding English equivalent is 7th April, A.D. 749. But the Vakkaleri copper-plates² and Ainūlī copperplates³ dated respectively in the eleventh and fourth years of his Kirtivarman II. reign give slightly different starting points for his reign; the details of the dates given in these, however, do not admit of verification. His inscriptions state that he became so proficient in the use of arms even in his childhood that his father became overjoyed at his son's skill and nominated him as the Yuvarāja. It has already been noted that in this capacity as Yuvaraja, he obtained the permission of his father to attack the lord of Kanci, the hereditary enemy. Though he achieved a resounding victory against the Pallavas, he seems to have been defeated by the Pandyas. The Velvikudi grant4 of about A.D. 769-70 states that an officer of the Pandya king had defeated the Vallabha (i.e., Cālukya Kīrtivarman II) at Venbai and secured the hand of the Ganga princess in marriage for his master. In this conflict evidently the (Western) Gangas assisted Kirtivarman II.

CHAPTER 6. The Calukyas

of Badămi.

It was in Kirtivarman's reign that the Calukyan sovereignty was overthrown by the Rastrakuta prince Dantidurga sometime before 5th January, A.D. 754 (the date of his Samangad plates) and the Rāstrakūtas gained possession of the Cālukya dominions. But Kīrtivarman continued to rule in parts of his dominions for sometime more; for one of his inscriptions on a pillar at Pāṭṭaḍakal (which gives him the epithet Nrpasinha) is of A.D. 754 and the Vakkaleri plates are dated in Saka 679 corresponding to A.D. 757. These plates record a grant made by the king when he was staying in the victorious camp at Bhandaragavittage on the north bank of the river Bhīmarathi. This place has been identified with Bhandarakaute in the Solapur District. The decline of the Calukya power was evidently due to their constant conflicts with the Pallavas and other southern rulers (of whom the Pandya king who defeated Kirtivarman was one), which had considerably weakened the Calukyas. Taking advantage of this weakness, Dantidurga openly defied the Calukvan might and utterly routed Kirtivarman's forcesthe famous Karnāṭaka army, which had been expert in defeating the lords of Kañci, the king of Kerala, the Colas, the Pāṇdyas, Harşa and Vajraţa. Dantidurga was apparently aided in his fight against Kirtivarman by the Pallavas, as the Pallava king Nandivarman Pallavamalla is believed to have been related to Dantidurga by marriage. Nandivarman had a wife by name Revā, whose son was called Dantivarman⁶. As Danti reminds one of Dantidurga it has been surmised that Reva was Dantidurga's

END OF THE CHALUEYAS.

Ep. Ind., Vol. IX, p. 200.
 Ibid., Vol. V p. 202.
 Mys. Arch. Rev., 1909.
 Ep. Ind., Vol. XVII, p. 291.
 Kielhorn's Southern List, No. 48.
 Velurpalaiyam plates, S. I. I., Vol. II, p. 511.

CHAPTER 6

The Cälukyas of Badāmī.

END OF THE CHALUKYAS.

daughter and Dantivarman, the Pallava prince, was named after his maternal grandfather, the Rāstrakūṭa king Dantidurga, who was also called Dantivarman¹.

Dantidurga's successor Kṛṣṇa I is stated to have metamorphosed the great boar (the Cālukyan crest) into a fawn2. So by the time of Krsna I even the vestiges of Calukyan supremacy completely passed into the hands of the Rastrakatas. We see many of the Cālukyan princes being mentioned in the Rāstrakūta records as their subordinates.

Of these subordinates two branches of the Calukyan family are well known-the Cālukyas of Vemulavāda and the Cālukyas of Kalyāṇi. Taila of the latter branch who claimed descent from a younger brother of Vikramaditya II and who was a subordinate of the Rāstrakūta king Kṛṣṇa III (A.D. 939-67) revived the lost Calukyan power in A.D. 973 by overthrowing the Rastrakūţas. The other branch, namely that of Vemulavāda continued to be loyal to the Rāstrakūtas.

[A prince called Pūgavarman who has been considered to be a Calukya and a son of Pulakeśin I may be mentioned here. He is known by a solitary record³ found at Mudhōl (Bijapur District, Mysore State). It has been assigned to the 6th century A.D. and it refers to Pūgavarman as the son of Śri-prithvi-vallabha-Mahārāja who had performed Agnistoma, Agnichayana, Vājapeya and Aśvamedha sacrifices and the Hiranyagarbha gift. But it may be noted that neither the name Cālukya nor the title Satyāśraya, distinctive of the kings of this family is associated with either Pugavarman or his father.

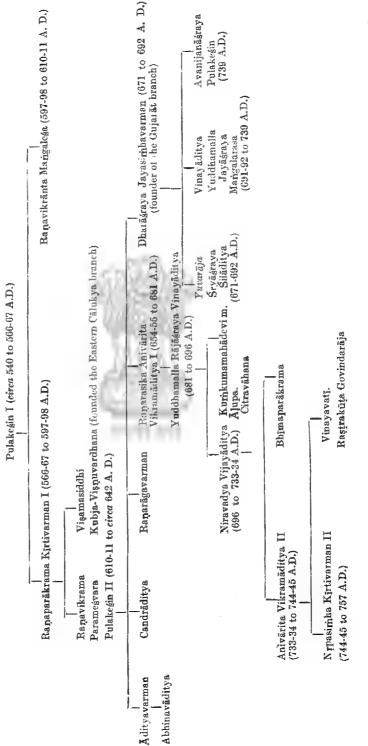
The genealogical table of the family of the Calukyas of Badamī is given below :-

¹ Dubrouil, The Pallavas, p. 75.

Maha-avarāham harini-chakara, Ind. Ant., Vol. XII, p. 162.
 Progress of Kannada Research in Bombuy Province from 1911 to 1945, p. 6).

The Cálukyas of Badāmī.

End of the Chalukyas



THE CALUKYAS OF BADAMI

Jayasimha | | |Ranarāga Satyāstaya Ranavikrama



CHAPTER 7

RASTRAKUTA EMPIRE AND ITS FEUDATORIES*

WE HAVE ALREADY SEEN HOW KIRTIVARMAN II OF THE CALUKYA DYNASTY was defeated by king Dantidurga of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa lineage. We shall now describe the career of the new house which was destined to far outshine the glory of its predecessor. Later records of the dynasty¹ claim that Dantidurga belonged to the Sāṭyaki branch of the Yadu race. In this line there was prince named Raṭṭa, who had a son named Rāṣṭrakūṭa, who was the progenitor of the new dynasty and gave it its well-known name. Earlier records however are unaware of this Yādava origin of the new house; it was obviously introduced in the official genealogies in later days when it became the custom for every dynasty to claim descent from some Paurāṇic or legendary hero.

Sober history tells us that Rāṣṭrakūṭa was the name of an office and not of an individual. Rāṣṭra was the name of a territorial unit, corresponding roughly to the modern district and its administrative officer was called rāṣṭrakūṭa, a rāṣṭrapati, or rāṣṭrika or rāṭhika or rāṭhi in different periods and provinces. In the Deccan the term rāṣṭrakūṭa had come into general use to denote the officer of the district, as grāmakūṭa had become general for the village headman. The status and powers of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas corresponded to those of the Deśmukhs and Desāīs of the Marāṭhā period; but very often they were given, or they used to acquire the status of a feudatory.

We get references to a few feudatory Rāṣṭrakūṭa chiefs in the Deccan and Karnāṭak during the ascendancy of the Cālukyas of Badāmī. A Rāṣṭrakūṭa chieftain named Abhimanyu was ruling in Hośaṅgābād district in the first half of the 6th century²; a hundred years later, we find another Rāṣṭrakūṭa feudatory house ruling in southern Marāṭhā country³. A third Rāṣṭrakūṭa family is disclosed

CHAPTER 7.

Rāṣṭrakūṭa Empire an**d its** Feudatories.

^{*} This Chapter is contributed by late Dr. A. S. Altekar, M.A., LL.B., D.Litt. Some notes based on subsequent research have been supplied by Dr. V. V. Mirashi.

Wardha plates, J.B.B.R.A.S., XVIII, p. 239; Sangli plates, Ibid, IV, p. 111 etc.

^{*} E.I., VIII, p. 163.

^{* [}Both these houses were identical. The family was ruling at Mānapura (Mān in the Sātārā District). See Studies in Indology, II, 178 f. for the history of these Rāṣṭrakūṭas of Mānapura.] (V.V.M.)

CHAPTER 7. Rāstrakūta Empire and its Feudatories.

by the Multai, Tivarkhed and Nagardhan plates and it was ruling in Berar, probably at Ellicpūr¹. There may have been some more. Rästrakūta records claim that Lattalūra was the original city of the family; this Lattalura is obviously the town of Latur in the former state of Hyderābād. No evidence is so far forthcoming to show that Dantidurga was holding a fief at this place; his career and exploits suggest that his patrimony was somewhere in northern Mahārāṣṭra or Berar. The present writer had suggested that Dantidurga probably belonged to the Răștrakūța family disclosed by the Tivarkhed and Multai plates2; the question however cannot be regarded as finally settled as the genuineness and dates of the records of this house are not certain3. It is however very probable that the family of Dantidurga originally hailed from Lattalüra, but had migrated to northern Mahārāstra or Berār in scarch of pastures new. Its Canarese origin suggested by the mention of Lattalura or Latur as its home is further corroborated by several significant facts. Canarese literature flourished in the Rastrakuta court; emperor Amoghavarsa I'is the reputed author of the earliest Canarese work on poetics; the sign manuals of several charters of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa branch of Gujarāt are in south-Indian proto-Canarese characters, as contrasted with the proto-Nagari characters of the charters themselves.

Our records take the genealogy of Dantidurga five generations back, but naturally the earlier figures are all shadowy. The earliest definitely known ancestor of Dantidurga is Dantivarman, who was his grandfather's grandfather. His probable time may be c. 650 to 665 A.D. He and his son Indra Prechakaraja (c. 665-680) and grandson Govinda I (680-700 A.D.) are however mere names to us; we know of no specific political exploits of any one of them. Since Govinda I ruled from c. 680-700 A.D., we cannot obviously identify him with Govinda, the opponent of Pulakesin II, who had invaded the Cālukya empire in c. 610 A.D. Govinda I was a staunch Saivite. Covinda's son Karka I is also a shadowy figure. He ruled from c, 700 to 720. He had at least three sons, Indra I, Krsna I, and Karka4 who may be presumed to have been born between 695 and 705 A. D. Of these Indra was probably the eldest and succeeded his father in c. 720 A.D.

¹ I.A., XVIII, p. 230, E.I., XI, p. 276.
2 See Raştrakūtas, pp. 7-11. The recently discovered Nagardban plates of this house supply the date 322 for Nannarāja Yudhāsura. If we take this date as referring to the Gupta era, my theory gets additional support; if we refer it to the Kalacuri era then it has to be abandoned; for there would result a gap of seventy-five years between Dantivarman and Yudhāsura. The plates are not yet published and so no definite conclusion can yet be arrived at, See I.H.Q., XXV, p. 81 and p. 138 for Mirashi's view that the date is given in the Kalacuri era. (The plates have since been published see Sp. Ind., XXVIII, 1 f., C.I.I. IV, pp. 611f,-V.V.M.)

^{8 (}The Tivarakhed plates are proved to be spurious. See Milashi, Studies in Indology, II, 25 f. Nannarāja of the Nagardhan plates was different from his name sake who issued the Multai plates. Nagardhan plates have since been Otherwise the Cālukya forces defeated by Dantidurga would not have been published in E.I., XXVIII, If. The Rāṣṭrakūṭas were not of Canarese origin.

described as Karnāṭaka in Rāṣṭrakūṭa grants. See E.I., VI, 209, V.V.M.)

4 This Karka is probably identical with Karka I, the great-grandfather of Karka II, who was holding a small principality in southern Gujarāt in 757 A.D. For a contrary view, see Rastrakūtas, pp. 11-12.

We begin to get information about definite political events from the time of Indra. His bride Bhavanāgā was a Cālukya princess and he is stated to have carried her away by force by rāksasa¹ vivāha from the marriage pandal at Kairā (in northern Gujarāt). This event may be placed in c. 710 or 715 A.D. The name of Bhavanāgā's father is not known, but very probably he may have been king Maṅgalarasa of the Gujarāt Cālukya house or a cousin of his². This successful coupe of Indra, of course, presupposes that his father Karka I had become fairly powerful; otherwise he could not have challenged the Gujarāt Cālukyas in this manner.

As Hindu marriage is indissoluble, and as the *rākṣasa* form of marriage was recommended to and not uncommon among the Kṣatriyas, we may presume that the relations between Indra and his wife's Cālukya parents may have soon become normal. Dantidurga, the son of this union, may be presumed to have been born in c. 716 A.D. Indra may be presumed to have ruled down to c. 735 A.D.

In order to understand the careers of Indra and Dantidurga, it is necessary to take a bird's eye view of the contemporary political situation, with special reference to Berār and northern Mahārāstra, in which block of territory the Rāṣṭrakūṭa principality lay. The Cālukya empire lay to the south of the growing principality of Indra, and he was its feudatory. To the north in Gujarāt lay the small kingdom of the Gujarāt Cālukyas with its capital at Nāndīpurī or Nandoḍ near Broach. Both these kingdoms were suffering grievously from repeated Arab invasions. By about 737 A.D. the Arabs had penetrated up to Navsārī, but in the following year they were driven back by king Pulakeśin of the Gujarāt Cālukya branch, obviously with the help of his suzerain Vikramāditya II. It is quite likely that Indra and his son may have co-operated with the Cālukyas in repulsing these raids.

The precise date of accession of Dantidurga is not yet known; but the Ellorā plate, published in 1940, now makes it clear that his career had begun before 742 A.D.³ Like Śivājī and Bābar, Dantidurga began his career early and it is not unlikely that he took a leading part in the defeat of the Arabs in 738, though no mention of his share in this feat is made in the Navsārī plates, which being issued by Pulakeśin, give the entire credit of the victory to that prince. Some weight is lent to this conjecture by the new titles Pṛthivīvallabha and Khaḍgāvaloka, which Dantidurga is assuming in the Ellorā plates.

CHAPTER 7

Rāṣṭrakūṭa Empire and its Feudatories/

¹ (The name of the princess was Bhavaganā not Bhavanāgā. See E.I., XIV,
 124. She was probably a Kalacuri princess. See the name Sankaragana of
 ■ Kalacuri king, V.V.M.)

² (See, however, Studies in Indology, Vol. II, p. 22. V.V.M.)
³ Prof. Mirashi has advanced the view that the year of the issue of the Ellora plates is 463 of the Kalacuri era and not 663 of the Saka era as suggested in E.I., XXV, p. 25; see I.H.Q. XXV, 81-86. This would place the accession of Dantidurga some years before 712 A.D. If Dantidurga had begun his career say in 705 A.D., it is difficult to understand how he could, be succeeded by his uncle in r. 755, who could rule for about 17 years. The first symbol of the numerical figure is taken as 400 by Mirashi. The adjunct to the symbol for 100 looks more like six than four; and so it appears more probable that year should be 663 of the Saha era rather than 463 of the Kalacuri era (See Studies in Indology, II, 1 f.—V.V.M.)

Rästrakūta Empire and its Feudatories. Dantidurga's records claim that during the course of his career, he had defeated the kings of Kāñcī, Kalinga, Śrīśaila, Kosala, Mālava, Lāṭa and Sindh before he overthrew the power of the imperial Cālukyas in-c. 752 A.D. Dantidurga died soon after he defeated the Cālukya emperor, and so his conflicts with the kings of the above countries must have taken place earlier when he was a Cālukya feudatory.

It appears that Dantidurga continued to be a loyal feudatory of the Cālukyas till the death of Vikramāditya II in 747 A.D. The Cālukya crown-prince Kīrtivarman had led an expedition against Kāncī in c. 743 A.D. and Dantidurga may have accompanied his feudal lord in this venture along with his battalions. His victories over the kings of Kāncī and Śrīśaila must be really those which he had shared with his feudal lord.

The varied military experience which Dantidurga had acquired in repulsing the Arab raids and in participating in the offensive expedition against the Pallavas must have fired his ambition. His descent through a Cālukya princess may have aroused imperial ambitions in his young heart. Soon after the death of Kīrtivarman, he may have decided to make a bold bid for the imperial position in the Deccan.

Dantidurga was a clever diplomat; he chalked out a plan of expansion which would not much affect the Calukya interests in the beginning. He therefore decided to extend his kingdom in the territories to the north and east, which were outside the Calukya influence. The petty kingdoms in Gujarāt were already exhausted by the Arab invasions; Dantidurga attacked them and annexed their territories and put his nephew Govinda, son of Dhruva, in charge of southern Gujarāt. Dantidurga then invaded Maļwā, marched upon Ujjayinī and captured it. He performed the Hiranyagarbha ritual to celebrate this event, when it is claimed that the Gurjara Pratīhāra king acted as his door-keeper. From Maļwā Dantidurga returned to Berär and marched into Mahākośala or Chhattisgarh. Who was then ruling there, we do not know. Dantidurga's charter claims that his war elephants had sported both in the Mahī river of Gujarāt and the Mahānadī of Kalinga; hence the above reconstruction of history appears to be very probable.

The above victories conclusively demonstrated that Dantidurga was growing into powerful force and could no longer be neglected. The new Cālukya emperor Kīrtivarman decided to put him down by c. 750. The immediate cause of the war must have been the annexation by Dantidurga of the territories ruled over in south Gujarāt by the Gujarāt branch of the Cālukyas, so closely related to the imperial house. It was a direct challenge to the imperial power and could not be ignored.

Rástrakúta

Empire and its

Feudatories.

Where the armies of the two combatants came into clash is not known, but most probably the scene of the battle was somewhere in central Mahārāṣṭra. Dantidurga came out successful in the encounter. His victory however seems to have been due to a stratagem; for his court poet tells us that he overthrew the Karnātak army of Kīrtivarman by the mere frown of his eye, without any serious effort being made or without any weapons being raised or used.

This victory did not break the power of the Calukyas, but made Dantidurga the master practically of whole Mahārāstra. We find him granting a village in Sātārā district in 754 A.D. Kīrtivarman continued to hold the whole of Karnatak and both the sides were making further preparations for crushing each other, when Dantidurga died rather suddenly in c. 755 at the premature age of about 40.

We have not yet sufficient material to reconstruct the career of Dantidurga, but such information as we possess shows that like most other founders of dynasties, Dantidurga was an able general, a clever diplomat and an efficient organiser. He was quick to realise the growing weakness of the Calukya power due to the incessant wars with the Pallavas and the Arabs. He co-operated with his feudal lord in his campaigns to gain valuable military experience; he then started making his own conquests, but without coming into conflict with the imperial power. And finally he decided to challenge that power only when his strength and resources had grown adequate for the purpose. Unfortunately he did not live long enough to complete the overthrow of the Calukyas, but there is no doubt that he had accomplished the greater part of the work in this connection.

Dantidurga was a pious Hindu and gave several villages in charity at the request of his mother. The Hiranyagarbha ritual, which he performed at sacred Ujjayini shows his deep faith in the tenets of medieval Hinduism.

Dantidurga, the founder of the Imperial Rāṣṭrakūṭa family, left no son1 and was succeeded by his uncle Krsna, who on his (c. 756 to 768 accession, assumed the titles of Subhatunga (prominent in good luck) and Akālavarsa (raining unexpectedly). Krsna was about 45 at his accession and had probably participated in several campaigns of his ambitious nephew and the latter had probably approved of his succession. The view of Fleet that Kṛṣṇa dethroned his nephew because he had grown oppressive is altogether untenable; a record of Kṛṣṇa himself has now come to light in which he pays a glowing tribute to his valorous nephew2. Kṛṣṇa no doubt had to oust a refractory

तस्मिन्दिवं प्रयाते वल्लभराजे कृतप्रजाबाध। श्रीकर्कराजसृनुर्महीपतिः कृष्णराजीभूत् ॥

The reading of this veses in other grants shows that there was an aragraha after Valbabhardje, see Rastrakutas, p. 41-42. For Krsnas own enolgy of his uncle see E.I. XII 123.

KRSNA I A.D.).

¹ As stated in the Kadba plates. R. G. Bhandarkar disbelieved the statement of these plates as they were issued about 200 years later; he thought that Krsna may have dethroned Dantidurga's son. B.G. (1st Ed.) I, ii, p. 195. ² The earlier view was based upon the following verse in the Begumra pl test of Kryna II

Rāṣṭrakūṭā Empire and its Feudatories.

Krsna I (c, 756 to 768 A.D.). relative, but he was most probably Karka II (of the Gujarāt Rāṣṭrakūṭa family), who had begun to entertain imperial ambition at about 757 A.D.¹ At any rate the house of Karka disappears from our view after 760 A.D. and we find southern Gujarāt being directly governed by the officers of the imperial Rāṣṭrakūṭa family. Majority of Kṛṣṇa's relatives, however, accepted his accession and were loyal to him, and were appointed to different posts of trust and responsibility. His younger brother, Nanna Guṇāvaloka was in charge of Aurangābād district, where he was later succeeded by his son Saṅkaragaṇa. Māṇāvaloka Raṭnavarṣa, a nephew of his, participated in his campaign against Vengī in c. 770 A.D.

Dantidurga's victory over Kirtivarman II was no doubt decisive, but it had not shattered the latter's power. Taking advantage of the domestic troubles of Kṛṣṇa, Kirtivarman reorganised his forces and advanced into Solāpūr district. The two rivals came into clash soon after the autumn of 757 A.D. This time the Rāṣṭrakūṭa forces scored a smashing victory; for the records of the Later Cālukyas admit that the glory of the family set with Kirtivarman II. The Cālukya emperor was probably slain in battle and no relation of his could later dare to challenge the power of the new house. King Rāhappa, after overthrowing whom Kṛṣṇa is stated to have obtained the imperial status was probably none other than Kirtivarman II who may well have borne that additional name.

Several Cālukya families, however, were ruling as petty feudatories of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas during their ascendancy at different places in Karnāṭak like Didgur, Kotur, Lemulvāḍ, etc.².

Kṛṣṇa next brought Konkan under his sway and appointed a local Sīlāhāra chief as his governor. The latter became the founder of the Sīlāhāra house of northern Konkan, which continued to rule in the feudatory capacity for more than 400 years.

As a result of the overthrow of Kīrtivarman II, northern Karnāṭak came under the Rāṣṭrakūṭa sway; but Kṛṣṇa wanted to conquer southern Karnāṭak as well. King Śrīpuruṣa of the Gaṅga family was ruling over this territory, which was then known as Gaṅgavāḍī. He offered stubborn resistance and also scored a few initial victories with the help of his son Prince Siyagalla.³ But Kṛṣṇa soon crushed down all opposition and occupied the Gaṅga capital Mānyapur (Manne in Bangalore district) where he made a thanksgiving grant. Kṛṣṇa returned home by 768 A.D. after imposing his overlordship over the Gaṅga ruler, who also ceded some of his northern districts to the conqueror.

¹ Cf. I.A., XII, p. 159.

The Antroli Chharoli plates show that in 757, Karka II had begun to claim imperial titles like Mahārājādhirāja and Farameścara. His three predecessors had only feudatory titles.

² I.A. V, p. 145, XII, p. 181 etc. see Rastrakutás, p. 43.

⁸ M.A.S.R., 1939, p. 121.

Rästraküta

Empire and its

Feudatories.

KRSNA I

(c. 756 to 768

A.D.).

Kṛṣṇa was now getting old and we find him appointing his eldest son Govinda as his heir-apparent in c. 770 A.D. The latter signalised his selection by leading an attack upon the Vengī Cālukya ruler Visnuvardhana IV. It is not improbable that the Calukyas of Vengi might have given some cause of offence; they were the cousins of the Cālukyas of Badāmī and could not have liked their overthrow by the Rastrakūtas. Krsna also must have felt that his empire could not be regarded as firmly established till the power of the Calukyas of Vengi was crushed. He therefore ordered an expedition against them and put it under the charge of the Crown-prince, who was s great cavalry leader. Govinda scored a smashing victory; 'the Great Boar (the emblem on the Cālukya banner) ran like a deer', says a Rāstrakūta court poet. In June 769, the Rāstrakūta victorious army was encamped at the confluence of the Kṛṣṇā and the Musi, only a hundred miles from the Calukya capital. Vişnuvardhana opened peace negotiations, agreeing to pay some tribute and cede some frontier districts. He also gave his daughter Sīlābhaţṭārikā in marriage to Dhruva, a younger brother of Govinda. As a result of this victory and treaty, practically the whole of the former State of Hyderābād passed under the Rāstrakūta sway.

Kṛṣṇa was not only a conqueror, but also a builder. The rock-cut Siva temple at Elorā, now known as Kailāsa, but originally named after the builder as Kṛṣṇeśvara, was excavated at his order¹. When the construction was complete, Kṛṣṇa personally attended the consecration ceremony and made suitable presents and endowments. Kailāsa temple at Elorā is one of India's most precious archaeological monuments and posterity will not forget Kṛṣṇa as long as this monument lasts. Any visitor, who has seen the beauty and grandeur of the structure, can well concede that the Rāṣṭrakūṭa court poet cannot be charged with exaggeration when he observed that gods moving in celestial cars were loath to believe that the temple was a human construction, and that its gifted architect could not think of repeating the feat.

Kṛṣṇa died in c. 773 A.D. after a reign of 15 years². By crushing the possible rivals and annexing the major part of the former states of Mysore and Hyderābād, he made the position of his house unchallengeable in the Deccan and secured for it a definite imperial status.

Govinda, who had been duly selected as the crownprince, ascended the throne in c. 773 without any opposition³, assuming the titles of Prabhūtavarṣa (copious rainer) and Vikramāvaloka (one whose sight inspires courage). He had already won laurels as heirapparent in the war against Vengī. In his own reign he is stated to have relieved Govardhana in Nāśik district and defeated a king

GOVINDA II (c. 773 to 780 A.D.).

¹ For the history of this temple and its glory, see Baroda plates, I.A., Vol. XII, p. 159 and Kudab plates, E.I., IV, p. 341.

 $^{^2}$ 23rd June 772 A. D. is his latest known date supplied by Bhāudak plates E.I, XIII, 275

³ Fleet's view that Govinda did not rule at all but was superseded by his younger brother (B,G., I, ii p. 393) is no longer tenable. See Rāşţrakūţa, p. 49.

Rästraküta Empire and its Feudatories.

GOVINDA II (c, 773 to 780 A.D.).

named Pārijāta1. But why Govardhana had to be relieved and where king Pārijāta was ruling is not yet known.

Soon after his accession Govinda abandoned himself to a life of pleasure and vice², entrusting the administration to his younger brother Dhruya. The latter, who was able and ambitious, soon entertained the idea of becoming the de jure ruler as well. He started giving charters in his own name3 and organising a party of his own. This soon aroused the suspicion of Govinda, who removed his brother from the administration and took the reins of government in his own hand. For a time Dhruva submitted to his authority4, but was secretly continuing his intrigues to oust his brother. Govinda tried to strengthen his position by entering into alliances with the kings of Gangavadi, Kanci, Vengi and Malwa, offering them monetary and territorial reward for their promised assistance against Dhruva⁵. This was a bad move; his alliance with the hereditary enemies of his house alienated the sympathies of his ministers and senior officers and supplied a good pretext to Dhruva to rise in open rebellion. Pleading that there was the danger of the Rastrakūta dynasty itself being wiped out by its traditional enemies6 he proceeded to attack his brother when negotiations to induce him to abdicate failed. Dhruva dealt a swift blow and defeated the armies of Govinda before the promised help from his confederates could reach him from Vengī, Talkād or Kāncī. We find him seated firmly on the throne by January 7817.

DHRUVA (o. 780 tu 793

A.D.).

After overthrowing his brother, Dhruva ascended the throne assuming the titles of Nirupama (matchless), Dhārāvarṣa (profuse rainer) and Kalivallabha (lover of strife). He had first to put down some refractory feudatories, who had rebelled against him during his war of succession. Then he proceeded to punish Ganga and Pallava rulers, who had espoused his brother's cause. The Gangas were crushed as admitted even by their own records, and their king Sivamāra, who was more a scholar than a warrior, was taken prisoner8. For a time the entire kingdom was annexed to the Rāstrakūta empire, and Stambha, the eldest son of Dhruva, was appointed its viceroy. Dhruva then attacked the Pallavas, whose king purchased peace by offering submission and presenting a number of war elephants. These victories made Dhruva the unchallenged overlord of the Deccan.

This achievement, however, did not satisfy Dhruva. He was anxious to intervene in the politics of northern India with a view to bring it under his sphere of influence. At this time there was a conflict

¹ E.L., IX. 195.

² Karhad plates, E.I., IV, 298.

^{*} Pimp tri plates, E.I., X, p. 81.

4 As shown by Dhulia plates of 779 A.D. D. R. Bhandarkar regarded these as spurious, E.I., XXII, 102. For the opposite view of the present writer, see ibid pp. 178-81. If we regard Dhulia plates as spurious, the reign of Govinda will have to be regarded as closed in 775 A.D.

See Daulajābād plates, E.I., IX, p. 193

⁷ As sow shown by the Bhor plates, E.I., XXII, 176.

Gattiyadhpur plates (E.C. XII, Naujangad No. 129) inform us how Vijayāditya, the younger brother of Sivamāra, though the de facto under refrained from enjoying the earth, knowing her to be his (absent) elder brother's wife.

going on between the Gurjara-Pratīhāra ruler Vatsarāja and the Pāla king Dharmapāla for the hegemony in the Gangetic plain. The former was championing the cause of Indrāyudha, the titular ruler of imperial Kanauj, and the latter of a rival of his named Vajrāyudha. When Dhruva decided to intervene, Vatsarāja had defeated Dharmapāla and had driven him out, capturing his two white umbrellas on the battle field. Dharmapāla was reorganising his forces with u view to retrieve the position.

Dhruva collected his imperial army on the Narmada, put his sons Govinda and Indra in charge of different divisions and first attacked and occupied Mālwā and then proceeded towards Kanauj to overthrow Vatsarāja. The armies of the two rivals probably met near Ihansi and in the battle that ensued the Deccan army inflicted a crushing defeat upon the Rajput forces of Vatsarāja, who fled in great hurry to take shelter in the deserts of Rajputana, leaving behind on the battle field the two white state umbrellas, which he had captured from the king of Bengal. Flushed with this victory Dhruva proceeded to attack Dharmapāla also, who had by this time entered the Doab in the course of his fresh campaign against Kanauj. It was necessary for Govind to defeat Dharmapāla also, because he was the only important king remaining undefeated at his hands. Dharmapāla was also overthrown and the victorious Rāstrakūta army encamped on the banks of the Ganga and the Yamuna for some weeks probably in 786 A.D. As proud mementos of this achievement these two holy rivers henceforward began to figure on the Rastrakuta banner.

Dhruva was now getting old and he did not think it prudent to press his victories further by marching against Kanauj. He was far away from his base and therefore retired to the south.

The bold campaign in northern India enhanced the Rāṣṭrakūṭa prestige; Dhruva became the most dreaded emperor. Ganga king was in his prison, the Pallava ruler had meekly surrendered; Vatsarāja had fled into the deserts of Rājputānā and Dharmapāla had been driven away into Bengāl. The Vcngī king was his subordinate ally, being his father-in-law. None in India could thus challenge the Rāṣṭrakūṭa supremacy at the death of Dhruva.

As he grew old, Dhruva wanted to settle the question of succession. His choice fell not on his eldest son Stambha but on the latter's younger brother Govinda, who had taken leading part in his military campaigns. The father proposed to abdicate to ensure Govinda's succession, but the latter dissuaded him from this step. Govinda was however formally installed as heir apparent before the death of Dhruva in the first half of 793 A.D.

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CHAPTER 7.

Rāṣṭrakūṭa Empire and its Feudatories.

DHRUVA (c. 780 to c. 793 A.D.).

¹ The view that Dhruva intervened in the northern Indian politics to help Dharmapāla, whose queen Raṇṇādevī was a Raṣṭrakūta princess is rendered untenable by the Sañjāṇ plates which make it quite clear that both Vatsarāja and Dharmapāla were attacked and overthrown by Dhruva. Fleet was half inclined to identify Parabala the father of Raṇṇādevī with Govinda III, Dhruva's son and successor (B.G.I., ii, p. 394). This is of course impossible. (I.A., XXI, p. 254)

CHAPTER 7.

Rästrakūta Empire and its Feudatories.

A.D.)

The accession of Govinda took place peacefully, but clouds soon arose on the political horizon. Stambha, his elder brother, whose claims had been superseded, began to conspire to win the throne and some officers and feudatories championed his cause. He soon succeeded in having a confederation of twelve kings1 to support his (793 A.D. TO 814 claim and rebelled against the de jure emperor. Govinda was an experienced general and administrator; he had scented the rebellion earlier and had made his own preparations. He could count upon the steadfast loyalty of his younger brother Indra. He decided to release Sivamāra, the Ganga king, from the Rāṣṭrakūṭa prison and sent him back to Gangavādī where his rebel brother was ruling as viceroy. This was a diplomatic move, for Sivamara was expected to fight for Govinda to win back his patrimony from Stambha. The move however failed. Stambha, who expected to get the imperial throne, could afford to be magnanimous. Being the de facto governor of Gangavadi, he was in a better position than Govinda to put Sivamāra on its throne. He offered it to Sivamāra and thus won him over to his own side.

> Stambha however was no match for Govinda. The latter marshalled his forces, moved swiftly to south and inflicted a signal defeat on Stambha before his allies could join their forces with him. Stambha was taken prisoner but a rapprochement soon took place between the two brothers. With an unusual magnanimity Govinda reappointed Stambha as the viceroy over Gangavadī, and the latter reciprocated this generous treatment by remaining steadfastly loyal to him.

> The rapprochement between Govinda and Stambha rendered the position of Sivamara, the released Ganga prince, very precarious. He was now attacked by both the brothers, taken captive and put back into the Rāstrakūta prison. His younger brother Vijayāditya tried to continue the resistance, but not with any success. Stambha continued to rule practically over the whole Gangavadī for more than a decade.

> After occupying Gangavadī, Govinda marched against Dantiga, the Pallava ruler of Kanci, and defeated him. This was probably by way of reprisal for having espoused the cause of his elder brother.

> When his power was firmly established in the Deccan, Govinda turned his attention to northern India. Vatsarāja, his father's opponent, had died in the interval and was succeeded by his youthful and energetic son Nāgabhaṭa II. The latter had succeeded in defeating Dharmapāla and ousting his nominee Vajrāyudha from Kanauj. The sun of the Pratihara glory, to quote a contemporary record, had begun to shine brilliantly when the clouds in the form of the Pala army had been dispersed.

¹ Their names are not known, but most probably Dantiga of Kāñci, Charnponnair of Nolmabavadî and Kattiyur of Banavasî were among them.

Nāgabhata II was thus at the height of his glory when Govinda launched his campaign in northern India. The causes of the war can only be inferred. Nāgabhata was probably casting covetous eyes on Gujarat and Malwa; Govinda probably felt that his opponent should be crushed before he became too powerful. It is also not unlikely, that Dharmapāla may have invited him to attack Nāgabhaṭa, (793 A.D. TO 814 their common enemy¹.

CHAPTER 7.

Rășțrakuța Empire and its Feudatories.

A.D.)

The northern expedition of Govinda was skilfully planned and boldly executed. Indra, the loyal younger brother of Govinda, who had been appointed viceroy of Gujarāt, was commissioned to guard the Vindhyan passes against a possible invasion the Deccan by Nāgabhaṭa. A number of detachments were kept in Central India and Chhattisgarh to keep the local rulers in check2 and guard the lines of communication. After taking these precautions, Govinda started his march, probably in the spring of 798 A.D. via Bhopal and Ihansi. His objective was Kanauj, the imperial capital of northern India⁸.

Where the contending armies of the two rivals met is not known, but the decisive battle was probably fought near Jhansi. The power of Nagabhata was completely broken, and realising the futility of further opposition, his nominee Vajrayudha, the puppet emperor of Kanauj, accepted Govinda's suzerainty. Dharmapala is also described as having voluntarily submitted to Govinda. This was probably a diplomatic move. He knew that Govinda could not long remain in northern India and he was thankful to him for having broken the power of his formidable opponent.

The Rāṣṭrakūṭa records do not claim conquest of Kanauj at this time. The reference in the Rastrakuta records to the caves of the Himālayas reverberating with the noise of the Deccan drums must be dismissed as a poetic exaggeration. It is, however, likely that Govinda might have undertaken a victorious march in the Gangetic plain to visit Prayag, Kāśi and Gayā, before his army returned to the south. He probably returned via Allāhābād, Citrakūţa and Saugar.

Govinda's northern expedition was merely of the nature of digvijaya, undertaken for glory and not for annexation. He wanted to establish the imperial position of his house by overthrowing the armies of Nāgabhaṭa and securing the submission of Cakrāyudha and Dharmapala and he succeeded in this goal. Content with this achievement, he returned to Malva, the outpost of his empire. In the summer of 799 or 800 A.D., the victorious army was lying encamped at Sribhavana, modern Sarbhan in Broach district, where

A verse in the Sañjān plates states that Dharmapāla and Chakrāyudha voluntarily surrendered to him, hence the above inference.

² One ruler defeated in this direction was Candragupta of the Pāṇḍava dynasty. (This is unlikely. See Studies in Indology, I, 227 f. V.V.M.)

³ The details of this expedition are gathered from the Saṇṇṇ plates of Amoghavarşa I, E.I., XVIII, 235. Its date is suggested by the Manne plates of 802, which refer to this expedition as a recent event.

Rästraküta Empire and its Feudatories.

GOVINDA III A.D.).

CHAPTER 7. it was hospitably looked after by Sarva, I local Vindhya chief. It was during the sojourn at this place that Sarva, the son and successor of the emperor, was born.

Pallava, Pāṇḍya, Keraļa and Ganga rulers had formed a confederation against the Rastrakuta hegemony during Govinda's absence in (793 A.D. TO 814 the north. When Govinda heard of this development, he marched down to the Tungabhadra with a lightning speed and defeated the coalition forces in 802 or 803 A.D. He then marched right up to Kāncī and occupied it. By May 804, the subjugation of the Dravidian powers was complete.

> The peaceful relations brought about by the marriage of Govinda's father with Silābhaţţārikā, the daughter of the Cālukya king Vīṣṇuvardhana IV, came to an end with the death of the latter monarch. His successor Vijayāditya rebelled against Govinda. The latter however got a golden opportunity to intervene; Bhīma Salukki, the younger brother of Vijayāditya, rose against him and solicited Rāstrakūţa help. The Rāstrakūţa force easily overthrew Vijayāditya and put Bhima upon the throne. The latter naturally became an humble and submissive feudatory.

> Govinda thus defeated almost every power in India that counted at that time. His victorious armies had marched from Kanauj to Cape Camorin, from Broach to Banaras. The Rastrakūta house commanded an all-India prestige and we find the king of Ceylon seeking to establish cordial relations with it by presenting to Govinda a statue of himself and another of his premier. Govinda installed these statues in one of the Siva temples at Kāñcī where they served the purpose of columns of victory to proclaim to his enemy's subjects the great power of their mighty conqueror.

> During the last five or six years of his reign Govinda undertook no military expeditions. His crown-prince Sarva was very young and Govinda was making anxious preparations to secure his peaceful succession. He released Sivamara, the Ganga king, and reinstated him in Gangavadī. His loyal brother Indra, who had been appointed viceroy of Gujarāt and Mālwā was now dead and had been succeeded by his eldest son Karka. When however the old emperor felt his end approaching, he appointed Govinda, a younger brother of Karka, to the Gujarat viceroyalty and re-called Karka to the capital Malkhed to become the guardian of the boy emperor and to be at the head of the imperial administration during the critical days of the opening years of the new reign1. The emperor's death took place in 814 A. D.

> Govinda may well be called the greatest among the Rastrakuta emperors. The statement in his charters that the Rastrakūta armies became invincible under his leadership as the Yādava armies were under that of Kṛṣṇa is borne out by a hundred victories he won from Kanauj to Cape Camorin. No power in India could challenge the Rāstrakūta supremacy during the latter half of Govinda's reign.

^{1 (}Amoghavarşa was about sixteen years old at his accession. There is no sufficient evidence of the regency of Karka. Sce Studies in Indology, II, 209 f. V.V.M.)

Never again was the Rāṣṭrakūṭa prestige to rise so high. Indra III was no doubt to occupy Kanauj in c. 916 A.D., but his hold over the south was not so firm as that of Govinda. Kṛṣṇa III was to occupy effectively the entire peninsula in c. 950 A.D., but he was not able to enter the Doab and defeat any rulers of northern India. Govinda's title Kīrtinārāyaṇa was undoubtedly well deserved by him. Govinda III (793 A.D. TO 814

The Rāṣṭrakūṭa capital during the first fifty years of the rule of the dynasty (c. 750 to 800 A.D.) is not yet known. It is possible that it might have been somewhere in Berär or northern Mahārāṣṭra. It was Govinda who built the new capital at Manyakheta (modern Malkhed), 90 miles south-east of Solapur, and shifted the administration there1. The new capital was more centrally situated with reference to the growing Rastrakūta empire; it was also in Karnatak, from where the imperial Rastrakutas had first emigrated.

Sarva succeeded his father in 814 A.D. and assumed the title of Amoghavarşa (Fruitful rainer); he was known to historians by that Amoghavarsha I title only, as his personal name remained unknown for a long time. (814 to 880 A.D.). Nrpatunga and Viranārāyana are other epithets given to him in his records. We shall refer to the emperor by his title Amoghavarşa.

Arrangements carefully planned by Govinda III worked satisfactorily for a time and everything went on well under the regency of Karka Pātālamalla, though the new emperor was a boy of 14 only. The tradition of war at succession had, however, become so well established in the Rastrakūta dynasty by this time that it could not be eventually avoided in spite of Govinda's precautions. In c. 817 a serious rebellion broke out which practically liquidated the Rāṣṭrakūṭa empire for three or four years and compelled the boy emperor to flee from the capital2. The rebels are expressly described as Rāṣṭrakūṭas; it appears that they were led by some cousins of Amoghavarşa, like Sankaragana, the son of Stambha, who could not succeed his father in the Ganga viceroyalty. Sankaragana, being the son of Amoghavarsa's elder uncle, was probably regarded as a more legitimate ruler than the boy emperor by a section of ministers, who joined the rebellion. The recall of Karka from Gujarāt to be at the head of the regency administration may have caused heart-burning among local high officials, who also joined the rebellion. Bhīma, the nominee of the late Rāstrakūţa emperor on the Vengi throne, had been ousted by this time by his brother Vijayāditya, who naturally retaliated against the Rāstrakūtas by invading their empire, when it was torn by the internal rebellion. Cālukya records refer to 108 battles fought against the Rāstrakūtas by Vijayāditya; Rāṣṭrakūṭa records admit that Amoghavarṣa had to raise afresh the glory of his house, which had sunken deep into the Calukya ocean3. The course and events of this serious rebellion are not known, but there is clear evidence to show that Amoghavarsa

Rāstrakūţa Empire and its Feudatories.

A.D.),

SHARVA

Begumra Plates, E.I., IX, p. 24.

CHAPTER 7.

^{1 (}The Karda plates state distinctly that it was Amoghavarşa I who founded Manyakheta, V.V.M.)

² Sañjān plates describe the details of this revolt, E. I., XVIII, p. 225.

CHAPTER 7.

Răşţrakūţa
Empire and its
Feudatories.
SHARVA
AMOGHAVARSHA I
(814 TO 880 A.D.).

and his cousin Karka were able to re-establish their authority before May 821 A.D.¹ The eclipse of the power of Amoghavarşa thus lasted for about four or five years. A few more years may have been required to re-establish the imperial authority in the distant districts of the empire.

Amoghavarşa then assumed offensive against the Cālukyas of Vengi and smashed their power on the battle field of Vingavallī and occupied their capital Vengī². His opponent was most probably Vijayāditya III, for his grandson describes how Vengī had to be recovered from the Rāṣṭrakūṭas soon after his accession in 844 A.D. Amoghavarṣa thus could hold Vengī for about 15 years, when the city was recaptured by the able Cālukya general Pāṇḍuranga for his master. Amoghavarṣa was at this time busy in fighting his cousins in Gujarāt and could not send sufficient force to defend Vengī.

Let us now review the Rāṣṭrakūṭa relations with the Gaṅgas. Their king Sivamāra had been released from captivity by Govinda before his death. Sivamāra was succeeded by his son Rāṣamalla who rescued from Rāṣṭrakūṭas his country which they had held too long, 'as Viṣṇu did the earth in the Boar incarnation'. Rāṣamalla could, however, recover only the southern portion of Gaṅgavāḍī; its northern part continued to be under the Rāṣṭrakūṭas and was being governed by Baṅkeya, one of the able and trusted generals of Amoghavarṣa. In c. 855 Amoghavarṣa married his daughter Candrabhabbā to the Gaṅga king Būṭuga, a grandson of Rāṣamalla. This put an end to the long standing enmity between the two houses.

Amoghavarşa became entangled in a long war with his Gujarāt cousins³ from about 835 A.D. We have seen already how Govinda had appointed his younger brother Indra as Viceroy of Gujarāt in recognition of his steadfast loyalty. His son Karka was recalled to Mālkhed to conduct the regency administration, but he retired to Gujarāt in 824 A.D. He was succeeded by his son Dhruva in c. 830 A.D. Soon after his accession the friendly relations existing between the Gujarāt branch and the main house came to an end. Either Dhruva became too overbearing, puffed up by the consciousness that it was his father Karka who had restored Amoghavarşa to the throne, or Amoghavarşa became ungrateful and wanted to impose his authority harshly on the Gujarāt viceroys. Whatever the reason, the two branches of the Rastrakūta family were entangled in a serious struggle which lasted for more than twenty years. Dhruva was killed in this long-drawn war in c. 845 A.D. and his son Akālavarsa had to regain his throne. His victory however was not decisive for his son Dhruva II had to continue the fight; at one time he had to meet the forces of Amoghavarşa on the southern front and those of Mihira Bhoja on the northern one. Peace however

Surat Piates, E.I., XXI, 133 f.
 Sangli Plates, I. A., XII, p. 249

^a Gujarāt Rāṣṭrakūṭa records mention Vallabha as the name of the enemy. He can be no other than Amoghavarṣa who had P₇thivivallabha as one of his epithets. See Rāṣṭrakūṭaɨ 82-84.

was eventually restored between the two Rāṣṭrakūṭa families. Amoghavarsa probably realised the danger from the growing power of the Pratiharas, whose empire was now stretching beyond the Narmada, embracing the greater part of northern India. He therefore had to patch up his quarrel with his cousins in order to present united front to the northern enemy. No serious conflict, however, AMOGHAVARSHA I occurred between the Rastrakūtas and the Pratīhāras; there were (814 to 880 A.D.). only occasional frontier skirmishes.

CHAPTER 7.

Rāsţrakūţa Empire and its Feudatories.

SHARVA

Let us now review Amoghavarşa's relations with other powers. The claim of the Rastrakūta records that the kings of Anga, Vanga and Magadha paid homage to Amoghavarşa is more rhetorical than historical; there is nothing to indicate that Amoghavarsa had ever penetrated into Bihar and Bengal.

The military achievements of Amoghavarşa can hardly be compared with those of his father Govinda or grandfather Dhruva. He can be only credited with having kept the empire intact in spite of serious rebellions that occurred every now and then. The fact was that war and diplomacy did not attract him half as much as religion and literature. He was himself the author of Kavirājamārga, the earliest Canarese work on poetics and Canarese poets like Nagavarman II, Keśirāja and Bhattakalanka flourished in his court, as also Jain authors like Jinasena and Mahāvīrācārya. In his later life, Amoghavarsa developed pronounced leanings to Jainism owing to the influence of Jinasena. He however continued his devotion to Hindu deities as well.

In spite of his indifferent military achievements, Amoghavarşa will rank high in history. He had no spectacular conquests to his credit, but he protected his subjects from foreign invasions. He loved and encouraged science and literature and treated all creeds with equal impartiality. In his own life he made a synthesis of Hinduism and Jainism and acted up to his religious conviction by voluntarily retiring from public administration several times to pursue his spiritual exercises. He had a high regard for public weal and on one occasion sacrificed one finger of his own in order to avert a public epidemic.1 Few kings are known to have made such a sacrifice. His court poets naturally compared him with Sibi and Dadhīci of Purānic fame. Amoghavarsa's position is thus naturally high among the rulers of India.

There is some uncertainty about the date of the death of Amoghavarşa and the accession of his son and successor Kṛṣṇa II. One record proves that Amoghavarşa was ruling down to 878 A.D.2 but another shows that his son was on the throne three years earlier. This discrepancy is due not to any revolt on the part of the son, but to the father's habit of periodical abdications for following the pursuits of spiritual life, which is referred to as early as

Sañjān Plates, E.I., XVIII, p. 235.
 Kanheri Ins., I.A., XIII, p. 135.

CHAPTER 7.

Rāṣṭrakūṭa
Empire and its

Feudatories.

SHARVA AMOGHAVARSHA 1 (824 TO 880 A.D.).

KRSNA II

861 A.D. in the Sāñjāṇ grant. Records issued during the temporary abdication may have often referred to the Crown prince, the *de facto* head of the government, as the ruling monarch. We may presume that the death of Amoghavarṣa took place in c. 880 A.D., after a long reign of about 66 years.

On his accession in c. 880 A.D., Kṛṣṇa assumed the titles of Subhatunga and Akālavarṣa, which had been earlier assumed by Kṛṣṇa I and which were to be later adopted by Kṛṣṇa III.

The Rāṣṭrakūṭas of Mālkheḍ and the Cālukyas of Veṅgi had by this time become 'natural' enemies and the wars between them continued unabated during the reign of Kṛṣṇa. The charters of each dynasty claim victories for it over its opponents but hardly refer to any specific battles and their dates. It is therefore not easy for the historian to reconstruct the course of this long-drawn war with any positive certainty.

Vijayāditya III (844-888 A.D.) and Bhīma I (888-918 A.D.) were the two Cālukya contemporaries of Kṛṣṇa. The former had succeeded in wresting Veṅgī from Amoghavarṣa I. Soon after the accession of Kṛṣṇa, Vijayāditya started an indirect war with the Rāṣṭrakūṭas by launching an attack on the Nolambas and the Gaṅgas, who were feudatories or relatives of Kṛṣṇa II. Vijayāditya was successful in the beginning. The Nolamba army was defeated and its general Maṅgi was killed in battle. The victors then advanced into Gaṅgavāḍī, defeated its king Rājamalla II (whose younger brother was a brother-in-law of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa emperor) and occupied a part of his kingdom¹.

Emboldened by these successes, the Cālukyas invaded the northeastern part of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa empire, occupied Bastar state, burnt the fort of Cakrakūṭa, modern Cakrakoṭya, and then advanced to Kiraṇapura, about 150 miles north of that fort. Kṛṣṇa and his brother-in-law Saṅkaragaṇa (called Saṅkila in Cālukya records) were encamped in this city. The Cālukya force captured and burnt this city. The Veṅgī records are not therefore exaggerating when they describe how the Gaṅgas were locked up in their forts and how Kṛṣṇa and Saṅkila were shorn of their glory. Such was the situation in c. 888 A.D. at the death of Vijayāditya.

¹ The above reconstruction of history is not free from difficulty; in fact the present writer had himself suggested that the attack of Vijayāditya upon the Nolambas and the Gangas was at the instigation of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa emperor; Rāṣṭrakūṭas, p. 63. The expression used in the Idar plates is Raṭṭeśaṣañoditah and considering the political context of the history of the dynasties I am now inclined to think that Fleet was right in translating the expression as 'Challenged by the lord of the Raṭṭas.' The same verse immediately refers to the defeat of Kṛṣṇa and the burning of Kiraṇapura and it is likely that all these incidents refer to one and the same war. It is however possible to argue that political exigencies convert enemies of yesterday into allies of today and that Vijayāditya attacked the Nolamodita and the Gangas as the feudatory allies of Amoghavarsa and Kṛṣṇa (somcodita meaning instigated by). Further discoveries alone can clarify the point.

Kṛṣṇa took n lesson from these reverses, reorganised his forces, strengthened them by summoning the battalions of his cousin Kṛṣṇa of Gujarāt branch and Baddega, a Cālukya feudatory of Vemulvāda, and assumed the offensive at the north-eastern front. The Vengi forces were this time completely crushed, and Bhīma, the new Cälukya ruler, fell a prisoner in the hands of the victors. Vengī records themselves admit that after the death of Vijayāditya (the sun of victory) the Vengi kingdom was enveloped in darkness in the form of Rāṣṭrakūṭa forces1. We may therefore well presume that Krsna occupied several districts of the enemy kingdom and proceeded to administer them through his own officers for some time. Bhīma then made an effort to reconquer his partimony and was ably assisted by his general Mahākāla, the son of his foster mother Nagipoli. A rather indecisive battle was fought at Niravadyapura, (modern Nidadavobi in Godāvarī district); the Cālukyas claim victory in it, but admit the death of their crown-prince, a youth of 16, who was killed while attacking the Rāṣṭrakūṭa general from the back of his own elephant. Probably the battle was a drawn one, but the stubborn Calukya opposition probably convinced Krsna that he could no longer hold Vengi under his control. The Rastrakūta forces may have been gradually withdrawn from the Vengi kingdom.

Let us now survey the relations of Kṛṣṇa with his other neighbours. In the Gujarāt Rāṣṭrakūṭa family, Dhruva II continued to rule down to c. 885 and was succeeded by his son Kṛṣṇa, who co-operated with his namesake and feudal lord in his Vengi wars. In the nineties of the 9th century, hostilities arose between the Rāstrakūtas and the Gujarāt Pratīhāras, and Gujarāt Rāstrakūta records describe how Kṛṣṇa pushed back the Pratīhāra forces and captured Ujjayinī for his feudal lord Kṛṣṇa II². The latter, however, did not pursue his victory further by launching a campaign in northern India, as was done earlier by Govinda III and Dhruva.

Nothing is heard of the Gujarāt Rāstrakūtas after the year 888 A.D. In 910 A.D. Gujarāt was in charge of a new Brāhmaṇa feudatory named Pracandas. The career of the Gujarat Rastrakūta branch thus came to an end at about the close of the 9th century. The causes of this development are however not yet known.

Later Rāṣṭrakūṭa records sometimes refer to homage being paid to Kṛṣṇa by kings of Aṅga, Vaṅga, Kaliṅga and Magadha; Uttara Purāņa, finished in 898 A.D., describes in its historical appendix how the fair water of the Ganga became soiled by the rut flowing from the temples of Kṛṣṇa's war elephants. But these statements are more rhetorical than historical and need not be taken seriously. Kṛṣṇa had not the military dash of his grandfather and his solid achievement was that he was able to keep his empire intact inspite of serious challenges from his neighbours. Like his father, he had leanings towards Jainism and this was natural; for the Jain sage and author Gunacandra was his preceptor.

CHAPTER 7.

Rāstrakūta Empire and its Feudatories.

Kṛṣṇa II.

¹ S. I. I., Vol. I, p. 40 (3). ² I. A., XII, p. 154, ⁸ E. I., I, p. 52,

CHAPTER 7.

Rāstrakūta Em**pi**re and its Feudatories.

Kṛṣṇa II.

During the reign of Kṛṣṇa, the Rāṣṭrakūṭas of Mālkhed and the Cedis of Tripurī were brought close together by a number of matrimonial alliances. Kṛṣṇa's own crowned queen was a Cedi princess, sister of king Saṅkaragaṇa, who was his ally in the Veṅgī war-Kṛṣṇa's eldest son Jagattuṅga was married to Lakṣmī, a daughter of Saṅkaragaṇa; later on he married her younger sister Govindāmbā also. In c 900 A.D. Jagattuṅga's son Indra was married to Vijāmbā a grand-daughter of a brother of Saṅkaragaṇa, and Indra's younger brother Amoghavarṣa to Kundakadevī, a grand-daughter of Mugdhatuṅga, another brother of Saṅkaragaṇa.

Kṛṣṇa II died towards the end of 914 A.D. after a fairly long reign of 34 years. He must have been about eighty at the time of his death and had the misfortune to see his crown prince Jagattuṅga predeceasing him. He was succeeded by the latter's son Indra.

INDRA III.

Indra's accession in 914 A.D. like that of his father was a peaceful one. His formal coronation took place at a sacred tirtha named Kurundaka¹ in February 915 A.D. when he weighed himself in gold and granted or regranted 400 villages to Brāhmaṇas and temples and distributed 20 lakhs of silver drammas in charity. He assumed the coronation title of Nityavarşa (continuous rainer of blessings).

Indra had fully inherited the martial spirit of his great-grandfather Govinda III and was determined to emulate his glorious example. Just after his accession, the Paramāra chief Kṛṣṇarāja alias Upendra attacked Nāśik, possibly at the instigation of his feudal lord, the Pratīhāra emperor Mahīpāla.² Indra drove him back and occupied Ujjayinī, the key town in Māļwā. With his base at this place, he planned bold invasion of the Pratīhāra empire. The Pratīhāra emperor Mahīpāla had ousted his elder brother Bhoja II from the throne; and the latter's cause was being espoused by the Cedi ruler Kokkala. The close matrimonial relations existing between the Rāṣṭrakūṭas and the Cedis naturally induced Indra to intervene in Pratīhāra politics, ostensibly to support the claims of Bhoja, but really to satisfy his desire of digvijaya.

Indra assembled a large army in Māļwā which included some battalions of his Cālukya feudatory Narasimha of Vemulvāḍ The army started its march in the autumn of 916 A.D., with Kanauj as its definite objective. Its route was most probably via Bhopāļ, Jhānśi and Kālpī. Crossing the Yamunā at the latter place³, the Rāṣṭrakūṭa forces besieged and captured Kanauj, which was the imperial capital of northern India for more than three hundred years. This was sensational achievement and has been naturally described with great gusto in Rāṣṭrakūṭa records. Both Dhruva and Govinda III had defeated their contemporary Pratīhāra emperors but they could not succeed in unfurling the Rāṣṭrakūṭa flag on Kanauj.

¹ This is probably identical with Kurundväd near Kolhāpur; R. G. Bhandarkar identified the place with Kadoda on the Tapi, B. G., I, ii, p. 203.

² The victory over Upendra is mentioned in the Navsārī plates issued in 916 A.D. (There

² The victory over Upendra is mentioned in the Navsārī plates issued in 916 A.D. (There is no mention of any victory over a king named Upendra in the verse of the Navasārī plates. For a correct interpretation of the verse which has misled many scholars see my article on the Jamgaon plates of Govinda III, E.I., XXXVI, 2 77 f. V.V.M.) ³ Cambay plates, E. I., VII, 26 f.

At the capture of Kanuaj, or possibly even before that event, Mahīpāla fled to Mahobā, the capital of his Candella feudatory who was espousing his cause. Indra sent his Cālukya general Narasimha to pursue him. To quote the words of poet Pampa, a protege of Narasimha's son Arikesarin, 'Narasimha plucked from Gurjara king's arms, the goddess of victory, whom, though desirous of keeping, he held too loosely. Mahīpāla fled as if struck by thunderbolt, staying neither to eat nor to rest '. The Rāṣṭrakūṭa army pursued him right up to Allāhābād. Indra's expedition of northern India was merely of the nature of a digvijaya; he did not long remain in the north, but returned home by the spring of 917 A.D.

The Calukya king Ammaraja of Vengi died in 925 A.D. and a civil war soon broke out after the accession of his son Vijayāditya V. Indra first championed the cause of Tadapa and then of the latter's son Yuddhamalla and eventually succeeded in putting the latter upon the throne; he continued to rule down to 934 A.D. as a Rāstrakūta

Recent epigraphical discoveries show that Indra was definitely ruling down to December 927 A.D.1. So the earlier view that he had a short reign of three years² has to be abandoned. Indra's death probably took place in 929 A.D., and he was succeeded by his eldest son Amoghavarşa, whose personal name is not known so far.

Amoghavarşa II was in the prime of his youth at the time of his Amoghavarsha II accession. But he died within a year and was succeeded by his younger brother Govinda IV. The latter's charters omit his elder brother's name, though it is included by the grants of the later kings and specifically aver that he did not ill-treat his elder brother or commit incest with his wife. Obviously the death of young Amoghavarşa within a year of his accession had given rise to ugly rumours, which the new king seeks to refute in his charters. His subsequent vicious life and career however make one suspect that the rumours referred to above could not have been altogether unfounded3. Whatever its real cause may have been, the death of Amoghavarşa took place in 930, in which year we find Govinda celebrating his coronation.

Govinda, who was about 30 at the time of his accession, assumed the coronation titles of Prabhūtavarşa (Profuse Rainer) and Suvarņavarşa (Rainer of gold).

Govinda found himself entangled in a war with Vengi in c. 935 A. D. His father's nominee Yuddhamalla was ousted by Bhīma in 934 and Govinda sent an army to crush him. It did not however meet with any success and had to retire4.

Govinda ruled for only about seven years, as his career was cut short by his vicious life. Records of his rival's successor describe how the intellect of Govinda became ensuared in the eyes of young

4 E.I., VIII, p. 196.

CHAPTER 7.

Rāstrakūta Empire and its Feudatories.

INDRA III.

GOVINDA IV.

¹ E.I., XXVI, p. 162. The record supplying 919 as the earliest date for Govinda IV (I.A. XII) p. 222, is probably a forgery.

² Rāstrakūṭas., etc., p. 205.

^{3 (}There is no basis for these scandals. The verse in these charters has been misunderstood. See Studies in Indology, I, 158 f. V.V.M.)

CHAPTER 7.

Rāṣṭrakūṭa Empire and its Feudatories.

GOVINDA IV

women and how his body was undermined by a number of maladies. how his vicious life alienated the sympathies of a number of ministers and high officials and how he met with a natural ruin1. This is perhaps a little biased account but appears to be substantially true. The defeat of the Rastrakūta armies in the Vengi war induced a feeling that the continuance of Govinda on the throne was not in the interest of the empire; his vicious life must have created a number of scandals, making the average citizen intensely pine for his deposition. Govinda had an uncle named Baddiga who was a half brother of Indra. He was leading a retired life in the Cedi country at Tripuri, his wife being I Cedi princess. He had a high reputation for character and saintly life. The dissatisfied courtiers and alienated subjects pressed him to accept the Rāṣṭrakūṭa crown. He was disinclined to do so, but his ambitious son Kṛṣṇa managed to overcome his reluctance. Baddiga eventually started his march on Malkhed, probably with the assistance of his Cedi father-in-law, Yuvarāja I. The attack from the north was a signal for dissatisfied feudatories to rebel against Govinda. Prominent among these was Calukya king Arikesarin II, son of Narasimha, who had played a brilliant part in Indra's expedition in the north. He had offered asylum to Vijayāditya of Vengi and refused to surrender him to Govinda, when commanded to do so. Pampa, a protege of Arikesarin, no doubt states that it was Arikesarin, who shattered Govinda's power and offered the crown to Baddiga2; but this is probably an exaggeration. He appears to have attacked Govinda from the south when Baddiga was marching from the north. decisive battle was fought in Berar on the bank of the Payosni a tributary of the Tāpī³.

Govinda was firm on throne in 934 A.D.; we find Baddiga ruling in 937. The former's deposition probably took place early in that year. Whether Govinda died in the war or was put in prison, we do not know.

BADDIGA-AMO-GHAVARSHA III Baddiga ascended the throne in 937 A.D. assuming the title of Amoghavarşa. He was an old man of 50, and more interested in the affairs of the future world than in those of the present one. He left the administration entirely in the hands of his ambitious crown-prince Kṛṣṇa who was ably and loyally assisted by his brothers Jagattunga, Nirupama and Khoṭṭiga. Such a cordial entente among brother princes was a rather rare phenomenon in the annals of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa dynasty.

The Crown-prince Kṛṣṇa was both ambitious and unscrupulous, and he proceeded to take active steps to restore the prestige of his house. His sister Reyakanimadi had been married to Būṭuga, a younger brother of Rājamalla II, the ruling Gaṅga king. Kṛṣṇa

¹ Deoli and Karhad plates, E. I., III, p. 271; IV, pp. 278 f.

² Vikramarjunavijaya, after v. 52,

³ Rāştrakūtas p. 109-110.

decided to oust him and put his brother-in-law upon the throne. He therefore led an expedition to Gangavadi, killed Nolamba1 princes Dantiga and Vappuga, who had championed Rajamalla's cause, and eventually overthrew and killed Rajamalla himself. Būtuga was put upon the throne and he proved to be not only loyal but also an able feudatory of Kṛṣṇa.

Kṛṣṇa then led an expedition in the north and captured the forts of Kalinjar and Citrakūta in Bundelkhand. Probably he wanted to repeat his grandfather's feats in the Gangetic plain, but was recalled to south owing to his father's impending death. During this northern expedition, the relations of the Rastrakutas with the Cedis became strained, leading to military conflict between the two2. The cause probably may have been the disinclination of the Cedis to allow the Rastrakūta forces to retain the possession of the strategically important forts of Citrakūta and Kalinjar. This was an unfortunate estrangement between the two families which were closely connected by several matrimonial alliances.

Kṛṣṇa had thus fully established his reputation as a general and administrator while still a Crown-prince3. He had brought both Gangavādī and Bundelkhand under his sphere of influence in a short period of about three years. His father therefore had no misgivings about his son's capacity, when he died probably in the summer

On his accession in 939 A.D., Kṛṣṇa like his two namesake predecessors assumed the title of Akalavarşa. After his conquest of Kāncī and Tanjore in c. 943 A.D., he took the Canarese title of Kańciyun Tangaiyun Konda, the conqueror of Kāńci and Tanjore.

Within two or three years of his accession Kṛṣṇa planned grand campaign in the south. His ally and brother-in-law was in effective possession of Gangavādī, and using that province as his advanced base, Kṛṣṇa launched lightning attack on the Cola king Parāntaka and captured the two important cities of Kañci and Tanjore before the fifth year of his reign4. Rāṣṭrakūṭa forces continued to be in the effective occupation of Tondaimandala, Arcot, Cingleput and Vellore districts, down to the end of the reign of Krsna.

Parântaka soon organised a counter attack to regain his lost districts. The two rival armies met in a sanguinary battle at Takkolam in the North Arcott district, in which eventually the Cola army was signally defeated, its general Crown-prince Rajaditya being killed right in his own elephant's howdah by Kṛṣṇa's brother-in-law, the Ganga king Būtuga II5. Kṛṣṇa rewarded his brother-in-law's feat by bestowing upon him the governorship of Banavāsī 12,000, Bevlol 300 and Purigere 300.

(1) See Rāstrakūtas, pp. 112-13; E. I, X, p. 54.

CHAPTER 7.

Rāstrakūta Empire and its **Feudatories**

BADDIGA-AMO-GHAVARSHA III

Krsna III

⁽²⁾ This is expressly referred to in the Deoli plates, which state that Kṛṣṇa conquered the elders of his wife and mother E. I., IV, 281f; V, 192f. (This view is based on a wrong interpretation of a verse in Karhād and Deoli plates. See C. I. I., IV, lxxxii, n. V. V. M.)

(3) See Deoli plates, J.B.B.R.A.S., XVIII 239.

⁽⁴⁾ See Rāştrakūtas p. 113-4. (5) E. I., XXI pp. 261-2.

CHAPTER 7.

Rāstrakūta Empire and its Feudatories

Krsna III.

Kṛṣṇa fully exploited this signal victory and led his victorious army down to Rāmeśvaram, where he built two temples of Kṛṣneśvara and Gandamartandaditya, which shone there as resplendent hills of fame1. Kings of Kerala, Pāṇḍya and Ceylon were terrified into submission. Kṛṣṇa did not occupy the entire peninsula for a long time; eventually he retired to north but kept an effective control over Tondai-Mandalam, where numerous Raştrakūţa records have been found dated down to the end of Kṛṣṇa's reign.

Kṛṣṇa did not for a long time interest himself in the affairs of Vengi. Eventually he decided to champion the cause of Bādapa, a son of the former Rästrakūta nominee Yuddhamalla II. A Rästrakūta expeditionary force entered the Vengi kingdom, ousted the ruling king Amman II and put Bādapa upon the throne in 950 A.D. He continued to rule as a Rāstrakūta feudatory down to 970 A.D.2

Krsna's commitments in the south could not but affect his position in the north. Candellas wrested away the fort of Kalinjar and Citrākūtā in c. 9503, the Cedis now naturally remaining passive spectators. Later on troubles arose in Gujarat and Malwa and Krsna had to send an army under the leadership of the Ganga king Mārasimha, the successor of Būtuga II. The expedition was successful; we find Mārasimha taking the title of the King of Gurjaras and his two captains Sudrakayya and Goggiyamma, that of Ujjenibhujangas or conquerors of Ujjayini4. The conquest of this city would show that the Paramara king Siyaka had grown recalcitrant and that punitive action had to be taken against him. There is some evidence to show that Kṛṣṇa's forces may have marched once more in Bundelkhand to regain the forts of Citrakūţa and Kaliñjar, but it is not conclusive⁵.

Krsna III was undoubtedly one of the ablest Rästrakūta emperors. No doubt he had no sensational victories in the north to his credit, as was the case with Dhruva, Govinda III or Indra III, but he was more truly lord paramount of the entire Deccan (Sakala-daksinadig-adhipati) than was the case with any of his predecessors. His temples at Rāmeśvaram proclaimed the might of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa arms to every pilgrim at the fag end of south India. The power of the Colas, Pandyas and Keralas was broken and Vengi was being governed by a nominee of Kṛṣṇa, who remained loyal to him.

Apparently Kṛṣṇa's sons had all predeceased him. One of them

had no doubt left a son behind named Indra, but he was apparently too young to succeed. When Kṛṣṇa died in 967 A.D., we find him succeeded by his brother Khottiga.

⁽¹⁾ Kolhapur plates, vide B.B.R.A.S., X, p. 28. (2) E.I., XIX, p. 137.

⁽a) Khajuraho inser., E.I., I. p. 124. (b) E.I., V, 179; E.C., XI, Keri Nos. 23, 33. (b) Kṛṣṇa's first expedition in the north was undertaken when he was a Crown-prince. Jura inscription in the Canarese language discovered near Maihar Railway Station refers to Kṛṣṇa as an emperor and describes his conquest of Kāṇci and Tanjore; prima facie this record would suggest a second invasion after 945 A.D. But it is not improbable that the record may have been inscribed later in c. 945 by a captain in the garrison left behind by Krana in 940 A.D.

At his accession, Khoṭṭiga assumed the title of Nityavarṣa (Incessant Ramer of blessings).

Rāstrakūta Empire and its Feudatories

CHAPTER 7.

Khottiga succeeded a brother who had ruled long; he must therefore be on the wrong side of 50 when he ascended the throne. It appears that he lacked the martial spirit of his elder brother; for the events show that he was unable to protect even his capital.

KHOTTIGA

For a few years everything went on well with the Rāṣṭrakūṭa empire under the stewardship of Khoṭṭiga. The Paramāra chief Sīyaka was however smarting under the defeat he had suffered at the hands of Kṛṣṇa and invaded the Rāṣṭrakūṭa empire to avenge it. His forces tried to cross the Narmadā at the fort of Khalinghaṭṭa¹, but were repulsed with the loss of a general. Sīyaka however sent fresh reinforcements and succeeded in forcing the passage of his army. Khoṭṭiga, being alarmed at this development, sent for his trusted ally king Mārasimha of Gaṅgavāḍī, but before his help could reach the Rāṣṭrakūṭas, Sīyaka reached Mālkhed and plundered it. It was not his aim to permanently occupy the capital; it is therefore difficult to state whether Mārasimha drove out Sīyaka and pursued him to the Vindhyas or whether he just succeeded in harrying the victorious army marching with its rich booty² during its retreat homewards according to its previous plan³.

The plunder of Mālkhed took place in the spring of 972 A.D. Khoṭṭiga was already an old man and did not long survive this shock. He died in the autumn of 973 A.D.4 and was succeeded by his nephew Karka, the son of his younger brother Nirupama. Either Khoṭṭiga left no sons behind him or their claims were superseded by Karka.

Karka II

Karka ascended the throne in September 972 and assumed the title of Amoghavarşa. The only charter issued by him refers to his victories over the Pāṇḍyas and the Colas, the Hūṇas and the Gujaras⁵. But these were conventional claims devoid of any historical value. Karka was ousted from his empire in about a year's time by one of his Cālukya feudatories Taila II.

Karka was a weak and vicious ruler and his two principal advisors were tyrannical, if we are to accept the version of the opposing party⁶. He had superseded the claims of Indra, the grandson of Kṛṣṇa III, and had thus naturally alienated the sympathies of the Gaṅga ruler Mārasiṁha, who was the maternal uncle of that prince. The Cedis had been alienated from the Rāṣṭrakūṭas by the wanton attack of Kṛṣṇa III upon them.⁷ Their sympathies were rather with Taila who was out to challenge the supremacy of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas;

⁽¹⁾ E.1., XXI, p. 47.

⁽²⁾ Among the booty were included office copies of Rāştrakūta copper plates, some of which were reused by Munja for a fresh grant in 982 Å.D. See E.I., XXIII, p. 101.
(3) For the Paramāra version, See E.I., XIV, 299; I. p. 235. XIII, p. 180; for the opposite version, see Śravana Belgola inscriptions.
(4) S.I.I., IX p. 43.

⁽⁵⁾ Kharda plates, E. XII, p. 263.

⁽⁶⁾ E.1., XII, p. 150.

^{(1) (}As shown above, this supposition is baseless.—V.V.M.).

CHAPTER 7.

Rāstrakūta Empire and its Feudatories

KARKA II

for he was the son of a daughter of the Cedi King Lakşmana. Taila believed himself to be a descendant of the earlier Calukyas, who had been supplanted by the Rastrakūtas in 752 A.D. He was ambitious and wanted to regain for his house the overlordship of the Deccan, which it had lost two hundred and twenty-five years ago. He was married to a Rāṣṭrakūṭa princess named Jakavvā and believed that both by virtue of his own descent and that of his wife, he was entitled to be the emperor of the Deccan.

Down to 965 A.D., Taila was a mere feudatory, ruling at Bagevadi in Bijāpūr district and having the humble feudatory title of Mahāmandalādhipati¹. The sack of Mālkhed however convinced him that the Rastrakuta empire was rotten to its core and he decided to rebel and make a bold bid for the hegemony of the Deccan. He was able to win over some of the Rastrakūta feudatories like the Yādava chief Bhillama to his side and he counted upon the help of the Cedis as well. Above all, he himself was a brave soldier and an astute general and eventually succeeded in realising his objective.

We do not know where the two forces met in the fateful combat, which was to decide the fate of the Rastrakuta empire. The scene of battle was probably somewhere in northern Karnātak. The struggle was intense and severe, for Taila's own records admit that it was after an exceedingly great effort that he obtained the sovereignty of the world². Karka's two wicked advisors were killed, but he escaped to south and carved a small principality in the Sorab Taluka of the Mysore State⁸. After the flight of Karka, Taila marched upon and occupied the Rāṣṭrakūṭa capital Mālkhed, which continued to be the headquarters of his administration till the end of the 10th century.

Though Karka retired from the contest, a few other claimants came in the field and Taila had to defeat them. The most important among them was Indra IV, a grandson of Kṛṣṇa III, whose cause was championed by his powerful Ganga maternal uncle Mārasimha. Taila however signally defeated both of them, who eventually became Jain monks and died by the sallekhanā vow, the maternal uncle in August 975 and the nephew in 982 A.D.4 When Marasimha died, his successor Pāñcāladeva made a bid for the overlordship of the Deccan, but he also was completely overthrown and killed in battle5 and Taila remained the undisputed master of the Rāstrakūta dominions. What part of these extensive territories came under his direct sway and how the different Rastrakuta feudatories transferred their allegiance to the new emperor will be narrated in the next chapter.

⁽¹⁾ Inscriptions of Bombay-Karnātak, Vol. X, p. 40.
(2) E.I., V p. 20.
(3) E.C., X, Sorab, W. 479. The date of this record given as 991 A. D. is not above

⁽⁴⁾ Inscriptions from Sravana Belgola, No. 59. (5) Toragala inscription, I.A., XII, p. 98.

The fall of the Rastrakuta empire was dramatic in its suddenness. In the winter of 967 A.D. Kṛṣṇa III was the undisputed master of the whole of the Deccan; in the winter of 973 A.D., his empire crumbled like pack of cards. Like other earlier empires, the Rāstrakūta empire was a feudal federal organisation, lacking the strength of a unitary state. There were a number of feudatories under the emperor, whose stability and position depended as much upon his own strength and resources as upon the goodwill and cooperation of his subordinate feudatories. If the emperor was weak and the feudatories refractory, empires used to vanish in the twinkling of an eye. The forward policy of Kṛṣṇa III had probably drained the resources of his treasury; the cessation of a large slice of northern Karnatak to the Gangas must have further affected the finances of the empire. Kṛṣṇa's war with the Cedis was a great blunder,1 it transferred their sympathies to Taila II. Irreparable damage had been caused to the Rāstrakūta prestige by the Paramāra sack of Målkhed in 972 A.D. Karka, the last emperor, not only lacked military skill and initiative, but was also in the hands of vicious and incapable advisors whose administration was very unpopular. Taila therefore did not find it difficult to overthrow the Rastrakuta empire and become the successful claimant to the paramount overlordship of the Deccan.

(1 See above, p. 21, n. 2.-V.V.M.).

CHAPTER 7.

Rāstrakūta Empire and its Feudatories

KARKA II.



CHAPTER 8

THE SILAHARAS OF WESTERN INDIA*

THE SILAHARAS WERE ONE OF THE MOST LOYAL FEUDATORIES of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas. There were three families of the Silāhāras, one of which was ruling over North Konkan comprising the modern Kolābā and Thana Districts. This country was traditionally supposed to have comprised 14,000 villages1. Its capital was Puri, from which this country came to be known as Puri-Konkana. Puri has been variously identified. Some take it to be the same as Ghārāpurī or the island of Elephanta near Bombay, but the identification appears improbable as the island is too small to be the capital of a fairly large kingdom. The most plausible view appears to be that Puri is identical with Rājāpurī in the former Jañjirā State², which is situated at the mouth of a large creek on the western coast. The second family of the Silāhāras was ruling over the Kolhāpūr and Sātārā districts. Its capital was situated at Valivada or at Kolhapur with the strong fort of Panhāļā in its vicinity. The third family was governing South Konkan, which was traditionally supposed to have comprised 900 villages. It was also known as Sapta-Konkanas and comprised the modern territory of Goa and the Iridige country including the former Sāvantvādī State and the Ratnāgiri district. Its capital was Balipattana4, which has not yet been definitely identified, but was probably the same as modern Khārepāṭan, where one of the grants of this family was discovered.

Vf 3010-17a

CHAPTER 8.

The Silāhāras of Western India. Introductory.

This Chapter is contributed by Mahamahopadhyaya Dr. V. V. Mirashi of the Nagpur University.

¹ C. I. I., Vol. IV, p. 157. In some later inscriptions the number of villages in North Końkan are said to have numbered 1,400 only. See the Bhādāna grant of Aparājita, Ep. Ind., Vol. III, p. 274, and the Khârepâţan plates of Anantadeva, Ind. Ant., Vol. IX, p. 35.

² P. I. H. C. (Fourth Session), pp. 86 f.

⁸ Ind. Ant., Vol. VIII, p. 18.

⁴ The name of the capital occurs as Valipottana in both the grants of Rattarāja, but Valipattana gives no satisfactory sense. The name is read as Balipattana in the Cikodi plates. The same form may have been intended in the former grants also; for v is used for b therein. Balipattana may have been named after Bali, the king of demons or may signify the town of the mighty.

CHAPTER 8.

The Śilāhāras of Western India. INTRODUCTORY,

All the three families traced their descent from the mythical Vidyādhara prince Jimutavahana, the son of Jimutaketu who offered to sacrifice himself to rescue a Naga from the clutches of Garuda. The family name Silāhāra, 'food on a slab', was supposed to have been derived from this incident. It seems, however, to have been an attempt to Sanskritise the family name which is spelt variously as Sīlara¹, Sīlāra², Silāra³ and Siyalāra⁴ in the records of the Silāhāras. This was in pursuance of the tendency in mediaeval times to trace the descent of royal families to eponymous heroes.

The Silāhāras hailed from the Kanarese territory. The first two families mentioned above, which were ruling over North Konkan and Sātārā-Kolhāpūr region, state with pride in their grants that they hailed from the city of Tagara. This place is variously identified, but the most plausible identification is with the village Ter in the Osmānābād district of the Marāthvādā Division of Mahārāstra. Tagara was, like Pratisthāna, modern Paithan, an important market town in the Deccan which lay on the highway to Bharukaccha, modern Broach, from where merchandise such as common cloth, muslin and mallow cloth was exported to western countries. Both Ptolemy and the Periplus of the Erythrean Sea mention it, but while the former places it in a north-easterly direction from Barygaza, the latter says that it was a ten days journey to the east from Paithan. Ter is about 95 miles from Paithan. So its distance fairly answers to the description in the Periplus, but it is to the south-east, not north or north-east, of Paithan. The Greek writers appear to have committed a mistake in stating the direction of Tagara from Paithan or Broach. The identification of Tagara with Ter is now generally accepted and is also corroborated by recent excavations at the place.

Ter, though now situated in the Marāṭhī speaking country, was probably included in the Kanarese territory in ancient times. That the Silāhāras, who hailed from Tagara, were Kanarese-speaking is shown clearly by their Kanarese birudas which are mentioned in their records viz. Malagalaganda, Gandaraganda, Gandavangara, Nannisamudra, Villavedanga, etc.6 This is again corroborated by their use of such Kanarese technical terms as Hanjamana and Nagara in the formal parts of their grants, which baffled scholars for a long time⁸. All this evidence leaves no doubt that the Silāhāras of North Konkan and Kolhāpūr-Sātārā region hailed from the Kanarese country.

The third family ruling over South Konkan states that it originally belonged to Simhala. Kielhorn identified Simhala with Ceylon, but

¹ Ind, Ant. Vol. V. p. 278.

² *Ibid.*, Vol. IX, p. 33.

⁸ Ep. Ind., Vol. III, p. 299.

⁴ A. S. W. I., No. X, p. 102.

<sup>Ind. Ant., Vol. XIII, p. 329 and Vol. VIII, p. 144, and XIII, p. 366.
Important inscriptions from Baroda State, Vol. I, pp. 35 f.</sup>

⁷ Ep. Ind., Vol. XXXIV, p. 292.

doubted whether the family could have originally come from the southern island. Simhala, however, appears to have been the name of the Goa region; for the Degamve inscription, describing the conquest of Goa states that the lord of Lanka was subdued by the Kadamba king Jayakeśin¹. This family does not appear to have been connected with the other two families as it does not claim any connection with Tagara.

The Silāhāras of both North and South Konkan rose to power as feudatories of the Rāstrakūtas. Before their rise, Konkan was ruled by the feudatories of the Calukyas of Badami. From the Aihole inscription we learn that Pulakesin II conquered North Konkan from the Mauryas who were probably feudatories of the early Kalacuris2. Thereafter Vikramāditya I, the son and successor of Pulakeśin II, placed his younger brother Jayasimha Dharāśraya in charge of North Konkan, Gujarāt and the Nāśik District. Jayasimha's own copperplate grant is found in the Nāśik district³, while the copper-plate grants of his eldest son Sryāśraya Sīlāditya have been found at Navasāri and Surat in Gujarāt⁴. The grants of his second son Mangalarasa-Jayāśraya were found at Balsād in Gujarāt⁵ and in Kacch.⁶ His capital was Mangalapuri evidently founded by himself, which has not yet been identified, but that he was ruling over parts of North Konkan is shown by his Kaech plates which were issued from Śrīpura, probably identical with Śirgānv on the sea-shore, about 14 miles west of Manor in the Palghar taluka of the Thana District. These plates are dated in Saka 653 (A. D. 731). Some portion of North Konkan was under the rule of the Hariscandriya king Svämicandra, who is said to have been treated by Vikramāditya I as his own son and placed in charge of Puri-Końkana. The Añjaneri plates of his grandson Bhogasakti, recording assignment of some taxes levied on the people of a district in North Konkan, are dated in the Kalacuri year 461 (A. D. 710)7. Soon thereafter North Konkan was conquered by Dantidurga, the founder of Rāṣṭrakūṭa imperial power. His Mānor plates, recording the grant of the village Tambasāhikā (modern Tamsāhi near Mānor) in favour of a temple at Srīpura, are dated in the Saka year 671 (A. D 749), only 18 years after the Kacch plates of Mangalarasa8. Thereafter North Konkan was under the direct rule of the Rastrakūtas until Govinda III placed it in charge of Kapardin I, the founder of the North Konkan branch of the Silaharas.

South Konkan was conquered by the Calukyas of Badami in the reign of Mangaleśa. The Nerur plates9 tell us that Mangaleśa slew CHAPTER 8.

The Siläharas of Western India. INTRODUCTORY.

¹ J. B. B. R. A. S., Vol. IX, p. 266.

Ep. Ind., Vol. VI, pp. 1 f.
 C. I I., Vol. IV, pp. 127 f.

⁴ Ibid., Vol. IV, pp. 132 f.

⁵ J. B. B. R. A. S., Vol. XVI, pp. 5 f.

⁶ J. O. I., Vol. IX, pp. 141 f.
7 C. I. I., Vol. IV, pp. 146 f.
8 J. O. I., Vol. IX, pp. 141 f.
9 Ind. Ant., Vol. VII, pp. 161 f.

CHAPTER 8.

The Silaharas of Western India.
INTRODUCTORY.

■ chief named Svāmirāja of the Cālukya family, who had been victorious in eighteen battles. He was ruling from Revatīdvīpa, modern Reḍī, 8 miles south of Vengurlā in the Ratnāgiri district. Mangaleśa then placed South Konkan in charge of Satyāśraya Dhruvarāja Indravarman of the Baṭputrā family. The Goa plates tell us that he was stationed in Revatīdvīpa in A. D. 610 and was governing four provinces¹. We have no further information about the rulers of this territory. It was evidently governed by some feudatory of the early Cālukyas, perhaps by a Sendraka chief; for the home province of the Sendrakas, the Sendrakas-viṣaya, lays not far to the south.

SILAHARAS OF SOUTH KONKAN. We have seen above that the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Dantidurga conquered North Konkan. South Konkan was added to the Rāṣṭrakūṭa Empire in the reign of Dantidurga's uncle and successor Kṛṣṇa I. He placed Saṇaphulla, the founder of the Southern Silāhāras, in charge of the territory. The grants of his descendant Raṭṭarāja record with gratitude that Saṇaphulla, his ancestor, had the favour of Kṛṣṇarāja¹. This Kṛṣṇarāja is none other than the Rāṣṭrakūṭa Emperor Kṛṣṇa I, who ruled from A. D. 758 to A. D. 773. That Saṇaphulla, the founder of this family, also flourished in the period can be inferred from the fact that he was the ninth ancestor of Raṭṭarāja, whose two known grants are dated in Saka 930 and 932.

Only three records of this family are known. The Cikoḍī plates issued by Avasara III are dated in Saka 910³. The other two grants dated in Saka 930 and 932 were issued by his son Ratṭarāja⁴. These latter grants give the following genealogy of these southern Silāhāras. The Cikoḍī plates show some discrepancies which will be noticed below:—

Saṇaphulla (c. A. D. 765-795).

Dhammiyara (c. A. D. 795-820).

Aiyaparaja (c. A. D. 820-845).

Avasara I (c. A. D. 845-870).

Adityavarman (c. A. D. 870-895).

Avasara II (c. A. D. 895-920).

Indrarāja (c. A. D. 920-945).

Bhīma (c. A. D. 945-970).

Avasara III (c. A. D. 970-995) (known year A. D. 988).

Raṭṭarāja (c. A. D. 995-1020) (known years A. D. 1008 and 1010).

¹ J. B. B. R. A. S., Vol. X, pp. 365-6.

² Ep. Ind., Vol. III, p. 299.

⁸ A. R. B. I. S. M. for Saka 1835, pp. 430 f.

⁴ I. H. O., Vol. IV, pp. 203 f.; Ep. Ind., Vol. III, pp. 292 f.

As stated before, Sanaphulla, the founder of this family, had the favour of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa Emperor Kṛṣṇa I, whereby he acquired the territory between the Sahyādri mountain and the sea-shore1. His name is. however, omitted in the Cikodī plates. He was ruling over the Goa region which is called Simhala in both the grants of Rattarāja. Saņaphulla's capital is not named in them, but it was probably at Candrapura, modern Candor on the left bank of the Paroda river, south of Goa. His son and successor Dhammiyara is said to have founded Balipattana² on the sea coast. This place may be identical with Khārepāţan in the Ratnāgiri district. Dhammiyara probably conquered some territory north of Goa and so felt the need of shifting the seat of government to a more central place like Khārepāṭan. As stated before, a grant of Raṭṭarāja was found at Khārepātan. Perhaps Candrapura was invaded and occupied by some enemy, which may have necessitated the shifting of the capital. We know that it was in hostile hands in the reign of his successor Aiyapa.

The grants of Rattarāja mention Aiyapa as the son and successor of Dhammiyara. The Cikodī plates, however, mention another prince named Āmalla between them. The cause of this discrepancy is not known. Aiyapa followed an aggressive policy and invaded Candrapura, the erstwhile capital of the family, which was then in the occupation of some enemy. He is said to have bathed there with the water of cocoanuts, signifying his conquest of the territory.

According to the grant of Rattarāja, Aiyapa was followed by his son Avasara I, but the Cikodi plates, for some reason, omit his name altogether. Avasara is said to have been conversant with the principles of political science. Otherwise his description is conventional. His son was Adityavarman. He was succeeded Avasara II, who is said to have rendered help to the rulers of Chemulya and Candrapura⁴. Chemulya, identical with Semulla mentioned as a port by Ptolemy, is modern Caul, about 30 miles south of Bombay. The ruler of this place was probably a feudatory of the Silāhāras of Purī, but he seems to have revolted at the accession of his suzerain Laghu-Kapardin who was then in his teens. Avasara seems to have taken advantage of this opportunity to extend his sphere of influence in North Konkan. The other prince to whom he gave military aid was ruling at Candrapura in the Goa region. He is not named, but he may have been Kantakācārya, the founder of the Kadamba family of Goa, which rose to power about this time. Avasara seems to have aided him in occupying Candrapura which he later made his capital. Avasara II was followed by his son Indrarāja, about whom we have only conventional praise in the records of

The Silāhāras of Western India.

SILAHARAS OF SOUTH KONKAN.

> Saṇaphulla Dhammiyara

> > Aiyapa

Avasara I

Adityavarman Avasara II

Indrarāja,

CHAPTER 8.

¹ Ep. Ind., III, p. 299.

² As stated before, the name of this capital occurs as Valipattana in the grants of Rattarāja, but as Balipattana in the Cikodī plates of Avasara III.

⁸ See e.g. Ep. Ind., Vol. III, p. 299.

⁴ Linc. cit.

CHAPTER 8. The Silāhāras of Western India.

SILAHARAS OF

Bhīma Avasara III

the family. He was succeeded by Bhīma, who is said to have annexed Candramandala (comprising the territory round Candrapura) even as Rāhu devours the Moon at an eclipse. Bhīma reversed the policy of his grandfather and came into conflict with the contemporary Kadamba king, who was either Sasthadeva or his son South Konkan. Caturbhuja.

> Avasara III succeeded Bhīma. He was a man of noble nature and peaceful disposition. He is said to have had no enemy. He issued the Cikodi plates in the Saka year 910 (A. D. 988)1. They record the pad-puja of some saint with the gift of 100 dinaras. This reference to the dinara coins occurring in such a late work is interesting. The date of this record, Monday, Kārttika śu. di. 5 in the cyclic year Sarvadhārin is irregular. The cyclic year corresponding to Saka 910 was, no doubt, Sarvadhārin, but the week-day does not agree.

> The Southern Silāhāras were loyal feudatories of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas When Avasara III issued his Cikodi plates in Saka 910 (A. D. 988), the last Rāstrakūta king Karka II had already been overthrown by Tailapa in A. D. 974. Thereafter, the Ganga king Mārasimha tried to revive Rastrakūta power by placing on the throne his son-in-law Indra IV, the grandson of Kṛṣṇa III, but the attempt did not succeed and Indra IV put an end to his life by religious starvation in A. D. 9822. There was thus no Rāstrakūta king ruling at the time when Avasara III issued his grant. But true to the erstwhile suzerains of his family, Avasara has given the genealogy of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas in the beginning of his Cikodi plates. At the end of the genealogy he states with regret that the noble sprout of the wish-fulfilling tree (Kalpavrksa) in the form of Baddiga could not grow as it was crushed under the weight of the huge mountain in the form of Tailapa. It is not clear who is meant by Baddiga here. Perhaps it refers to Indra IV, who had ended his life just six years before3. Avasara III lived in those stirring times. His Räştrakūta suzerain had been overthrown, but he had not yet submitted to Tailapa. So he has cited the genealogy of his former Rastrakuta suzerain in the Cikodī plates.

Raţţarāja,

Avasara III was followed by his son Rattarāja, who is known from two grants dated in Saka 930 and 932. In the interval of twenty years that had elapsed since the issue of the Cikodi plates, the Later Cālukyas had consolidated their power in the Kuntala country and had proceeded to subdue the erstwhile feudatories of the Rāṣtrakūṭas. Rattarāja had to bend before this new power. He has eulogised

¹ A. R. B. I. S. M. for \$aka 1835, p. 433.

² Ind. Ant., Vol. XX, p. 35; E. C., Vol. II, No. 133.

⁸ It is difficult to say who is referred to as Baddiga. The tenor of the description suggests that it might be Indra IV, who ended his reign before he could consolidate his power. But the Kharepatan plates name the Rästrakuta king overthrown by Tailapa as Kakkala. Perhaps Kakkala had another name Baddiga.

both Tailapa and his son Satyāśraya in his Khārepāṭaṇ plates, but he retained his love and regard for the late Rāṣṭrakūṭas, whose genealogy he has given in the grant dated Saka 930. He however mentions that Satyāśraya, his suzerain at the time, was governing the Raṭṭapāḍī i.e. the Rāṣṭrakūṭa kingdom¹.

Rattarāja made the grant recorded in the Khārepātan plates to the teacher Ātreya, the disciple of the Ācārya Ambhojaśambhu who belonged to the Karkaroni branch of the Mattamayūra clan of the Saiva sect, for the worship of the god Avveśvara and the repairs of his temple. The temple had probably been constructed by king's father Avasara III as suggested by the name of the god installed therein. Mattamayūra, the original seat of the clan, is probably identical with Kadvāhā in Central India, where magnificent temples, as grand as those at Khajuraho, were erected by the Ācāryas of this clan with the patronage of the local rulers². Karkaronī, after which the branch was named, has not been identified, but it must have been situated somewhere in Central India. The second grant of Raṭṭarāja dated Saka 932 records the gift of some land to a Senāvai (Seṇavī) Brāhmaṇa named Sankamaiya³.

Rattarāja is the last known king of this branch. After the death of Satyāśraya, the power of the Later Cālukyas seems to have suffered a decline owing to their conflict with the Colas. Taking advantage of this debacle, Rattarāja may have declared independence. As Satyāśraya's successor Vikramāditya V was weak king, he would not punish this recalcitrant feudatory, but his younger brother and successor Jayasimha invaded South Konkan, overthrew the ruler and appropriated all his possessions. This is recorded in his Miraj plates (A. D. 1024), which were issued from his camp at Kolhāpūr in the course of a campaign for conquering the northern country.

This branch of the Silāhāras ruled over South Konkan comprising Goa and the Ratnāgiri district for about 250 years from c. A. D. 765 to c. A. D. 1020. For some times its sphere of influence extended to Caul in North Konkan. As stated before, its capital was Balipattana, which may be identical with modern Khārepāṭan.

We have seen above that North Konkan was conquered by the Rāṣṭrakuṭa king Dantidurga some time in the second quarter of the eighth century A. D. The Mānor plates dated in the Saka year 671 (A. D. 749) show that North Konkan was then governed by

Šilaharas of North Konkan.

CHAPTER 8.

The Silāhāras of Western India.

SILAHARAS OF SOUTH KONKAN.

Raţţarāja

¹ Ep. Ind., Vol. III, p. 299.

² C. 1. I., Vol. IV, pp. cli, f.

⁸ Chakladar, who has edited the grant, takes Senāvai to mean Senāpati, but this appears unlikely in the context.

⁴ Ind Ant., Vol. VIII, p. 18.

⁵ Mirashi, Studies III Indology, Vol. II, pp. 10 f.

CHAPTER 8.

The Silāhāras of Western India.

SHILAHARAS OF

Kapardin I

Aniruddha who appears to have been a governor appointed by Dantidurga and not II feudatory of his, since he bears no feudatory title like Sāmanta or Mandaleśvara. The next known ruler of this territory is Kapardin I, the founder of the northern branch of the Silāhāras. He was a contemporary of the Rāstrakūta Emperor NORTH KONKAN. Govinda III (A. D. 793-813); for the Känheri inscription of his successor Pullasakti is dated in S. 765 (A. D. 843)1. Kapardin I seems to have rendered help to Govinda III in extending his rule in Konkan and was apparently rewarded with the rulership of North Konkan. No record of his reign has yet been discovered, but that he was the founder of this branch of the Silāhāras is shown by the name Kapardika-dvīpa or Kavadī-dvīpa given to North Konkan in his honour.

> The genealogy of this branch² of the Silāhāras with approximate dates may be stated as follows:-

Kapardin I, c. A. D. 800-825.

Pullaśakti I, c. A. D. 825-850 (known date A. D. 843 (?)).

Kapardin II, c. A. D. 850-880 (known dates A. D. 853 and 877).

Vappuvanna, c. A. D. 880-910.

Jhanjha, c. A. D. 910-930.

Goggi, c. A. D. 930-945.

Vajjada I, c. A. D. 945-965.

Cadvaideva, c. A. D. 965-975.

Aparājita, c. A. D. 975-1010 (known dates A. D. 993 and 997).

Vajjada II, c. A. D. 1010-1015.

Arikesarin alias Keśideva I, c. 1015-1025 (known dates A. D. 1012 and 1017).

Chittarāja, c. A. D. 1025-1040 (known dates A. D. 1026 and 1040).

Nāgārjuna, c. A. D. 1040-45.

Mummuni, c. A. D. 1045-1070 (known dates 1049 and 1060).

Anantadeva or Anantapāla, c. A. D. 1070-1110 (known dates A. D. 1095).

³ Ind. Ant., Vol. XIII, pp. 136 f.

² The genealogy is taken from Dr. A. S. Altekar's article in Ind. Cul., Vol. II, p. 402, with some additions and corrections necessitated by subsequent research.

CHAPTER 8.

The Silāhāras of Western India, SHILAHARAS OF NORTH KONKAN.

Aparārka or Aparāditya I, c. 1110-1140 (known dates 1127, 1129 and 1138).

Haripāladeva, c. A. D. 1140-1155 (known dates 1148, 1149, 1150, 1153 and 1154).

Mallikārjuna, c. A. D. 1155-1170 (known dates 1156 and 1162).

Aparāditya II, c. A. D. 1170-1195 (known dates 1184, 1185 and 1187).

Keśirāja II, c. A. D. 1195-1240 (known dated A. D. 1203, 1239).

Someśvara, c. A. D. 1240-1265 (known dates 1259 and 1260).

Kapardin I was succeeded by his son Pullaśakti, who has left a much abraded inscription in one of the Kānheri caves¹. It bore a date at the end, which has now been almost completely effaced. Kielhorn doubtfully read it as (\$\frac{5}{a}ka\$) 765. The date appears quite plausible; for Pullaśakti's son and successor Kapardin II is known from two dates \$\frac{5}{a}ka\$ 795 and 799.

In the Kānheri cave inscription Pullaśakti is called Mahāsāmanta and is described as the lord of Purī-Konkaṇa, which he had obtained by the favour of Mahārājādhirāja Parameśvara Pṛthivīvallabha Amoghavarṣa (I). The inscription records the endowment of 124 drammas made by one Viṣṇugupta for the repairs of the cave as well as the raiment and books of the monks dwelling in Kṛṣṇagiri (Kānheri)².

Pullaśakti was succeeded by his son Kapardin II, who is called Laghu-Kapardin in the records of his successors to distinguish him from his grandfather who bore the same name. He seems to have come to the throne when quite young; for the Thāṇā plates of Arikesarin tell us that though he was an infant, his enemies paid homage to him. Two inscriptions of his reign, dated the Saka years 775 (A. D. 854) and 799 (A. D. 877-878) in the Kānheri caves, record permanent endowments of some drammas for the raiment etc. of the monks dwelling in the caves.

Kapardin II was followed by his son Vappuvanna, about whom his successors' records give only conventional praise. In his time

Kapardin II.

Pullaśakti.

Vappuvanna

¹ Ind. Ant., Vol. XIII, p. 136.

² Kielhorn doubtfully read kāñcana-dramma in line 5 of this record and on the strength of this reading it was believed that drammas were issued in gold also. But the reading is incorrect. See J. N. S. I., Vol. XXV, pp. 238 f.

⁸ Ind. Ant., Vol. XIII, pp. 134 f.

CHAPTER 8. Western India. SHILAHARAS OF

North Konkan.

a part of North Konkan comprising Samyana mandala (the territory The Silāhāras of round Sanjān in the Thana District*) was given in charge of an Arab feudatory named Madhumati by the Rāṣṭrakūṭa Emperor Krsna II1. His family ruled in this region for at least three generations. A set of plates found at Ciñcani in the Dahānū tālukā of the Thana District mentions Madhumati's son Sahiyarahara and grandson Sugatipa, who was then ruling2. Madhumati, Sahiyarahara and Sugatipa are evidently Sanskritised names of Muhammad, Shahariar and Subakta. This Arab feudatory family, though owning allegiance to the same Rāṣṭrakūṭa Emperor, often came into conflict with the Silāhāras. Madhumati is said to have conquered all ports on the western sea-coast and established his outposts in them. His grandson Sugatipa had Hindu ministers and administrators. He made some charitable works. He established ferries for the crossing of rivers and also a charitable feeding house at Samyana for the use of travellers. He also made some grants of villages and land in favour of a temple of Bhagavatī at Saniyāna after obtaining the consent of his suzerain, the Rastrakūta Emperor Indra III. These Arab feudatories seem to have continued to rule over the Samyana mandala till the downfall of the Rastrakutas in A. D. 974. Thereafter the Silāhāra king Aparājita overthrew them and annexed their territory to his own kingdom3.

Ihañjha

Vappuvanna was followed by Ihañjha. That he was ruling in this period is also known from the statement of Al-Masudi that Samur (i.e. Caul in the Kolābā district) was governed by Jhanjha in c. A. D 916. He was a very devout Saiva. He is said to have built twelve temples of Siva and named them after himself4. None of them is now extant.

Goggirāja,

Ihañiha seems to have left no issue. He was succeeded by his younger brother Goggirāja, about whom the grants give only conventional praise. He was followed by Vajjada I, who is highly culogised for his valorous deeds.

Vajjada I.

Vajjada I had probably a short reign. He was succeeded by his brother Chadvaideva. His name is, however, omitted in all later Silāhāra records, not because he was a collateral; for the name of collaterals are also mentioned in the records of the dynasty. Perhaps he was a usurper. That he came to the throne is shown by his Prince of Wales Museum plates⁵. These plates are not dated, but since they bring the genealogy of the Rastrakūtas, the suzerains of the Silāhāras, down to Kṛṣṇa III, Chadvaideva must be referred to the second half of the tenth century A. D. His successor Aparājita's grants are dated in A. D. 993 and 997. He may therefore have reigned in c. A. D. 965-975.

Chadvaideva

Now in Surat district.

¹ Ep. Ind., Vol. XXXII, pp. 45 f.

² Loc. cit.

⁸ See v. 31 of the Janjira plates of Aparajita, Important Inscriptions from the Baroda State (I. I. B. S.), Vol. I, pp. 35 f.

⁴ See v. 8 of the Kharepatan plates, Ind. Ant., Vol. IX, pp. 33 f.

⁵ Ep. Ind., Vol. XXVI, pp. 282 f.

The plates record the grant of some land in the village Sālāṇaka in the viṣaya of Pāṇāda. These places may be identified with Sālinde and Poinād, the latter being situated about 8 miles north by east of Alibāg in the Kolābā District. The grant had been promised by Vajjada I, but remained unexecuted during his life time. Chadvaideva, on coming to know of it, issued these plates recording the gift.

CHAPTER 8.

The Silāhāras of Western India. Shelaharas of North Konkan.

Aparājita,

Chadvaideva was followed by his nephew Aparajita, the son of Vajjada. He has left us three copper-plate grants. Two of them,1 found at Janjira, both dated in the same Saka year 915 (A. D. 993), were issued by him after the overthrow of the Rastrakūtas by the Later Cālukya king Tailapa. But Aparājita, true to the erstwhile suzerains of his house, gives the genealogy of the Rastrakutas from Govinda I to Kakkala and regretfully records that the light of the last Rāṣṭrakūṭa king was extinguished by the hurricane in the form of Tailapa2. He did not himself submit to the Calukyas, but began to assume high-sounding titles like Paścima-samudr-ādhipati (the Lord of the Western Ocean) and Mandalika-Trinetra (The three-eyed god Siva to his feudatories). He made several conquests. First, he seems to have proceeded against the Arab feudatory family ruling at Saniyana and overthrowing it, annexed its territory to his own kingdom³. Thereafter we do not hear of this Arab kingdom on the western coast. He next conquered Punaka (Poona), Sangamesvara and Ciplun and thus extended his rule to Southern Konkan and the Deśa.4 A verse in his Janjira plates states the boundaries of his kingdom as follows-'from Lata (Central and Southern Gujarāt) in the north to Candrapura (Cāndor in the Goa region) in the south and from the ocean in the west to the territory of Bhillama in the east⁵. Another verse which occurs in the Khārepāṭan plates states that he gave shelter to Goma, who had sought his protection, he firmly established Aiyapa on his throne and gave security from fear to Bhillama and Ammana. He thereby became famous as Birudanka-Rāma6. None of these princes except Bhillama, the Yadava king, have been identified.

Aparājita was an ambitious king. He sought to extend his sphere of influence by allying himself with mighty rulers of other countries. He is probably meant by the Vidyādhara king Sikhandaketu, mentioned in the Navasāhasānkacarita of Padmagupta, who sent his son Sasikhanda to render help to the Paramāra king Sindhurāja (A. D.

^{1 1. 1.} B. S., Vol. I, pp. 35 f.

See तस्मिल्लरेन्द्र नृपितप्रदीपे प्रचण्डतैलप्पसमीरणेन ।
 संप्रापिते ज्योतिरलं विवृद्ध कथावभासे सित रहुराज्ये ॥ २ ॥

V. 13 of the Bhadana grant.

See v. 31 of the Janjira plates, Saka 915 (Set A) and v. 26 of Set, B.

⁴ Loc. cit.

⁵ Ibid., Verse 27 of Set B.

⁶ See Verse 14 of the Kharepatan plates, Ind. Ant., Vol. IX, pp. 33 f.

CHAPTER 8.

The Silabaras of

The Silaharas of Western India.
Shulaharas of

North Konkan

Aparājita,

993-1010) in his invasion of South Kosala at the request of the Nāga king of the Bastar District (M. P.)¹.

Aparājita's extensive conquests, his alliance with the Paramāras, his assumption of grandiloquent titles and his refusal to recognise the suzerainty of the Later Cālukyas exasperated Satyāśraya, the son of Tailapa. He invaded the kingdom of Aparājita and pressed as far as the capital Purī. Ranna, the Kanarese poet, says that hemmed in by the ocean on one side and the sea of Satyāśraya's army on the other, Aparājita trembled like an insect on a stick, both the ends of which are on fire². Satyāśraya burnt Amśunagara in Konkan and levied a tribute of 11 elephants on Aparājita. This invasion seems to have occurred in circa A. D. 1005. Aparājita did not live long after this humiliation. He probably closed his reign in A. D. 1010.

Vajjada II.

Aparājita was succeeded by his son Vajjada II, about whom only conventional praise is given in the records of his successors. An inscription from Hangal, however, tells us that Kuṇḍaladevī, the queen of the Kadamba king Chattadeva (Ṣaṣthadeva II) (c. A. D. 1005-1055) was the daughter of the king Vāchavya of Thaṇī i.e. Thāṇā³. As Altekar conjectured, this king of Thāṇā was probably the Silāhāra king Vajjada II⁴.

Arikesarin.

Vajjada was succeeded by his younger brother Arikesarin alias Keśideva I. While yet a prince, he had taken part in the Paramāra Sindhurāja's campaign in Chattisgadh and had also marched with an army to Saurāṣṭra where he worshipped Someśvara (Somanātha) and offered his conquests to the god.

It was during the reign of Arikesarin that Konkan was invaded by the Paramāra king Bhoja. Two of his grants made in celebration of the victory are dated in A. D. 1020, one in January and the other in September of the year. The causes of this invasion are not known. D. R. Bhandarkar thought that the invasion was undertaken by Bhoja to avenge the murder of his uncle Muñja. This reason does not appear convincing; for there was an interval of 44 years between the murder of Muñja (A. D. 975) and Bhoja's invasion of Konkan (A. D. 1019). Perhaps as Altekar has suggested, Arikesarin acknowledged the suzerainty of the Later Cālukyas, which Bhoja did not like. Bhoja seems to have occupied North Konkan for some time as shown by his Betmā plates. However, the Cālukya king Jayasimha, after overthrowing Southern Silāhāras and annexing their kingdom, planned to invade North Konkan. The Miraj plates dated in A. D. 1024 tell us that he was encamped at Kolhāpūr in the

¹ Studies in Indology, Vol. II, pp. 58 f.

² Ind. Ant., Vol. XL, p. 41.

⁸ Ep. Ind., Vol. XV, p. 333.

⁴ Ind. Cul., Vol. II, p. 408.

⁵ Ep. Ind., Vol. XI, pp. 182 f.; Vol. XVIII, pp. 322 f.

⁶ Ind. Cul., Vol. II p. 408.

course of his campaign against North Konkan¹. It is not known if he conquered the country, but it is noteworthy that Chittarāja, in his grant² issued soon after this date in A. D. 1026, does not mention the suzerainty of the Cālukyas.

Chittarāja succeeded his uncle Arikesarin some time before A. D. 1026, when he issued his Bhāṇḍup plates. Two other records of his reign viz. his own Berlin Museum plates³ and the Ciñcaṇi plates of his feudatory Cāmuṇḍarāja⁴ are dated in \$aka 956 (A. D. 1034). So he may have reigned from A. D. 1025 to A. D. 1040.

The Silāhāras seem to have suffered a defeat about this time at the hands of the Kadamba king Şaşthadeva II. As we have seen before, Aparājita, the grandfather of Chittarāja, had raided Candrapura, modern Candor, and defeated the ruler thereof, who was probably Gühalladeva II, the father of Şaşthadeva II. Şaşthadeva took revenge in the beginning of the reign of Chittaraja, who was a mere boy at the time of his accession. From his capital Candrapura Şaşthadeva marched to the north. He first annexed South Konkan (called Konkana Nine Hundred) and advancing further, he overran Kavadīdvipa (North Konkan). The Narendra inscription describes this expedition in the following words-"As he took Kavadī-dvīpa, and many other regions, built a bridge with lines of ships reaching as far as Lanka (i.e. the Goa territory) and claimed tribute among grim barbarians, exceedingly exalted was the dominion of the Kadamba sovereign, which many called a religious estate for the establishment of the worship of Rāma⁵.

Şaşthadeva did not, however, annex North Konkan. He restored it to Chittaraja on condition that he recognised his suzerainty. There was another attack on the Silāhāra dominion during the reign of Chittaraja. Gonka of the Kolhāpūr branch of the Silāhāras (c. A. D. 1020) calls himself the lord of Konkan⁶. He had evidently scored a victory over the Silāhāra ruler of North Konkan; for South Konkan had already been annexed either by him or by the Kadambas as feudatories of the Later Cālukyas.

As stated before, Aparājita had conquered Samyāna-maṇdala. His son Arikesarin gave it in charge of a feudatory named Vijjarāṇaka, who probably belonged to the Modha family. His son Cāmuṇḍarāja was governing that maṇḍala as a feudatory of Chittarāja whom he names as Chinturāja in his Ciñcaṇī plates, dated Saka 956 (A. D. 1034)?.

CHAPTER 8.

The Silāhāras of Western India.
SHILAHARAS OF NORTH KONKAN.

Chittarāja

¹ Ind. Ant., Vol. VIII, p. 18.

² Ibid., Vol. V, pp. 277 f.

³ Z. D. M. G., Vol. XC, pp. 265 f.

⁴ Ep. Ind., Vol. XXXII, pp. 63 f.

⁵ Ibid, Vol. XIII, p. 369.

⁶ J. R. A. S., Vol. IV, p. 281.

⁷ Ep. Ind., XXXII, pp. 55 f.

CHAPTER 8.

The Silāhāras of Western India. SHILAHARAS OF NORTH KONKAN. Chittarāja was a patron of art and literature. He built the magnificent temple of Siva at Ambarnāth near Kalyān. He also patronised Soddhala, the author of the *Udayasundarīkathā*¹. Appreciating one of his verses containing the word *pradīpaka*, the king gave him the sobriquet *Kavipradīpa*². He also patronised some other learned men and poets who were contemporaries of Soddhala³.

Nāgārjuna

Chittarāja was succeeded by his younger brother Nāgārjuna, who had probably a short reign⁴. He is only conventionally praised in Silāhāra grants. He may be referred to the period A. D. 1040-1045.

Mummuņi

Năgărjuna was succeeded by his younger brother Mummuni or Māmvani in c. A. D. 1045. Three records of his reign have been discovered so far. The earliest of them, a copper-plate grant dated Saka 970 (A. D. 1049)⁵, registers the donation of some villages in three vişayas or districts viz., Vareţikā, Abhyantaraṣaṭṣaṣṭi and Sūrpāraka-ṣaṭṣaṣṭi. Vareţikā, the chief town of the first, was probably the same as the modern village Vadavalī, about 6 miles north of Thāṇā. Abhyantara-ṣaṭṣaṣṭi included the territory round about Thāṇā, while Sūrpāraka-ṣaṭṣaṣṭi comprised that round Sopārā. Another grant of Mummuṇi s dated in Saka 971 (A. D. 1049)⁶. It registers the gift of the village Kucchita in the Mandaraja viṣaya. These places have not been identified. Mummuṇi also repaired the temple at Ambarnāth which had been built by his eldest brother. He has left an inscription there, which is dated Saka 982 (A. D. 1060)⁷.

The power of the Silāhāras weakened in the reign of Nāgārjuna and Mummuni. The latter had to acknowledge the suzerainty of the Kadambas of Goa. When Saṣthadeva II visited his court he received him with great honour. The Narendra inscription describes this incident in the following words—"When the exalted valour of Cattayadeva in his sport upon the ocean reached him, Mummuni of the famous Ṭhāneya, hearing of it, came into his presence, saw him and led him to his palace, and displayed intense affection; and he bestowed on him his daughter with much pomp, and gave to his son-in-law five lakhs of golds.

As the power of the Silāhāras declined, the Modha feudatories of Samyāna began to assert their independence and assumed the birudas

¹ Udayasundarikathā (G. O. S., 1920), p. 152.

² Loc. cit.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 155.

⁴ Altekar supposed that Nāgārjuna died before Chîttarāja and so did not reign; but the description in the Udayasundarīkathā does not leave doubt that he had come to throne.

⁵ Ep. Ind., Vol. XXV, pp. 53 f.

⁶ lbid., Vol. XXV, pp. 53 f.

⁷ J. B. B. R. A. S., Vol. IX, pp. 219 f.

⁸ Ep. Ind., Vol. XIII, p. 310.

of the Silāharas themselves. The Modha prince Vijjala in his Ciñcaṇī plates dated Saka 975 (A. D. 1053) calls himself the lord of Tagarapura and bears the proud title Saraṇ-āgatavajra-pañjara, which is usually met with in Silāhāra records¹. Mummuṇi seems to have overthrown these recalcitrant feudatories some time after Saka 975 (A. D. 1053), the last known date of prince Vijjala of this family.

CHAPTER 8.

The Silāhāras of Western India. Silaharas of North Konkan.

Mummuni

Mummuni, like his two brothers, was a patron of poets and learned men. Soddhala composed his work, the *Udayasundarīkathā*, in his reign and recited it in his court. Mummuni greatly appreciated it and rewarded the author liberally. Soddhala thereafter repaired to the court of Vatsarāja, the king of Lāṭa, but he mentions with gratitude the honour he received at the Silāhāra court during the reigns of the three brothers Chittarāja, Nāgārjuna and Mummuni².

Anantapāla.

There was a civil war (dāyāda-vyasana) towards the close of Mummuni's reign, but the contending parties are not known³. Taking advantage of it some foreign king, perhaps Gūhalla II, the Kadamba contemporary of Mummuni, invaded the territory. He devastated the country and harassed gods and Brāhmaṇas. Anantapāla, the son of Nāgārjuna, rescued the country from this calamity. Gūhalla had perhaps secured the aid of some Muslim chief in this invasion. The Khārepātaṇ plates record that Anantapāla routed the desperate and vile Yavana (i.e. Muslim) soldiers and inscribed his fame on the disc of the moon⁴.

Only one inscription of Anantapāla has been found, viz., the Khārepāṭaṇ plates dated in Saka 1016 (A. D. 1094)⁵. From it we know that he assumed the title of Paścima-samudrādhipati and claimed to be the ruler of the entire Konkaṇ country including Purī-Konkaṇ. The inscription exempts the ships of certain ministers of his from the customs duty levied at the ports of Sthānaka (Ṭhāṇā), Sūrpāraka (Sopārā), Cemulya (Caul) and others.

Hostilities with the Kadambas seem to have broken out again at the close of the reign of Anantapāla. Jayakeśin II, the valiant king of Goa, invaded North Końkan and in the encounter that followed, killed the Silāhāra king. The Degamve inscription describes him as Death to the king of Kavadīdvīpa⁶. After this, Jayakeśin annexed North Końkan. The Narendra inscriptions dated in A. D. 1125 and 1126 describe him as governing Kavadī-dvīpa, a Lakh and a quarter, in the time of the Cālukya Emperor Tribhuvanamalla (Vikramāditya

¹ Ibid., Vol. XXXII, p. 63,

² Udayasundarīkathā, p. 12.

⁸ Ind. Ant., Vol. IX, p. 34.

⁴ The correct reading of the verse appears to be यवनमहास्वेदराशीन in line 54 as suggested by Dr. Dikshit.

⁵ Ind. Ant., Vol. IX, pp. 33 f.

⁶ J. B. B. R. A. S., Vol. IX, p. 266.

CHAPTER 8.

The Silāhāras of Western India. Silaharas of North Konkan. Anantapāl.

VI)¹. The Silāhāra prince Aparāditya I was reduced to great straits. His Vadavalī inscription describes this calamity very graphically. "A demon named Chittuka invaded the kingdom and the feudatories sided with him. Dharma was lost, the elders were oppressed, the subjects became exhausted and the country's prosperity was at an end. Still undaunted, Aparāditya single handed rushed to the battle on horseback, relying on his power of arms and his sword. Then the enemy knew not whether to fight or to flee. He took shelter with the Mlechchhas²."

The demon Chittuka mentioned in this passage is probably none other than the Kadamba king Jayakeśin II. As Altekar has pointed out, Jayakeśin had two sons Śivacitta and Viṣṇucitta and he himself may well have borne a name like Chittuka³. Aparāditya thus completely routed the enemy and regained his ancestral kingdom. The date of this event can be settled precisely. As stated before, the Narendra inscriptions dated in A. D. 1125 and 1126 describe Jayakeśin as the ruler of Kavaḍī-dvīpa⁴. Aparāditya I seems to have defeated him and recovered the whole Koṅkaṇ country in the following year A. D. 1127, when he issued his Vaḍavalī plates⁵

Aparāditya I.

Aparāditya I appointed ambassadors at the court of important contemporary kings. This is shown by the mention of his ambassador Tejaḥkaṇṭha in the Śrīkaṇṭhacarita of Maṅkha. Tejaḥkaṇṭha, who was present in the assembly where the work was presented is described as the ambassador of king Aparāditya of Koṅkaṇ at the court of king Jayasiṁha of Kāśmir (1128-1150). He had defeated an opponent in a Śāstrārha at Śūrpāraka where he was halting on his way to Kāśmir. As Altekar has shown, this Aparāditya must be identified with the first king of that name.

(Canto. XXV, pp. 109-10).

Ep. Ind., Vol. XIII, pp. 316 and 323. Altekar, relying on Fleet's statement in B. G., (Old Ed.) Vol. I. Pt. ii, p. 568, states that a later inscription at Narendra incised only five months later than the earlier one of A. D. 1125 omits Kavadikādvipa from the dominion of Jayakeśin II, but this is incorrect. Both the inscriptions have, since the time of Fleet, been edited in Ep. Ind., Vol. XIII, pp. 298 f. and 316 f. Both describe Jayakeśin II as the ruler of Kavadidvīpa, a lakh and a quarter, i.e. of North Konkan. The date of the so-called Somanāth inscription viz. 1176, which Altekar referred to the Vikrama Samvat and took as belonging to the reign of Aparāditya I is really of the Saka era and belongs to the reign of Aparāditya II. See below.

² J. B. B. R. A. S., Vol. XXI, pp. 505 f.

³ Ind, Cult., Vol. II, pp. 412 f.

⁴ Ep. Ind., Vol. XIII, pp. 316 and 323.

⁵ J. B. B. R. A. S., Vol. XXI, pp. 505 f.

⁶ See वचोभिर्नुनुदे दन्तद्युतिश्रीखण्ड पाण्डुभिः। वादीनां वाददर्पोष्मा येन शुर्पारकाष्ट्रवसु ।। यं श्रीमदपरादित्य इति दुत प्रसिष्द ये। प्रजिधाय धनश्लाघः काश्मीरान् कुंकणे कुणेश्वरः।।

Aparāditya I was a versatile man. He took keen interest in music and was also proficient in Dharmaśāstra. His commentary Aparārkā on the Yajñavalkya Smṛti is still regarded as the standard work on Dharmaśāstra in Kāśmir. It seems to have been introduced there by the aforementioned ambassador Tejaḥkanṭha.

Aparāditya I was followed by Haripāladeva, whose inscriptions dated Saka 1070. 1071, 21072, 31075 and 1076 have been discovered in the Thāṇā District. He may therefore have reigned from c. Saka 1062 to Saka 1077 (or c. A. D. 1140 to A. D. 1155). From his reign onward we get only stone inscriptions and they are mostly written in a mixed language of Sanskṛt and Marāṭhī. As they do not give any genealogy, it is not possible to say how Haripāladeva was related to his predecessor Aparāditya I. These inscriptions record the gifts made by ministers, private individuals or village communities. The mention of a Sahavāsī Brāhmaṇa in one of them is interesting. These Brāhmaṇas later became known as Savāśe Brāhmaṇas in Mahārāṣṭra.

Mallikārjuna, who succeeded Haripāladeva, is known from two inscriptions—one found at Ciplun in the Ratnāgiri District⁶ and the other in Vasai in the Țhāṇā District⁷. The former is dated in the Saka year 1078 (A. D. 1156) and records the appointment of one Sūpaya as Daṇḍadhipati (Military Officer) in charge of the country of Praṇālaka. The record was incised on a śāsana-stambha. Some scholars have proposed to identify Praṇālaka with Panhāļā near Kolhāpūr⁸ and others with Panvel in the Kolābā District⁹; but since the stone inscription was found at Ciplun, the country of Praṇālaka must have been in the vicinity of that place. The Vasai inscription is dated in Saka 1083 (A. D. 1162). It records the jirnoddhāra (repairs) of a temple (of Siva) and the gift of a garden in Lona (modern Lonāḍ in the Bhivaṇḍi tālukā) to an upādhyāya.

In his Kumārapālacarita Hemacandra gives a graphic description of Mallikārjuna's battle with the forces sent by the Cālukya king Kumārapāla¹⁰. Merutuṅga's account of the causes that led to this fight and the progress of it may well be true¹¹. Kumārapāla is said to

CHAPTER 8.

The Silâhâras of Western India. Silaharas of North Konkan. Aparâditya I.

Haripāladeva,

Mallikārjuna.

Rănjali Stone Inscription, Prâcina Marathi Koriva Lekha (P. M. K. L.)pp. 43 f.

² B. G. Vol. II, pt. ii (Old Ed.), p. 19, n. 3.

⁸ Agast Stone Inscription (P. M. K. L.), pp. 48 f.

⁴ Borivali Station Stone Inscription, B. G., Vol. I, pt. ii (Old Ed.) p. 19 n. 3.

⁵ British Museum Inscription, Kielhorn's List, No. 210.

⁶ P. M. K. L., pp. 53 f.

⁷ B. G., Vol. I, pt. ii (Old Ed.) p. 19.

⁸ lournal of the University of Bombay, Vol. XIII (New Series), pt. i. pp. 60 f.

⁹ P. M. K L., p. 55.

¹⁰ Kumārapālacartia, Canto VI, vv. 40-70.

¹¹ Merutunga, Prabandhacintamant (ed. by D. K. Sastri, 1932) pp. 130 f.

CHAPTER 8.

The Shilaharas of Western India.

Silaharas of

North Konkan.

Mallikärjuna

have felt offended by the title Rājapitāmaha¹ assumed by Mallikārjuna and sent an army under his general Āmbada to invade his territory. Āmbada was defeated by Mallikārjuna and feeling disconsolate, he repaired to Kṛṣṇagiri (Kānheri) where he passed some days in black clothing. Coming to know of it, Kumārapāla sent heavy reinforcements, which enabled Āmbada to inflict a disastrous defeat on Mallikārjuna. He cut off his head, mounting daringly the elephant he was riding. He then presented the cut off head of the Silāhāra king to Kumārapāla in the assembly attended by his seventy-two feudatories². There is much exaggeration in this account, but Hemacandra also records that Mallikārjuna was killed in the fight³. Kumārapāla thereafter became the suzerain of the Silāhāras.

Aparāditya II.

Mallikārjuna was followed by Aparāditya II, but his relation to his predecessor is not known. Three inscriptions of his reign, dated Saka 1106,4 11075 and 11086 have been discovered at Lonād, Thānā and Parel, respectively. In one of them Aparāditya has metioned his imperial titles Mahārājādhirāja and Konkana-cakravarti,7 which show that he had thrown off the yoke of the Gujarāt Caulukyas. He may be referred to the period A. D. 1170-1195.

Keśideva II.

Aparāditya II's successor Keśideva II is known from two stone inscriptions. The earlier of them is dated in Saka 1125 and was found at Māṇdavī in the Vasai tālukā⁸. It records the grant of something at the holy place of Māṇdavalī in the presence of god Lakṣmīnārāyaṇa. The second⁹ is historically more important. It was found at Lonāḍ and is dated Saka 1162 (A. D. 1240). It states that Keśideva was the son of Aparārka and records the grant of a field or hamlet named Bāpagrāma (modern Bābgānv near Lonāḍ) to four worshippers of a Saiva temple.

As the two dates of Keśideva are separated by 36 years, he may have had a long reign of 40 or 45 years. He may therefore be referred to the period A. D. 1195-1240.

Someśvara.

The successor of Keśideva was Someśvara, who like Aparāditya assumed the imperial titles *Mahārājādhirāja* and *Konkana-Cakravarti*¹⁰. Only two inscriptions of his reign are known. The earlier of them, dated in *Saka* 1181 (A. D. 1259), was found at the village of Rānavaḍ

¹ Loc. cit.

² The title was assumed by earlier Sīlāhāra kings, see e.g. lines 61-62 of the Vadavali plates of Anantadeva, dated Saka 1016.

⁸ Kumārapālacarita, Canto VI, v. 69.

⁴ P. M. K. L., pp. 72 f.

⁵ Ibid., pp. 77 f.

⁶ Ibid., pp. 80 f.

⁷ Loc. cit.

⁸ Ibid., pp. 98 f.

B. G., Vol. I, pt. ii (Old Ed.), p. 20, n. 2. A. B. O. R. I., XXIII, pp. 98-102.

¹⁰ See Ranavad Stone Inscription, P. M. K. L., p. 159.

near Uran (in Kolābā district¹) and the later, dated Saka 1082 (A. D. 1160), at Cānje in Panvel tālukā². Both of them record royal grants the former to some Brāhmaṇas and the latter to the temple of Uttareśvara in the capital Sthānaka (Ṭhāṇā).

Someśvara is the last known Silāhāra king of North Konkan. In his time the power of the Yadavas of Devagiri was increasing. The Yādava king Kṛṣṇa (A. D. 1247-1261) sent an army under his general Malla to invade North Konkan3. Though Malla claims to have defeated the Silāhāra king, the campaign did not result in any territorial gain for the Yadavas. Mahadeva, the brother and successor of Kṛṣṇa, continued the hostilities and invaded Konkan with a large troop of war elephants. Somesvara was defeated on land and betook himself to the sea. He was pursued by Mahādeva. In the naval engagement that followed Someśvara was drowned. Referring to this incident, Hemādri says that Someśvara preferred to drown himself and face the submarine fire rather than the fire of Mahadeva's anger4. The scene of this fight is sculptured on some Vîrgal stones found near the Borivali station in Greater Bombay. 'Some of the stones show the land battle in which the elephants took part, while others depict the lines of vessels propelled by oars, both in advance upon the enemy and the melee itself. Since Mahādeva's force was strong in elephants, and since the stone from the sculptures upon it appears to belong to the 12th or the 13th century A. D., it is quite possible, as Cousens has suggested, that these stones may be commemorating the heroes who fell in the battle between Someśvara and Mahādeva⁵.

The battle may have taken place in c. A. D. 1265. Thereafter the Yādavas appointed a governor named Achyuta Nāyak to rule North Konkan. His Thāṇā inscription is dated A. D. 12726. Thereafter we get several inscriptions of the Yādavas from North Konkan.

The Northern Silāhāras ruled over Konkan for more than 400 years. The country under their rule comprised mainly the Thāṇā and Kolābā Districts. After the downfall of the Southern branch they added the Ratnāgiri District to their dominion, while the Goa region was occupied by the Kadambas. Their traditional capital was Purī, from which the country under their rule was called Purī-Konkana or Purī-prabhṛtī-Konkaṇa. This country is described in some early records as comprising fourteen thousand villages and in some later

CHAPTER 8.

The Silāhāras of Western India. Silaharas of North Konkan. Somešvara.

¹ Loc. cft.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 161 f.

⁸ H. C. I. P., Vol. V. p. 192.

See एतत्प्रतापो बहिरम्बुराशेरीवींन्तरेप्यस्ति कृतः प्रयामि ।
 चिरंविमृश्येति यदीयवैरी सोमेश्वरो वाडवमेवयातः ॥

⁵ Cousens, Mediaeval Architecture of the Deccan, p. 21, P1 IV.

⁶ Ep. Ind., Vol. XIII, pp. 198 f.

⁷ C. I. I., Vol. IV, pp. 149 and 157.

CHAPTER 8.

The Silāhāras of Western India Silaharas of North Konkan. cnes as containing only fourteen hundred. In some records of the Kadambas it is mentioned as Kavadīdvīpa, a lakh and a quarter. Though Purī (modern Rājāpurī near Jañjirā) was their traditional capital, the Silāhāras, for the most part, ruled from Sthānaka (modern Ṭhānā). Many of their grants record gifts of villages or land in the Thānā district.

These Silāhāras gave liberal patronage to art and literature. The temples at Ambarnāth, Pelār and Vāļkeśvar which are still extant, testify to the architectural and sculptural skill of that age. In the Udayasundarīkathā Soḍḍhala mentions several Jaina and other poets such as Candanācārya, Vijayasimhacārya, Mahākirti, Indra and some others who like himself, flourished at the Silāhāra court. Aparārka's commentary on the Yājñavalkya Smṛti is a monumental work of that age on Dharmaśāstra.

Silaharas of Kolhapur,

The third family of the Silāhāras was ruling over the Southern Marāthā Country, comprising the modern districts of Sātārā, Kolhāpūr and Belganv. Like the other two families this family also traced its descent from limutavahana, and had standard of the golden Eagle. Like the Silāhāras of Northern Konkan, these Silaharas bore the hereditary title of Tagara-pura-varādhiśvara 'the lords of Tagara, the best of towns,' but their genealogies do not disclose any points of mutual contact. Their family deity was the goddess Mahālakṣmī of Kolhāpūr, whose boon they claim in their grants to have secured. Inscriptions mention three capitals of this branch, viz. Valavāda, Kollāpura and the hill fort of Kiligila or Pranalaka. Valavada has not yet been definitely identified. Fleet thought that was identical with Walave in the Sātārā District, (now in Sāngli district)3, about 25 miles north-east of Kolhāpūr. Perhaps a better identification of the place would be with the village Valavade, now called Radhanagari, about 27 miles southwest of Kolhāpūr⁴. Kollāpura, also called Kshullakapura in some grants, is plainly modern Kolhapur, until recently the capital of a princely State. It looks strange, however, that it is less frequently mentioned in the records of the period than the other two places. It was more known as a mahā-tīrtha or a very holy place6. Kiligila or Pannāļa (or Praņālaka) durga is the strong hill fort of Panhāļā, 12 miles to the north-west of Kolhāpūr. The Vikramānkadevacarita of Bilhana, while describing the svayamvara of the Vidyadhara (i.e. Silahāra) princess Candralekhā, describes her father as Karahātā-pati, 'the ruler of Karahāta'. This may be taken to indicate that Karahāṭā,

¹ See line 64 of the Khārepāṭan plates of Anantadeva, Ind. Ant., Vol. IX. p. 35.

² Ep. Ind., Vol. XIII, pp. 316 and 323.

⁸ B.G. (old ed.), Vol. I, part ii, p. 548.

⁴ Ep. Ind., Vol. XXIII, p. 30.

[■] Ibid., Vol. III, p. 209; Ind. Ant., Vol. XIV, p. 18.

⁶ Ep. Ind., Vol. XXIII, p. 31.

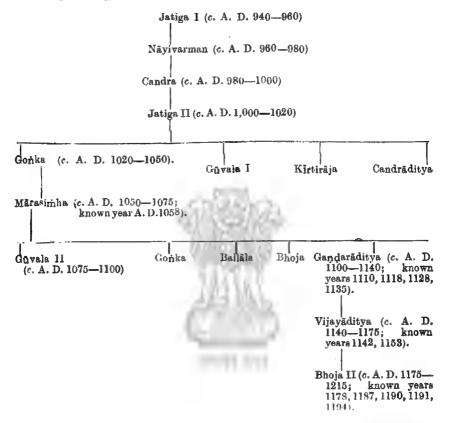
⁷ Vikramānkadevacarita, canto VIII, v. 2.

modern Karhāḍ in the Sātārā District, was also one of the capitals of this branch, but the father of Candralekhā, whom Bilhana has not named, was then probably a provincial governor, not the ruling king. Karahāta may, in that case, have been only a provincial capital.

CHAPTER 8.

The Silāhāras of Western India Silaharas of Kolhapur

The genealogy of this family may be stated as below1:-



Unlike the other two branches of North and South Konkan, this one does not mention its allegiance to the Imperial Rāṣṭrakūṭas in any of its records. This is because it rose to power late in the Rāṣṭrakūṭa period and no records of the first three generations have yet been found. The first three princes in the above genealogy are known only from two later records² of Gandarāditya and these also give them mere conventional praise. Altekar therefore thought that they had not, in their days, achieved even a feudatory status and they were called kings by their descendants when they themselves rose to power³. This is, however, only a negative argument and has not much force.

¹ This table is taken from Altekar's article in Ind. Cult., Vol. II, p. 419, with some changes necessitated by subsequent research.

² See the Tālale plates of Gandarāditya, J. B. B. R. A. S., Vol. XIII, pp. 1 f. and the Kolhāpur plates of the same king, Ep. Ind., Vol. XXIII, pp. 28 f.

⁸ Ind Cult., Vol. II, p. 419.

CHAPTER 8.

The Silāhāras of Western India, Silaharas of Kolhapur,

latiga I

The first known date of this family viz., Saka 980 (A. D. 1058) is furnished by the Miraj plates of Mārasimha¹. This king was fifth in descent from Jatiga I, the founder of this dynasty. The latter may therefore have flourished about a hundred years earlier from c. A. D. 940 to A. D. 960. In the beginning he may have acknowledged the suzerainty of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa Emperor Kṛṣṇa III (A. D. 939-967), but after his death when the power of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas declined, his successors seem to have thrown off their yoke. We have, however, no information about the political events in the reign of Jatiga I and his son and grandson Nāyivarman and Candrarāja.

Jatiga II

Jatiga II is described in the grant of his son Mārasimha as a lion in the hill fort of Pannāļa, modern Panhāļā, about 12 miles north-west of Kolhāpūr. It is not known if he was the first to occupy this fort, but it must have undoubtedly increased his power and prestige. He may have tried to extend his dominion by conquering the surrounding territory; for the Later Cālukyas who succeeded the Rāṣṭrakūṭas in the Deccan. were then preoccupied in their struggles with the Paramāras and the Colas.

Gonka

Gonka, the son and successor of Jatiga II, is described in the grant of his son Mārasinha as the ruler of the Karahāṭa-Kuṇḍi region, the Miriñja-deśa and the whole of the large country of Konkaṇa². Karahāṭa is modern Karhāḍ in the Sāṭārā District. Kuṇḍi was some part of the Belgānv District. Miriñja is of course Miraj. Konkaṇa was probably South Konkaṇa. Gonka was contemporary of the Later Cālukya king Jayasinha. From the Miraj plates³ of the latter dated in A. D. 1024 we learn that he had by then conquered South Konkaṇa and was encamped at Kolhāpūr in the course of his campaign in the north. Gonka scems to have submitted to the Cālukya king and acknowledged his supremacy. He may have been asked by Jayasimha to govern some part of South Konkaṇ which he had just conquered. As no inscription of his reign has been discovered, we cannot say how long he continued to own the supremacy of the Later Cālukyas.

The Tāļale plates of Gaṇḍarāditya mention Gūvala (I) and Kīrtirāja as brothers of Goṅka and since they describe both of them as kings, they are supposed to have succeeded Goṅka one after the other. The Kolhāpūr plates of Vijayāditya mention a third brother of Goṅka named Candrāditya. It appears very doubtful if these brothers of Goṅka succeeded him; for no grant of theirs has yet been discovered. If they ruled actually one after another, we shall have to suppose that they all died childless and their nephew Mārasimha had to wait until the close of the reign of his youngest uncle. This

¹ Cave Temples of Western India (C. T. W. I.), pp. 101 f.

² Loc. cit.

³ Ind. Ant., Vol. VIII, p. 18.

⁴ J. B. B. R. A. S., Vol. XIII, pp. 1 f.

⁶ Ep. Ind., Vol. III, pp. 207 f.

does not appear plausible. The three brothers of Gonka appear to have been called kings in later records because they belonged to the royal family and were ruling over some provinces of the Silāhāra kingdom.

Gonka was thus probably succeeded by his son Mārasimha, who issued his Miraj plates in Saka 980 (A. D. 1058). He mentions therein his title Mahāmandaleśvara, but does not name his suzerain. This shows that though he had not actually proclaimed his independence, he wielded considerable power at the time. In this grant he states that he had obtained the special grace of a boon from the goddess Mahālakṣmī. He also mentions the fort of Kiligila as his capital². This was another and perhaps a more ancient name of the well-known fort of Panhālā. The Miraj plates record the grant of the village Kuntavāda, probably identical with Kootwād,³ on the south bank of the Kṛṣṇā, five miles south of Miraj. The grant was made to a Saiva Ācārya by one Cikkadeva, who is described as a Rājaputra, but whose relation to Mārasimha has not been specified.

Mārasimha had five sons viz., Gūvala (II), Gonka, Ballāla, Bhoja and Gaṇḍarāditya⁴. Like the aforementioned sons of Jatiga II, they seem to have been placed in charge of the different provinces of the kingdom⁵. The youngest of them Gaṇḍaraditya, who seems to have come to the throne after Gūvala II, was associated with his brothers Ballāla⁶ and Bhoja⁷ in the administration of the kingdom as seen from some inscriptions in their joint names.

In the Vikramānkadevacarita⁸, Bilhana draws a graphic picture of the charms of the Vidyādhara (i.e. Silāhāra) princess Candralekhā and describes her svayamvara held at Karahāṭa (i.e. Karhāḍ). It is said to have been attended by well-known rulers of all parts of India viz., those of Cedi, Kānyakubja, Kālinjara, Mālava, Gurjara, Paṇḍya, Cola and others. Bilhaṇa's description is after the model in Kālidāsa's Raghuvamśa, Canto VI, and deserves little credence. But that Vikramāditya had married a Silāhāra princess of unrivalled beauty was known in distant Kāśmir. In the Rājataraṅgiṇi Kalhaṇa describes how when Harṣa, the king of Kāśmir, saw a portrait of Candalā (i.e. Candralekhā), the beautiful wife of the Karnāṭa king

CHAPTER 8.

The Silāhāras of Western India Silaharas of Kolhapur, Mārasimha.

Güvala II

¹ C. T. W. I., pp. 101 f.

² Loc. cit.

⁸ B. G. (Old. ed.), Vol. I, part ii, p. 547.

⁴ See Kolhāpūr inscription of Vijayāditya, Ep. Ind., Vol. III, pp. 207 f.

Altekar, however, supposes that all of them came to the throne. He is therefore obliged to assign them very short reigns. See Ind. Cult., Vol. II, p. 419.

⁶ See Honnur Canarese Inscription, Ind. Ant., Vol. XIII, p. 102.

⁷ See Herley Inscription, Graham's Kolhapoor No. 2, p. 349.

⁸ Cantos VIII and IX.

⁹ Taranga VII, vv. 1119 f.

CHAPTER 8.

The Silāhāras of Western India. Silaharas of Kolhapur, Güvala II Parmāṇḍi (i.e. Vikramāditya VI), he became smitten with love. He vowed in the open court that he would obtain Candalā after over-throwing Parmāṇḍi. He even took the vow not to use unboiled camphor till then. Kalhaṇa holds the king to ridicule for his foolishness.

The princess must have been the daughter of one of the uncles of Mārasinha, who was governing Karahāṭa. Bilhaṇa has not named her father. He only states that he was ruling at Karahāṭa and was therefore probably a provincial governor.

Gandarāditya.

Gandarāditya, who succeeded Gūvala II, is known from several grants ranging in dates from A. D. 1110 to A. D. 11351. He claims to be the sole ruler of the Miriñja-desa together with the seven khollas and also the country of Konkan2. The latter appears to be South Konkan, which as we have seen, was at least partially under the rule of this family since its conquest by the Later Calukva king Jayasimha. Gandarāditya fed a lakh of Brāhmanas at the holv place of Prayaga as stated in his Talale plates. This place must be identified not with modern Allahabad but with the one, still known by the name Prayaga, near the confluence of the Kasari and the Kumbhi, a few miles from Kolhāpūr. Gandarāditya constructed a tank which he named Gandasamudra near the village of Irukudi. He built the temples of all the three religions Hindu, Buddhist and Jaina on its bank⁸. This reference to a Buddhist temple is interesting as Buddhism had by this time all but disappeared from the Deccan. In another grant4, the king, in response to the request of his minister Mailapayya, donated lands for the temple of the god Khedāditva of Brahmapuri near Kolhapur and for the maintenance and residence of eigh! Brahmanas. This grant is dated Saka 1048 (A. D. 1126) on the occasion of the Karkata sankranti.

As we have seen, Gaṇḍarāditya was ruling over South Koṅkaṇā. A record of the time of his son Vijayāditya³ states that he had reinstated the deposed ruler of Sthānaka or Ṭhāṇā. This must have been at the beginning of the reign of Aparārka or Aparāditya I, when the Kadamba king Jayakeśin II invaded North Koṅkaṇ, killed the Silāhāra king Anantapāla and annexed North Koṅkaṇ to his dominion. As stated before, the Silāhāra king Aparāditya I was reduced to great straits at this time. Gaṇḍarāditya seems to have sent his son to his help. He, inflicting a defeat on Jayakeśin II, helped Aparāditya to regain his ancestral kingdom.

Gaṇḍarāditya seems to have sent a force under his feudatory Nimbadevarasa to help his Cālukya suzerain in his war with the

¹ Kielhorn's List of Inscriptions of Southern India, Nos. 317-320.

² See the Talale plates, J. B. B. R. A. S., Vol. XIII, p. 1 f.

⁸ Loc. cit.

⁴ Ep. Ind., Vol. XXIII, pp. 28 f.

⁵ J. B. B. R. A. S., Vol. XIII, pp. 1 f.

⁶ See Transactions of the Literary Society of Bombay, Vol. III, p. 4, 5.

Colas. Nimbadevarasa is described in an inscription¹ at Kolhāpūr as 'an awful rutting elephant to the beds of lotuses, the barons of Toṇḍai.

Gaṇḍarāditya was succeeded by his son Vijayāditya in A. D. 1140. He bears the same titles as his predecessor and claims to have obtained the right to the five great sounds (pañcamahāśabda). He appears to have taken an active part in the conspiracy to depose the Later Cālukya king Tailapa III. It is said that it was with his help that Bijjala got the sovereignty². He is also said to have reinstated the deposed rulers of Sthānaka and Goa. The former reference may be to the help which his father is said to have rendered to the Silāhāra king Aparāditya I of Ṭhāṇā. As for his help to the Kadamba king of Goa, it may have been in the reign of Jayakeśin II's son Parmādi in his conflict with the Kalacuri king Bijjala.

Vijayāditya, like his predecessors, mentions with pride in his grants that he had the favour of a boon from the goddess Mahālakśmī. He was thus a follower of the Hindu religion; but true to the noble traditions of Indian kings, he showed equal reverence to other religions like Jainism. His Kolhāpūr inscription³ dated \$aka 1065 (A. D. 1143) records his gifts of land for the maintenance and residence of some Jaina Ācāryas and the repairs of the Basadi of Srī-Pārśvanātha. The land was in the kholla (tālukā) of Ājirage (modern Ajre).

Vijayāditya II was succeeded by his son Bhoja II, the last and greatest ruler of this line. On account of his great valour he obtained the name of Vira-Bhoja4. Though in some of his grants he mentions his feudatory title Mahāmandaleśvara, in others he is known to have assumed imperial titles. In the Sabdarnavacandrika, a work of the Jainendra Vyākaraņa, Somadeva its author, describes the reigning Silāhāra king Bhoja as Rājādhirāja, Parameśvara, Paramabhattāraka and Paścima-Cakravan'i. Bhoja therefore seems to have declared his independence. This could not be tolerated by the Yādavas, who were then establishing their sovereignty. Singhana, the mighty Yadava king of Devagiri, invaded the Silahara kingdom and laid siege to the fort of Pranala (Panhala). He soon reduced it and taking Bhoja captive, he threw him into prison on the same fort. Some inscriptions⁶ describe Singhana as a very lord of birds (i.e. Garuda) in routing the serpent viz. king Bhoja, who resided on Praṇāla. The Puruṣottampuri plates state that Singhaṇa threw

CHAPTER 8.

The Silāhāras of Western India. Silaharas of Kolhapur. South Konkan.

Vijayāditya,

Bhoja II.

¹ Ep Ind., Vol. XIX, p. 31,

² Transactions of the Li:erary Society of Bombay, Vol. III, p. 415.

⁸ Ep. Ind., Vol. III, pp. 207 f.

⁴ Ibid., Vol. III, p. 215.

⁵ Ind. Ant., Vol. X, p. 76, n. 2.

⁶ Cf. पर्णाल निलय प्रबल भोज भूपाल व्याल विद्वःवण विहङ्गराज cited by Altekar, Ind. Cult. Vol. II, p. 425, n. 1.

⁷ Ep. Ind., Vol. XXV, p. 203.

CHAPTER 8.

The Silaharas of Western India. SILAHARAS OF KOLHAPUR Bhoja II. Bhoja into prison on the top of the fort (of Panhāļā). Singhaṇa then annexed the Silāhāra kingdom. Bhoja had a son named Gaṇḍarāditya, who is mentioned in one of his grants¹ but nothing is heard of him after this defeat and imprisonment of his father. Thereafter we begin to get inscriptions of the Governors of the Yādavas placed in charge of the conquered territory. The earliest² of these is dated in A. D. 1218, which shows that Bhoja II must have been defeated in c. A. D. 1215. Thus disappeared this line of the Silāhāras after a glorious rule of nearly three hundred years.

Liko his ancestors, Bhoja II also was a devout worshipper of the goddess Mahālakṣmī at Kolhāpur. He made some grants for the worship and naivedya of the goddess and also for the worship of the god Umā-Maheśvara installed in a Matha at Kolhāpūr³. The same record registers some grants made to some Brāhmaṇas who had hailed from Karahāṭa and bore the family name of Ghaisāṣa. They correspond to the Karhāḍe Brāhmaṇas of the present day. The inscription also mentions some Sahavāṣi Brāhmaṇas for whose maintenance some grants of land were made by Bhoja.

Like their brethren of North Konkan, the Silāhāras of Kolhāpūr also extended their patronage to learned men. One of these was Somadeva, the author of the Sabdārņavacandrikā, a work of the Jainendra Vyākaraņa⁴.

¹ Transactions of the Literary Society of Bombay, Vol. III, p. 393.

² Ep. Ind., Vol. XXV, p. 203.

³ Ibid., Vol. III, pp. 213 f.

⁴ Ind. Ant., Vol. X. p. 78, n. 1.

THE CALUKYAS AND THE KALACURYAS OF KALYANI.

THE CHALUKYAS OF KALYANI, LIKE THEIR PREDECESSORS OF Badami trace their origin from myths and legends of the hoary past and claim. The Cālukyas and to have descended from Brahma's culuka, from which sprang out a mighty hero who became the progenitor of the Calukya race. According to Bilhana's Vikramānkadevacarita,2 Brahmā created this hero at THE CHALUKYAS. the request of Indra to bring to an end the growing sinfulness in the world. The Yevur tablet of Vikramāditya VI and the Miraj plates of Jayasimha II add that 'the birth place of jewels of kings, who were of the lineage of Mānavya, which is praised over the whole world, who were the descendants of Hārīti, who acquired the white umbrella and other signs of sovereignty, through the excellent favour of Karttikeya, who had the territories of hostile kings made subject to them in an instant at the sight of the excellent sign of the boar which they acquired through the favour of the holy Narayana."

The records of the family then trace their rise through a long list of personages, who ruled from Ayodhya, down to the founders of the Calukyas of Badami in the middle of the sixth century A.D. Two early ancestors, Vijayāditya and Visņuvardhana, of the family are mentioned in the records of the Calukyas of Kalyani as much as in those of the Cālukyas of Badāmī as the builders of their power and dominion in the Deccan and a third, Jayasimhavallabha, is praised for restoring the fortunes of the family which had been eclipsed before him.4

The Yevur tablet and the Miraj plates describe the origin of the family in the traditions of the records of other branches of the family, CHAPTER 9.

the Kalacuryas of Kalyāņi,

> Origin and Descent.

^{*} This chapter is contributed by Dr. S. L. Katare, M.A., D.Litt.

¹ The name appears in different forms in the records of the different branches of the family. The earliest in the Badāmi Inscription dates Saka 465 is Chalikya. EI. Vol. XXVII' p. 8. The later forms are Chalkya (IA. Vol. VI, p. 363), Chatikya Ibid., Vol. XIX, p. 16), Chalukya (EI. Vol. VI, p. 4), Chālukya (IA. Vol. IV, p. 73), Chalukya (Ibid. Vol. VIII, p. 26), Chālukya (Ibid. Vol. XII, p. 92), Chaulukia (Ibid. Vol. VI, p. 191), Chālukya (Ibid. Vol. XII, p. 201), Chālukya (EI. Vol. XXVI, p. 324) and Chālukya (Ibid. Vol. VI, 243.)

² Vikramānkadevacharita Edited by Bühler, Intr. p. 26, text 1, vs. 31-36.

^{*} IA. Vol. VIII, p. 11.

⁴ IA. Vol. XIX, pp. 433-34.

The Calukyas and the Kalacuryas of Kalyani, THE CHALUKYAS.

> Origin and Descent.

e.g., the Vadanagara prasasti of the Caulukya Kumarapala of Gujarat,1 the Badāmī Cave inscription of the Cālukya Kīrtivarman I of Badāmī² and the Hyderābād plates of the Cālukya Pulakeśin II,8, etc.4

The stories of the mythological origin of the family have no historical truth. The Agnikula origin,5 which describes the rise of the family from the callu, palm of the hand, along with three others, Pṛthivīvāra (Pratīhāra), Pramara (Paramāra) and Cāhamāna from the Agnikunda in which the Brāhmaņas had kindled sacrificial fire to pray to Mahādeva for help against the demons, also has no historical foundations. The Agnikula origin was just a piece of poetry composed by the bards in praise of their patron prince to glorify the otherwise common origin of the latter and was entirely based on imagina-

The Gurjara origin,6 inspite of all its scientific analysis, does not any longer find favour with scholars on account of its historical improbabilities. If the Gurjaras migrated into India along with the Hūnas, who were in G. E. 191,7 the date of the Eran inscription of Goparāja, mere expeditionaries in search of dominion for founding a permanent power, they could not have established their kingdoms right upto the Deccan within a century or so, since the Calukyas of Badāmī were rulers of the Deccan in the middle of the sixth century A.D. If Sārasvatamandala changed its name into Gujarāt because of the Cālukya occupation (if at all they were Gurjaras), how is it that the Decean or Lāṭa, Āndhra or Kalinga over which also the Cālukyas ruled, did not adopt the same name? And how did then the Cālukyas claim victory over the Gurjaras?

The Cālukyas of Kalyānī were of Kşatriya race and were the descendants of the Cālukyas of Badāmī. Dr. Fleet⁸ and Dr. Bhandarkar,9 [the first contributors of this Gazetteer] were of a different view. The long gap between Kîrtivarman II, the last Cālukya prince of Badāmī, and Taila II, the first of Kalyānī, from Saka 679 and Saka 895, the last and the first known dates of the two respectively, give an average of about 32 years for each generation of the princes of the family who are mentioned in the records of the period. This need not be regarded unusual, since among the Paramaras and the Cālukyas of Gujarāt also there was an average of 33 and 38 years respectively, for each generation of kings. The more frequent use of the name Cālukya by the Cālukyas of Badāmī, is immaterial for supporting the views of the above scholars as this name has been

¹ IA., Vol. XVI, p. 21. ² Ibid. Vol. VI, p. 363. ³ EI. Vol. VI, p. 72.

³ EI. Vol. VI, p. 72.

⁴ For other accounts reference may be made to IA. Vol. VIII, p. 11; XIX, pp. 14 and 114; VI, p. 76; XVI, p. 17; EI. Vol. XV, p. 106; My. ASR. 1935, pp. 119-90.

⁵ Col. Tod: Annals & Antiquities of Rājasthān Edited by Crooke Vol. I, pp. 112-13.

⁶ Smith: EHI., p. 415; Bom. Gaz. Vol. I, pt. I, pp. 449 ff; IA. XI., pp. 7 ff; JBBRAS Vol. XXI, pp. 426 ff; Ganguly: IHQ. Vol. VIII, pp. 21 ff; Vol. X, pp. 337 ff; Munshi: The Glory That Was Gurjaradeśa Vol. I, pp. 4 ff.

⁷ CII. Vol. III, pp. 91.

⁸ Bom. Gaz. Vol. I, pt. II, p. 429.

⁸ Ibid. p. 211

⁹ Ibid., p. 211.

variously used as Cālukya, Cālkya, Caulukya, Caulikika, Cālikya, etc., in the records of the different branches of the family. The rise of a large number of collateral branches after Kirtivarman II of The Calukyas and Badami, is not enough to dispute the claim, which they have repeated in a number of their inscriptions, of the Calukyas of Kalyani to have THE CHALUKYAS. directly descended from the former. If the Cālukyas of Badāmī trace their descent from Satyāśraya, the Cālukyas of Kalyāņī also, if not invariably, at least quite often, do the same and any difference in the frequency of making this claim is mainly due to the flexibility of the tradition and its later rigidity. Further, if the Calukyas of Kalyānī claim their descent from Satyāśraya Pulakeśin II, this is not enough to challenge their claim of direct descent from the Cālukyas of Badami as suggested by Fleet. Among the Pallavas the successors of Dantivarman called themselves as his descendants and not those of the earlier Pallavas and this did not mean that the Pallavas, after Dantivarman, were not the direct descendants of earlier Pallavas.

Inscriptions of the Cālukyas of Kalyānī and the poet Ranna in his Gadāyuddha, which he wrote in 982 A.D., trace the descent of this family from the brother of Kirtivarman II of Badami. The two tell the same tale and differ in minor details. This brother is called Bhīmaparākrama. It sounds more like a biruda than a proper name. This may be due to an attempt to distinguish him from a later Bhima (Kundiga Bhima of Ranna). Any difference in the genealogical details in the inscriptions and the Gadayuddha may be due to the mistakes of the copyist of the Gadayuddha. Ranna records that Kirtivarman was the son of Vikramārņava Konkaņi Vikramāditya's son, who was the son of the friend of Niravadya Vijayāditya, who was the son of Dugdhamalla, but the inscriptions in his place give the name of Satyāśraya samastabhuvanāśraya Vijayāditya. (cf Table I).

Between Kirtivarman II, the last king of Badami, and Taila II, the first of Kalyānī, besides the princes of the main dynasty, a number of others of collateral branches are mentioned as the feudatories of the Rāstrakūtas, who ruled over the Deccan between the Cālukvas of Badāmī and the Cālukyas of Kalyānī: Vimalāditya, son of Yaśovarman, and grandson of Balavarman, was governing the Kumingiladeśa in A.D. 812, May 24.2 He was the son of Cākirāja's sister and was the adhi-raja of the Gangamandala division under the Rastrakūta Prabhūtavarsa Govinda III. Vimalāditya was freed from the affliction of Sani (Saturn) by muni Arkakīrtti of Vāpanīya-Nandi-Samgha of the Punnagavyksamūla-gaņa for which Cākirāja granted a village for the Jinendra temple at Silagrama, a suburb of the Rāstrakūta capital Mānyakheta.8 Balavarman, father of Daśavarman, was governing certain districts as a feudatory of the Rastrakūța Nityavarșa Indra III in 812 A.D. In 944 A.D. Mahāsāmanta

CHAPTER 9.

the Kalacuryas

Origin and Descent.

Gadāyuddha, Aśvāsa II, prose passage.

² EI. Vol. IV, p. 349.

^{*} Ibid.

⁴ IMP. Vol. I, By. No. 94; HISI, p. 46.

The Calukyas and the Kalacuryas of Kalyani. THE CHALUKYAS.

Origin and Descent,

Kātyera was governing the Kogaļi 500 and the Māsiyavādi 140 divisions, which formed part of Bellary, Hadagalli (Huvinahadagalli) and Harapanahalli tālukās of the Bellāry district of the present Mysore State.1 Mahāsāmanta Goggi and Narasimha are mentioned in some records.2 Goggi may be the same who is mentioned with another Cālukya chieftain, Dugga or Durga, in some other records.8

The Pampabhārata, also known as Vikramārjunavijaya, of the Kanarese poet Pampa, Yaśasatilaka Campū of Somadevasūri, 5 the Vemulavada inscription⁶ and the Kollipara⁷ and the Parabhani plates⁸ dated in Saka 888, Ksaya samvatsara, Vaisākha pūrnīmā, Budhavāra=April 8, 966 A.D., of the time the Calukya Arikesarin III reveal the existence of a Calukva family, feudatory to the Rastrakūţas and governing from Vemuļavāda, Vemavād, in the Karimnagar district of the former Hyderābād State. Vemulavāda is the same as Lembulapātaka of the Parabhanī plates. Pampa wrote his work under the patronage of Arikesarin II and completed it in Saka 863, Plava, Kārttika śu. 5, Sunday. There are minor differences in the genealogies of the family, given in the above two sources. According to Pampa, Narasimha I and Dugdhamalla II had more than one son, while Dugdhamalla I and II are named Yuddhamalla in the Parabhani plates.9 (of Table II).

Yuddhamalla, the founder of the family, ruled over the Sapādalaksa country¹⁰ and claims to have bathed his elephants at Podana¹¹ (Bodana according to Pampa). Sapādalakşa is not Sākambharī, modern Sāmbhar in Rājputānā, as supposed by some scholars. 12 It is the area comprising the modern Nizāmābād and part of Karimuagar districts of the former Hyderabad State and Podana or Bodana is the present Bodhan in the Nizāmābād district. 18 Sapādalaksa is called savālakkhe in a later inscription and is mentioned with Chabbi 1,000 division, both of which were governed by one Mahāmanduleśvara Rājāditya with his capital at Lembulapāţaka. Yuddhamalla is said to have defended Vengi along with Trikalinga and stormed the hill fortress of Citrakūţa, modern Cakrakoţţya in the Bastar District of Madhya Pradeśa. His son Arikeśarin¹⁴ conquered Vengī and attacked king Nirupama, the Rāṣṭrakūṭa prince. Arikeśarin was followed by Narasimha and he by Yuddhamalla II, who had a son named Baddega,

IMP. Vol. I, By. No. 267.
 Bom. Gaz. Vol. I, Pt. ii, p. 380.
 MARS 1936, Nos. 40-41; EC Vol III, My Nos 36-37.

[·] Karnātaka Sāhitya Parisad Edn.

⁵ Shrikanta Sastri: Sources of Kanarese History, Vol. I, pp. 94-95.

⁶ JAHRS. Vol. VI, pp. 185 ff.

⁷ Ibid. p. 189.

^{*} Ioid. p. 189.

* Khare; SMHD, Vol. II, pp. 33 ff.

* Journal of Madras University, Vol. V, pp. 101 ff.

** Vikramārjunavijaya (Karnātaka Sāhitya Pariṣad Edn.), canto I, v. 16; JAHRS, Vol. VI, pp. 169 ff; Khare: opt. cit. p. 49.

**I JOR. Vol. XVIII, p. 59.

¹² Khare: Op. cit. p. 49.
13 JOR. Vol. XVIII, pp. 39 ff.
14 EC. Vol. IV, My, No. 127. The date proposed by the Editor for the inscription cannot be consistent with this identification.

who won many battles and gained the title of Soladaganda. Baddega was succeeded by his son Yuddhamalla III and the latter by his son The Calukyas and Narasimha II, who plundered the Mālava king and defeated the Pratihāra Mahīpāla of Kanauj, drove away the Gurjara king and bathed his horses in the waters of the Ganga. He may be the same as THE CHALUKYAS. Mahāsāmanta Narasingaiyya, who granted a village to a temple constructed by him. Arikeśarin II was the son of Narasimha II and Jākabbe. He patronised Pampa, who wrote Pampabhārata at his instance at Laksmaneśvara in the Huligere sub-division and got the village Dharmauru in the Bachhe 1000 division in reward. Arikeśarin married Lokāmbikā, a Rāstrakūta princess. He is said to have defeated the feudatories of, and overthrown, the Rāṣṭrakūṭa Govinda IV, while sheltering the eastern Cālukya Vijayāditya, probably Bijjaņa of the Vemulavada inscription, when pursued by Govinda's feudatories. He claims credit for placing Baddegadeva, the Rāstrakūţa Amoghavarşa III (933-937 A.D.), on the throne and defeated Bappuva, younger brother of Kakkala, probably the Rastrakūta Karka II¹ when attacked by him.

Arikeśarin was followed by his son Vaddiga or Bhadradeva, or Vāgarāja.² He was a Mahāsāmantādhipati under the Rāṣṭrakūṭa Krsnarāja III and patronised Somadevasūrī, who wrote his Yasastilakacampu at Gangadhārā and completed it in 960 A.D., when Kṛṣṇarāja and Vaddiga were camping at Melapāţi, Melapāḍi, in Cittur tālukā of the North Arcot district of the Madras State⁸ after a victorious campaign against Pāṇdya, Simhala, Cera, etc. Somadevasūri calls Gangadhārā as Vaddiga's capital. Hence, it was included in the Savālakkhe country. Vaddiga was followed by his son Arikeśarin III, who issued the Parabhani plates, dated in Saka 888, Kṣaya Samvatsara, Vaisākha Pūrņimā Budhavāra = April 8, 966 A.D. He was also a Mahāsāmantādhipati of Kṛṣṇarāja and had his capital at Vemulavāda. He granted a village in Repāka 12 in Sabbi 1,000 to Somadevasūri. Sabbi is modern Chabbi.4

Another Cālukya chieftain was governing the Banavāsī 12,000 in 972 and 973 A.D.5 Rājāditya, defeated by the Ganga Mārasimha, may be the Rājāditya6 whose family is described in a copper-plate grant of November 16, 951 A.D.7 The family was founded by Avani-

CHAPTER 9.

the Kalacuryas of Kalyāņī,

> Origin and Descent.

¹El Vol. XIII, p. 329; JAHRS. Vol. VI, pp. 185 ff. [Kakkala, called Karkara in a Silāhāra grant was the ruler of Acalapura in Vidarbha Scc. C. I. I. IV, p. lxxxii-V.V,M.]

¹ Vikramārjunavijaya, Khare: op cit, p. 36, f.n.l.

^a EI, Vol. IV, p. 281.

⁴ Khare: op. cit. pp. 33 ff.

^b EO. Vol. VIII, Sh. Nos. 465, 455, 454.

⁶ MYASR. 1935, No. 40.

⁷ Ibid 1921, p. 21.

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The Calukyas and the Kalacuryas of Kalyani

Origin and Descent.

mayya and Candrāditya whose grandson claims to have defeated the Aśvapati king whom it is difficult to indentify. Rājāditya I, grandson of Candrāditya, married the daughter of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa Akālavarṣa (Kṛṣṇa II—877-913 A.D.). His grandson Kaccega married a Gaṅga princess, sister of the Gaṅga Bhūtārya, probably a collateral of the main Gaṅga family. Kaccega's son Rājāditya had two wives. One is called Cakravarti-sutā and the other Gaṅga Gāṅgeya-tanayā, the former, being the daughter of the Emperor, was obviously Rāṣṭra-kūṭa princess and the latter a Gaṅga. He was a Mahāsāmanta, who had acquired the five drums and the title of a Māhārāja. He was governing Kadambaļige 1,000 division given to him by the Rāṣṭra-kūṭa king, Kṛṣṇarāja III, for his expenses.¹ An inscription dated in 968 A.D. records the details of another Cālukya family of which Mahāsāmanta Paṇḍiga was governing Kadambaļige 1000, as a feudatory of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa Kṛṣṇa III.²

The Calukya princes, after the eclipse of their power when Kirttivarman II was defeated by the Rastrakuta Dantidurga in the middle of the eighth century, are rarely mentioned in the inscriptions of this period. Bhīma I (or Bhīmaparākrama as he is called), uncle of Kirtivarman II, was followed in succession by Kirtivarman III, his son Taila I, who may be the same who is mentioned as Mahārāja in a Pattadakala inscription of the ninth century,3 his son Vikramāditya III, his son Bhīma II, his son Ayyana I, who married the daughter of a certain king Kṛṣṇa,4 identified with the Rāṣṭrakūṭa Kṛṣṇa II, by Fleet.⁵. Dr. Fleet's identification of Ayvana I, with Ayvapadeva of the Begür inscription⁶ is not acceptable as pointed out by Rice.⁷ Ayyana's son Vikramāditya IV married Bonthādevī 'glory of the lords of Cedi', a daughter of the Kalacuri Laksmanaraja of Tripuri.8 A Sondekola inscription⁹ dated in Saka 892 (expired), Puşya śu 13=January 13,970 A.D. records grant of a tank, 12 gadyāṇas, etc., to a Cālukya chieftain Pandarasa or Pandayya by Mahārājādhirāja Parameśvara Paramabhattāraka Vikramāditya Deva, who may be identified with the Calukva Vikramāditva IV, father of Taila II, of Kalyani. Pandarasa or Pandayya, an officer in the Kadambalige 1000, is the same who is mentioned in another inscription dated in 968 A.D. and who was governing in the same division under the Rāṣṭrakūṭa Nityavarṣa.10

¹ Ibid. 1935, p. 121.

⁸ EC. Vol. XI, Cd. No. 74.

⁸ ARSIE, 1928-29, No. 117.

⁴ BISMQ. Vol. X, p. 93.

⁵ Bom. Gaz. (Old Edn.), Vol. I, pt. ii, p. 379.

⁶ Ibid.

⁷ EC. Vol. III, Sr. No. 134, Intr. p. 4, f.n.3.

⁸ IA. Vol. XL, p. 43.

^{*} EC. Vol. X1, Cd. No. 25.

¹⁶ Ibid. Cd. No. 50. .

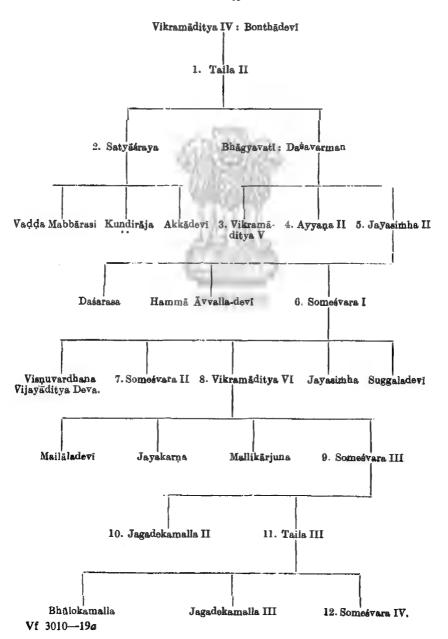
This shows that Pandarasa transferred his allegiance from the Rastrakūtas to the Cālukya Vikramāditya IV, between 968 and 970 A.D. The Cālukyas and and the Kadambalige 1000 was wrested by Vikramāditya IV, from the Kalacuryas Rastrakūtas.

CHAPTER 9. the Kalacuryas of Kalyani. THE CHALUKYAS.

TABLE I.

THE CALUKYAS OF KALYANI.

Genealogy.



The Calukyas and the Kalacuryas of Kalyani.

THE CHALUKYAS. Taila II.

Taila II, also called Tailappa, Tailapayya, Tailapa and Nūrmadi Taila, was the son of Vikramaditya IV and his wife Bonthadevi, daughter of Kalacuri Laksmanaraja of Tripuri. He started his career as a feudatory of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas as revealed by Kārjol inscription (Bijāpūr district), dated in Saka 879, Pingala Samvatsara, Āśvayuja śu. 5, Thursday = September 11, 956 A.D., when the Rastrakūta Kannaradeva (Kṛṣṇa III) was ruling at Melapāti and Tailapayya was governing the nadu.1 The Narasalgi inscription (Bagevadī tālukā, Bijāpūr district), dated in Saka 886, Raktāksin Samvatsara, Phalguna, solar eclipse (Monday, 6th March, 965 A.D.), refers to the Cālukyārāma, Mahāsāmantādhipati, Āhavamalla Tailaparasa of the Satyāśraya. family governing Tarddavādi 1000 as anugajīvita when the Rāstrakūta Akālavarša Kṛṣṇa III was ruling. The name of a subordinate of his, belonging to the Khacara kula is lost.2 Narasalge was included in Murttage 30. Tarddavadī is modern Taddevadī on the southern bank of the river Bhīmā in the Indi tālukā of the Bijāpūr district. If Vikramāditya of the inscription dated in 970 A.D. referred to above is Taila's father, this would show that the father and the son were governing Tarddavāḍī 1000 and the Kadambaļige 1000 divisions as feudatories of the Rastrakūtas.

The marriage of Vikramāditya IV with the Kalacuri princess Bonthadevi shows that he had gained some prestige and in view of the growing hostility between the once friendly Kalacuris and Rastrakūtas, it may be that Taila II was helped by the former in his struggle against the latter.

In 973 A.D., Taila II suddenly emerged out from the insignificance of a Mahāsāmanta to establish an independent sovereign dominion with its capital as Mānyakheţa itself. Mānyakheţa, the Rāstrakūta capital, was wrested from them by Taila II by defeating the Rastrakuta king Karkka II, who was also killed in the battle. Taila II was ruling form Mānyakheta in 993 A.D.3 The records of the Cālukyas and their feudatories describe the victory of Taila over the Rastrakūţa Karkka II in glowing terms. The Sogal inscription, dated Saka 902, Vikrama Samvatsara, Āṣādha Amāvasyā=June 8, 978, A.D.4 says that Taila II cut off the head of Ranakambha Kakkala 5. Ranakambha may be taken to mean pillar of victory (ranastambha) rather than a king.6 The Bhādāna grant of the Silāhāra Aparājita dated in June 997 A.D. describes the defeat and death of Kakkala II 'as a light extinguished by a fierce wind and that of the once flourishing Ratta rule, there remained the memory'. The Kharepatan plates,

¹ ARSIE, 1933-34, B. K. No. 178 of 1933-34.

SII. Vol. XI. pt. 1, No. 40, ARSIE. 1929-30, B.K. No. 130.
 ARASI. 1930-34, pt. ii, p 241.
 EI. Vol. XVI, p. 2. The date is irregular. I prefer June 8, 978 A.D. to July 14, 980 A.D.

bid, p. 4, v. 20.
 El. Vol. XVI, p. 4. Barnett thinks that Kakkala and Ranakambha were two different persons. The Nilagunda Plates record lūnau yena sukhena Karkara-ranastambhau rana-prangane (El. Vol. XII, p. 152, v. 27). Fleet interprets karkara-ranastambhau as the pillars of Kakkara in war, which were annihilated by Taila, but later on he thought that the two were different kings. This view does not appear to be correct. It may be suggested that Taila cut off the two pillars of victory of Karkkara. It is not unusual since pillars of victory were established by various kings in those times. ** EI. Vol. III, pp. 270-73.

dated in \$aka 930 = 1008 A.D. while describing Kakkala at its end speak that "Having defeated this (Kakkala) king in the battle the lion-like and glorious king Tailapa of the Cālukya race became king.1" The Cālukyas and The Nilagunda plates say that Taila II was easily successful in the Kalacuryas struggle with Kakkala² and the Kalige plates record that "Having first uprooted (and) slain some of the Rattas....king Taila, the mighty one, (who inspired) fear by the pride of his arm assumed the asylum sovereignty of the Calukyas and became free from all troubles, (ruling) alone over the circuit of the earth for twenty-four years beginning with the year Srīmukha".3 The date of Taila's victory over the Rastrakūtas and his assumption of an independent status may be fixed with the help of the Sravana Belgola epitaph of the Ganga prince Mārasimha and the Melagani inscription which says that the latter was dead in Saka 896, Bhava Samvatsara, Asadha = June-July, 974 A.D.4, having renounced sovereignty one year after the anointment of Indra IV, his own son-in-law and the grandson and successor of Kakkala. This fixes the date of the anointment of Indra IV as June-July 974 A.D. The Gundur inscription of Kakkala dated in June 9735 A.D. shows that he was alive and ruling on that date. The Malur inscription which speaks of Taila's fight with the Ganga Pāñcāladeva is dated in April 973 A.D.,6 when he had not assumed full sovereign titles and was merely fighting against his enemies. This fixes the date of Taila's accession to power in June-July 743 A.D. The Srimukha Samvatsara itself commenced from March 23, 973,

The long story of the gradual decline of 'the once flourishing Ratta rule', which disappeared 'as a light extinguished by a flerce wind' and of which 'there remained only the memory', is the subject of the former chapter. In short it was the aggressive policy of Kṛṣṇa III (940-65 A.D.) against the Candellas, the Paramaras and the Kalacuris in the north and the Colas and the Ceras in the south which sapped their internal strength and incurred fierce hostility of powerful kings outside. The glories of his victory, both in the north and the south were short-lived. His invasion of the Kalacuri dominions7 transformed the close matrimonial alliance between these two powers into one of bitter hostility towards each other. In the marriage of Bonthadevi, daughter of the Kalacuri Laksmanaraja, with Vikramaditya, father of Taila II, lay the seed of the rise of Taila II and the cause of the final eclipse of the Rastrakutas. The Paramaras were already their enemies and the Candellas, who had risen to power with their help, having once consolidated their power at the cost of the Pratiharas, could not be friendly inclined towards them and were also not strategically situated to be of any help. The Colas in the south were merely watching for an opportunity to pounce upon them and regain the lost ground. The Rastrakūta solidarity

CHAPTER 9.

THE CHALUKYAS. Taila II.

¹ El. Vol. III p. 298; JBBRAS Vol. I, p. 221.

EI. Vol. IV, pp. 204 ff.
 IA. Vol. XXI, p. 167; Vol. XII, p. 270.
 EI. Vol. X, Mb. No. 84.

⁵ IA. Vol. XII, p. 271.

⁶ MASR. 1942, No. 2, pp. 11-12.

^{7 (}This is not supported by evidence See C.I.I. Vol. IV, pp. LXXXII f.-V.V.M.)

The Calukyas and the Kalacuryas of Kalyāņī.

THE CHALURYAS. Taila II.

was further broken by internal dissensions, palace revolutions and violent feuds for succession to the throne in which the Calukyas took an active part.

Khottiga Nityavarşa Amoghavarşa, on his accession to the throne after Kṛṣṇa's death in 695 A. D., had to atone for the sins of Kṛṣṇa's wars with the Paramāra Sīyaka II, Harṣa, who had revolted against his Rāstrakūta sovereign sometime before 949 A. D. and, inspite of the claim of the two chieftains of Krsna for the title of Ujjenibhujanga, continued to rule in Mālava as an independent king from 949 A.D. Khottiga also invaded Mālava, but suffered a disastrous defeat at the battle of Kalighatta on the banks of the river Narmada on which Cacca, son of Dhanika, of the Vagod branch of the Paramāras and Kankadeva, a prince of another collateral Paramāra family, lost their lives. According to the Arthuna inscription they claim to have defeated near Narmada, the forces of the ruler of Karnnata and thus destroyed the enemy of the Malava king Srī Harşa. This battle took place before 969 A.D., the date of the Ahmadābād plates1. Sīvaka II verv soon retaliated by invading the Rāstrakūta kingdom and plundered their capital Mānyakheta. Dhanapāla of Dhārā and the author of Pāiyalacchī, who wrote this work for his sister Sundarī completed it at Dhārā in V. S. 1029 = 972-73 A.D. "when Manyakheta had been sacked and plundered in an assault by the king of Mālava"2. This is corroborated by the Udaipur praśasti3. The Ganga prince Mārasimha came to the rescue of the Rāstrakūta Karkka II and the Sravana Belgola records that he "by the strength of his arm protected the encampment of the Emperor when it was located at the city of Manyakheta."4 Khottiga seems to have died in the battle at Manyakheta and was succeeded by Karkka II in about 972 A.D.5:

The sack of Manyakheta by the Paramara forces broke the backbone of the Rāstrakūtas. Karkka II was inefficient and vicious. Revolutions and chaos followed in the wake of the Paramāra invasion and the Rastrakūta misfortunes were exploited as an opportunity, as usual in those times by their feudatories to assert their own power. and soon after the Câlukya Taila II, launched an attack on Karkka II and his capital Manyakheta. Before he dealt the final blow to Karkka II, Taila had to fight against Pāncāladeva-an officer under Mārasimha. Taila's forces were commanded by Brahma and those of Pāñcāladeva by Salli, according to a Malur inscription, dated April 10, 973, A.D.6 Taila was helped by the Mahamantraksapataladhipati

¹ EI, Vol. XIX, p. 179.

² Bühler: Paiyalacchī Ints. p. 6, v. 276; EI. Vol. XIII, p. 180; Vol. XVI, p. 178; IA. Vol. XXXVI, p. 169.

8 EI. Vol. I, p. 235, v. 12.

4 Ibid. Vol. IV, p. 179; E.C. Vol. II, No. 59.

⁵ Altekar: Rastrakutas, p. 125. 6 MASR., 1942, No. 12, th 11-12.

Dhalla and a bhujadanda, as he is called, of Ahavamalla and in whom Taila had implicit confidence. Later on Dhalla became the chief minister (Sacivottama) of Taila and was given the title of Viveka- The Calukyas and brhaspati. This title is given to Dhalla's son Nagadeva in the Ajitapurāna. The Ganga Mārasimha claims to have broken the pride THE CHALUEYAS. of the mighty Dhalla, who stood up against Vanagajamalla, who has been identified with Krsna III. He also claims to have put to light, and conquered Dhalla 'who was possessed of strength that was too great to be realised'. Dhalla's son Nāgadeva married Attiyabbe, daughter of Mallappaya, at whose instance Ranna wrote his Ajitapurāņa.

After the death of Karkka II, the Canga Marasimha tried to revive the Rastrakūta power by placing on the throne Indra IV, grandson of Kṛṣṇa III and his own son-in-law, who had escaped to the western regions of his dominions. Mārasimha was himself governing Gangavādī 96,000, Nolambavādī 32,000 and Banavāsī 12,000, Sāntalige 1,000, Belvolā 300, Puligere 300, Kisukād 70 and Bāgevādī 70 divisions. He failed in his bid for a Rastrakūta restoration and as the Sravana Belgola epitaph records having carried out the acts of religion in a most worthy fashion one year later, he laid aside the sovereignty at the town of Bankapur, in the performance of worship in the proximity of the holy feet of the venerable Ajitasena, he observed the vow of fasting for three days and attained rest.' 1 His death took place in about Saka 896, Bhava Samvatsara, Aṣāḍha= June-July, 974 A.D., when three Nolamba princes, Pallavaditya, Nolambādhirāja and his father Corayya, who were halting at Sūryya-miniyūr, did something on hearing of the death of Mārasimha Permadi.² This fixes the date of Mārasimha's death and his anointment of the Rāstrakūta Indra IV.

Mārasimha's successor Rācamalla and Cāvundarāya supported the cause of Indra IV, but realising that all chances of restoring his authority at Manyakheta were lost, Indra also ended his life by performing the Sallekhanā, self starvation, and died on March 20, 982 A.D.8

Ahavamalla Taila II assumed the paramount titles of Mahārājādhirāja Parmeśvara Paramabhaţtāraka, Samastabhuvanāśraya and had the birudas of bhujabalavīranārāyana, Bhuvanaikamalla and Āhavamalla.5 He married Jakabbe, daughter of Rastrakūta chieftain Bhammaha, who is not known from any other source. Practically all the feudatories of the Rāstrakūtas transferred their allegiance to Taila II on his assumption of supreme power. Some of the most important of them were the Māturas, the Rattas, the Sindas, the Yādavas, the Kadambas, Sobhanaras and some of the minor Rāstrakūta chieftains who probably belonged to some collateral branches. One such Rāstrakūtā chieftain, called Bhīma or Bhīma-

CHAPTER 9.

the Kalacuryas of Kalyānī.

Taila II.

¹ EI. Vol. V, pp. 166 ff; EC. Vol. II, No. 59. ⁸ EC. Vol. X, Mb. No. 84. ⁸ IA. Vol. XX, p. 35; EC. Vol. II, No. 133. ⁶ IMP, Vol. I, Cd. No. 580.

^{*} ABASI 1930-34, pt. i, p. 241.

The Calukyas and the Kalacuryas of Kalyāni,

THE CHALUKYAS. Taila II.

rasa, who may be the same as Bhammaha, father-in-law of Taila, was ruling over Banavāsī 12000, Sāntaļige 1000 and Kisukādu 70.3 The Silāhāras and the Nolambas, who tried to resist Taila, were subjugated by force.

Nagadeva, son of Dhalla, and his son-in-law, Mallapa, defeated the Kumāras at the battle of Lodhra. The Kumāras appear to have been gentlemen troopers of kings as were the Lenkas 1000, who with their chief Dandanāyaka Tikanna, are mentioned as pillars of the Pallava kingdom, when Trailokyamalla-Nanni-Nolamba-Pallava-Permānadi was governing certain divisions under the Cālukya Someśvara I in A.D. 1046.2 The Nolambas, who appear to have pretended to be independent, after the death of Marasimha, were defeated by Nagadeva. In recognition of his gallantry Taila raised Năgadeva to the rank of a Senāpati. The Nolambas finally accepted

Taila's suzerainty.3

Taila II had to face bitter opposition from the Ganga Pancaladeva, who had started his career as a minor chieftain governing a small division, Sabbi 30, in 971 A.D.4 and had risen to the position of the Governor of the Gangavadī 96,000 in 973 A.D.5 and declared independence, on the death of Mārasimha, in 975 A.D., when Mārasimha's two sons, Rājamalla and Rakkasa Ganga, were in the Biddonegere region. Pañcala claims to have been ruling 'without any disorder from the limits of the eastern and the western and the southern oceans with the great river⁶ as the boundary on (on the north)' and calls himself as the Cāļukya-pañcānana, "lion to the Cālukvas". His dominions would thus include Gangavādī 96,000 Nolambavādī 32,000, Puligere 300, Belvolā 300 divisions, over which the Ganga Mārasimha had also ruled. Taila had defeated Pāncāladeva, earlier in a battle at Malur. This time the battle was hotly contested and the Calukya forces were commanded by Nagadeva, son of Dhalla, and Mahāmandaleśvara Bhūteyadeva or Bhūtiga. At the initial stage of the battle the Calukyas seem to have suffered some reverses and their rear had taken to flight, but the day was saved by Bhūtiga who ultimately defeated and killed the enemy.7 Nāgadeva is said to have fought bravely and scattered the cavalry and the elephants of Pancala and drove them away from the battlefield like cattle8. As a result of their victory the Calukyas reached the very gates of the Ganga capital Talakad. On the request of Attiyabbe, Nagadeva's wife, Taila constructed a Jain basadi at Lokkigundi, modern Lokkundi in the Dhārvād district of the present Mysore State, in recognition of Nagadeva's services in the battle.9 The Gadag inscription of Vikramāditya VI, records that 'Taila took the head of Pañcala by the terror of the pride of his arm in battle.' 10

EC. Vol. II, Intr. p. 45; DKD., pp. 430-433.
 SII. Vol. IX, pt. i, No. 104.
 Ibid., Nos. 102-104.

⁴ IA. Vol. XII, p. 255.

⁵ Ibid., Vol. XVII.

⁶ Meaning the Kṛṣṇā. 7 IA. Vol. XII, 216.

Ajitapurāṇa, I, V. 44.
 SII. Vol. XI, pt. i, No. 52, pp. 39 ff.
 EI. Vol. XV, p. 356.

The battle was fought between August, 975 A.D., the date in Pañcāla's Mulgunda inscription, and 977 A.D., when Rācamalla was placed on the Ganga throne by Cavundaraja, who had been the The Calukyas and minister of Mārasimha.

Taila claims to have defeated another Ganga prince, Govindara, THE CHALUKYAS. who was helped by Cavundaraya, to get into the fort of Bageyur after he had defeated a certain Tribhuvanavīra. Tribhuvanavīra may have been a Mahāsāmanta whom Taila may have sent against Govindara.1 Paunamayya lost his life in the battle against Govindara, when he rushed into the battle crying at the pitch of his voice "Long live Taila".2 The battle was fought on the banks of Käverī, where Taila was confronted by a confederacy of feudatories organised by Govindara.

The defeat of Pancala and Govindara broke the power of Taila's bitter rivals and enemies. Taila then turned his arms against those feudatories of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas who had still held back their allegiance from him. The Bhādāna plates of the Silāhāra Aparājita does admit the fall of the Rastrakūtas, but does not recognise the Calukyas as the suzerain. Taila sent an army under the command of his son Satyāśraya to bring Aparājita to book. Aparājita seized with fear fled away from the battlefield, but was pursued and sandwitched between the sea and the Cālukya force and made to surrender. He was taken prisoner and released on tendering his allegiance and twenty-one elephants to Taila. The Calukyas claim to have burnt Amsunagara during this campaign. Five members of the Vāji family to which Dhalla also belonged also took part in the battle. A Vāji chieftain is called Konkan-bhujanga in an inscription, dated in Saka 928=1006 A.D.3 He may be Padvala Taila, son of the Madhuva and his son Kesavarāja also took general Nāgadeva.4 part in this Konkan campaign and won Taila's admiration.

Several records of Taila speak of his victory over the Colas. But the details of the struggle between the two are not known. Colas could not have looked on silently to the destruction of the Rastrakūta Empire and the rise of an insignificant feudatory to the position of imperial power in the Deccan. If they also made a bid to annex as much part of the Rāstrakūta Empire as they could, that was but natural. But they did not very much succeed in their venture and appear to have been forced to withdraw to their own dominions by Taila II. The Sogal inscription of Taila describes him as an axe to the great mountain, the potent Cola'. Another says that the frightened Cola king was bewildered because of the fear of Taila's power and could not decide 'what to do and where to go'. Several other records in the Belläry⁵ and the Cuddapah districts of the Madras State confirm this claim. A record at Gollapalle mentions a gift of land by Nūrmadi Taila.6 The earliest record in the Bellary district is dated Saka 897, Yuva samvatsara, (punna)me,

CHAPTER 9.

the Kalacuryas of Kalyāni,

Taila II.

¹ EC. Vol. II, No. 281.

² SII Vol. VI, No. 102.

^{**} Ibid Vol. XI, pt. i, No. 76.

** Ibid Vol. XI, pt. i, No. 76. p. 67.

** SII Vol. IX, pt. i, No. 73-78.

** A R SI E 1937-38, No. 307.

CHAPTER 9. the Kalacuryas of Kalyani, THE CHALUKYAS. Taila II.

Sukravāra = A.D. 976, February 18, Friday, records a grant of land by Taila. Another dated April 22, 981 A.D., refers to his chieftain The Calukyas and Vīra-Nolamba-Pallava Parmanadiveva, 'Lord of Kancī', as he is called, and records confirmation of an earlier sthanya-manya to three temples.2 The Kadamba chieftain Adityavarmarasa is mentioned in a Kogali record of December 23, 992 A.D.3 when Taila was ruling from Rodda according to this and two other records of July 23, 9964 and of January 12, 991 A.D.5 The last epigraph is very interesting in as much as it records that the Kadamba Adityavarman, Governor of Kogali 500, was terrorising over the people by increasing the rate of tolls and contributions fixed by the Rastrakuta Kannaradeva and that the fifty mahājanas of Bālguli (Bagali) and the three leaders of tāmbulige, the betel sellers, carried a complaint to Taila II against this enhancement and, that Taila, after hearing the same, rescinded the order of Adityavarman and decreed that the old rate fixed by Kannaradeva should not be violated and enhanced. The king while camping at Rodda also obtained one hundred and fifty elephants which had been pleasing to the Colas. Whether these elephants were received by Taila as ransom from the Colas for his victory over them or were captured by one of his generals in any war with them and then presented to Taila is not known. The Kadambas and the Nolambas also recognised Taila as their overlord.

> The Colas appear to have attacked the Nolambas and a battle between the Colas and the Nolambadhirāja took place at Bijayitamangala in about 980 A.D., (this date is uncertain) in which Nolambarasa died.⁶ Another inscription of this time records a fight between Nolambarasa's Mallappa and Mannara.7 Having defeated the Nolambas, the Colas marched northward, but could make no headway against the Calukyas. This was during the reign of Uttama Cola (969-985 A.D.). His successor Rājarāja later succeeded in defeating the Nolambas and driving them out from these regions. He was recognised as the king in those regions and Gannarasa was governing over there as his feudatory in 997 A.D.8

> Taila II also claims to have defeated the Pandya king as the Sogal inscription mentions that the Pandya king was also frightened because of Taila and could not decide 'where to go and what to do.'. The Pandya king may be Amarabhujangadeva, who was ultimately defeated and driven away from his principality by Rajaraja the Great in 995 A.D.9

> Dhalla and Nāgadeva claim victory over Vengī. 10 Ranna makes no mention of this. Nagadeva was dead before 993 A.D., when Ranna completed his Ajitapurāņa. Nägadeva had married two

¹ SII. Vol. IX, pt. i, No. 73.

² Ibid No. 74.

¹ Ibid No. 77.

¹ Ibid. No. 78.

⁵ Ibid. No. 76,

⁶ EC. Vol. IX, Ht. Do. 47

⁷ Ibid. Ht. 48.-

⁹ Ibid. Ht. 111.

⁹ The Colas I, pp. 200, 202. ¹⁰ SII. Vol. XI, pt. I, No. 52.

daughters of Mallapa, whose father belonged to Kamme-deśa in Vengi mandala. Ponnamayya, brother of Mallapa, seems to have taken service with Taila as he claims to have fought Govindara and The Calukyas and died on the banks of the river Kaveri.1 It may be that his death took place at the time of the Calukya invasion of Vengi, which itself was THE CHALUKYAS. soon after conquered by the Cola Rājarāja the Great. Gundamayya, son of Mallapa and brother of Attiyabbe, also claims to have defeated a certain Gonara, who may be the same as Gannarasa, son of Ayyanadeva, a Cola feudatory governing a portion of territory found about modern Hoskote tālukā of Bangalore district in 997 A.D.8

The Paramaras also, like the Colas, could not stand indifferently at the defeat of the Rastrakutas and the rise of Taila. They were naturally encouraged to pursue aggression against the new power. Sīyaka II Harşa had been succeeded by Vākpati Muñja in V. S. 10314=A.D. 974 or a little earlier and soon after his accession the hostilities between the Paramaras and the Calukyas began. Nilgund inscription says that because of Taila, king Utpala was bewildered and deliberated as to what to do, where to go and where to dwell.⁵ Utpala was another name of Munja.⁶ Merutunga speaks of Muñja defeating Taila six times before his own capture by the latter. The Udaipur praśasti claims victory over the Karņāţas by Muñja. Dhalla, Taila's general, also claims victory over Mālava. Merutunga too records that 'the king of Tilinga country named Tailapa Deva harassed Muñja by sending raiders into his country.' To punish Taila of this aggression, in a fit of anger and against the advice of his ailing Prime Minister Rudraditya, who advised him not to cross the Godavari, which should be, as he suggested, the utmost limit of his expedition, 'in overwhelming confidence, Muñja', as Merutunga says 'crossed the river (Godavari) and pitched his camp on the other side.' When Rudraditya heard what the king had done, he argued that some misfortune will result from his headstrong conduct and he himself entered the flames of a funeral fire. Then Tailapa by force and fraud cut Muñja's army to pieces and took him prisoner, binding him with a rope of reed. He was put in prison and confined in a cage of wood and was waited upon by Taila's sister, Mṛṇālavatī with whom he formed a marriage union. Muñja's ministers, who came after him, dug a secret tunnel leading to the prison room in which Muñja was confined and intimated to the king, the right hour for his escape, but Mṛṇālavatī's love had blinded Muñja. Before leaving the prison he felt perturbed as he was to be separated from his love. He would not reveal the cause of his sorrow to Mṛṇālavatī. He was so much overpowered by his feelings that he could not distinguish when Mṛṇālavatī gave him food with too much salt or without it. In this state of his mind Mṛṇālavatī asked him the cause of his sorrow and Muñja foolishly revealed the secret of his impending escape from prison and also told her: " If you

* IA. Vol. VI, p. 51. * EI. Vol. IV, p. 207. * IA. Vol. XXXVI, p. 168.

CHAPTER 9.

of Kalyani,

Taila II.

¹ Ajitapuvā na, Canto I, v. 36.

¹ Loc. cit.

^{*} EC. Vol. IX, Ht. No. 111.

The Câlukyas and the Kalacuryas of Kalyāṇi, THE CHALUKYAS. Taila II.

will come there (to Ujjain), I will crown you as my consort and show you the fruits of my favour." Mṛṇālavatī had already lost confidence in her fading youth and beauty due to advancing age and once when she was brooding over the same, Muñja had consoled her by saying "Mṛṇālavatī! do not reflect over the vanished youth. Sugar candy even though it may be pounded into a thousand pieces will taste sweet." This had failed to make any impression on her and asking him to wait until she fetched a casket of jewels and reflecting that as she was a middle-aged widow, Muñja will cast her away in his home, she went to her brother Taila and revealed the plan of Muñja's escape to him. In order to avenge the faithlessness with which, as she imagined, Muñja might have treated her at Ujjain, Mṛṇālavatī had him tied up with chords and made him beg from door to door and then Muñja would utter a warning against the treachery of a woman. Muñja was exposed to all kinds of insults and scorns. When given butter-milk and refused food, Muñja, his pride awakened said to the lady who treated him with this insult,

Foolish fair one, do not show pride, though you see me with a little pot in my hand.

Muñja has lost fifteen hundred and seventy-six elephants.

Muñja was ultimately trampled under an elephant's feet and his head severed from the body, was fixed on a stake in the courtyard of the palace. By keeping it continually covered with thick sour milk, Taila II gratified his anger.

Different versions of this event are given in different Jain prabandhas. In one Taila is said to have been ruling at Urangala-pattana and his minister Kamalāditya went to Muñja and pretended that he had been disgraced by his master for advising him to give up his enmity towards Muñja. Rudrāditya's advice of not trusting Kamalāditya was disregarded by Muñja and at Kamalāditya's suggestion he marched with his army to the banks of river Godāvarī to invade the Cālukya kingdom. Kamalāditya revealed his true colours at this stage and taunted Muñja for his folly. The Karṇāṭas, who were waiting for this opportunity, fell upon Muñja's army, cut it to pieces and took Muñja prisoner.

Bhojaprabandha and Navasāhasānkacaria are silent over this event, but the story is told by several Calukyan records. The Gadag inscription reveals that the battle was fought on the bank of the Godāvarī and a certain Keśava, son of Mādhava, fought in the battle and won Taila's admiration. Others speak of Muñja being taken prisoner and killed by Tatla. The Yadava chieftain Bhillama II fought in the battle from the side of the Calukyas as his Sangamner grant, dated in Saka 922 = 1000 A.D., claims that he crushed the army of Muñja and 'thereby made the goddess of fortune observe the vow of a chaste woman in the house of illustrious Ranarangabhīma.'. Kielhorn's identification of Ranarangabhīma with Taila as it is synonymous with Ahavamalla is preferable to that of Dr. Barnett. This battle was fought between 994 A.D., when Amitagati finished his Subhāṣitaratna-sandoha in which he leaves Muñja's life story incomplete and does not refer to this event, and 997 A.D., the last known date for Taila.

The province of Lata, which had formed part of the Rastrakuta dominions, was also conquered by Taila and placed in charge of his general Bārappa of a Cālukya family. Hemacandra calls Bārappa The Cālukyas and a king of Latadesa. Several inscriptions show that a Calukya family beginning from Barappa ruled over Lata. Those who followed THE CHALUKYAS. Bārappa in succession were his son Goggirāja, his son Kīrttirāja, his son Vatsarāja, his son Tribhuvanapāla, and his son Trivikramapāladeva. Bārappa's family had matrimonial connections with the Rastrakutas and he 'having obtained the country of Lata, verified to the delight of the people, the maxims of the science of politics and winning over his subjects and destroying his enemics always obtained the fruits of the replenishment of his treasury.' Bārappa attacked Mūlarāja of Gujarāt, simultaneously with a king of Sapādalaksa: Mūlarāja fled to Kanthādurga. He seems to have made truce with the Cāhamāna Vigrahapāla II and attacked Bārappa and defeated and killed him. Mūlarāja captured 1,000 horses and eighteen elephants from Barappa. The Dvyaśraya tells a different tale. It says that Barappa sent an ill-omened elephant to Mūlarāja, who interpreted this as his insult. Mūlarāja with his son Cāmundarāja, hence, attacked Bārappa and killed him. Ranna in his Atitapurāņa writes that Taila sent his son Satyāśraya to invade the Gurjara country. Satyaśraya, who led the campaign on an elephant, defeated the Gurjara army and killed the brother of the Gurjara king. To celebrate this victory Taila built a Jain basadi at Lokkigundi at the request of Attiyabbe. The Sogal inscription, dated 980 A.D., speaks of Taila's victory over Lata.2

Taila also claims to have defeated Mallama of Karahad or Karad in the Satara district.

Taila II ruled for 24 years. His two last known dates from inscriptions are Saka 919, Hemalamba Samvatsara, Āsādha 4=5th or 26th June, 9973 A.D., and Sunday, 12th September 997 A.D.4

Taila was a patron of poets and the learned. During his reign the famous Kanarese poet Raṇṇa wrote his two important works, Gadāyuddha and Ajitapurāṇa. He also wrote another work Paraśurāmacarita in Sanskrit. Ranna started his carrer as a bangle seller. He then served as a soldier in the army of Cavundaraja, minister of the Ganga Mārasimha. Ranna was a follower of Jainism and was patronised by Attiyabbe, wife of general Nagadeva. Taila conferred on him the title of Kavi-cūdāmaņi. Another poet Ponna wrote his Purāṇacūḍāmaṇi on the banks of Kāverī. This work is claimed to have been written for the welfare of Taila in the presence of Jinacandra-muni, Guru of the king. Taila also appears to have been a follower of the Jain religion and built unumber of Jain basadis, two at Lokkigundi. He was a just king as would appear from the Rodda inscription quoted earlier. He was also a good builder and a good general.

CHAPTER 9.

of Kalyāņī,

Taila II.

In Kirtikaumudi Bārappa is called the general of the lord of Lāṭa, and by Arisimha general of king of Kānyakubja, both of which are not correct.
 El. Vol. XVI, p. 7.
 El. Vol. III, p. 270.

⁴ EC. Vol. VII, Sk. No. 179.

The Calukyas and the Kalacuryas of Kalyani. THE CHALUKYAS.

Taila left an extensive empire to his successor. It included Lata in the north, Bellary and Anantpur of Karnataka and the Simoga and a part of Citaldrug district on the south, Dharvad, Belganv and Bijāpūr districts in the northwest. It also included the whole of the former Hyderābād State in the east and was bounded by the Godāvarī river.

Taila had two sons, Satyāśraya and Daśavarman, both born of his queen Jākabbe. Daśavarman was governing some divisions of the kingdom in 996 A.D.1

Satyāśraya.

Satyāśraya succeeded his father Taila in 997 A.D., his earliest known date being Saka 922, Vikāri, 999 A.D.2 He was also known as Sattiga,3 Sattima4 and had the titles of Irivabedanga,8 Ahavamalla and Akalankacarita and 'the slayer of the Tamils'.6

The hostilities with the Colas were resumed during his reign. Uttama Cola was succeeded by Rajaraja the Great in 985 A.D. He combined in him aggressive power and statesmanship. Rājarāja had started his campaign against the Nolambas during Taila's reign and had gained some success in 997 A.D. The Nolambas occupied a strategic position between the Calukya and Cola dominions. Satyāśraya gave his daughter Vrddhimbbāraśe to Iriva-Nolambādhirāja, who was made the Governor of Nolambavādī 32,000, Kogaļi 500, Ballakunde 300 and Kakkanur 30. Nolambādhirāja claims to have ruled as far as Kāñcī.7 Rājarāja captured Talakād in 1004 A.D. and wiped out the Ganga power. He then invaded the Cālukya dominions. The Hottur inscription, dated in 1007 A.D., contains graphic account of the Cola invasion. It says that :- "The cyclic year Plavanga, the 929th Year of the Saka era, being current, when Rājarāja Nityavinoda Rājendra Vidyādhara, ornament of the Cola race, Nurmmadi Cola came accompanied by a host of nine hundred thousand (men), halted at Donyur and was ravaging the whole country, perpetrating murders of women, children, and the Brahmanas, seizing women and overthrowing the order of the castes."

"Hail! the auspicious king of kings, supreme lord, supreme master, Akalankacarita, Irivabedanga, ornament of the Calukya race, 'Slayer of the Tāmils,' the auspicious king Satyāśraya drove away the Colas, captured his trains of baggage wagons, and made a truimphal progress through the south."

And while being at the ghatta of Tavare, z grant of one viśa for each ox in perpetuity was made by the thousand betel-sellers in assembly in honour of those who died while defending the kine of the betel-sellers when robbers were carrying them off."8

¹ ARSIE, 1933-34, Bk. No. 179.

^{*} EC. Vol. VII, Sk. No. 179.

* EI. Vol. VI, p. 330.

* BÛ. (Old Edn.), Vol. I, pt. i, p.

* EI. Vol. XVI, pp. 187-189.

⁶ *Ibid.* p. 75 ⁷ *EC.* Vol. IX, Ht. No. 111. • E1. Vol. XVI, p. 75.

The Calukya victory over the Colas is also borne out by an inscription, dated 1008 A.D., at Cebrolu in the Guntur district which speaks of Satyāśraya as king. The statement of the Tiruvalanganādu plates The Cālukyas and that Satyāśraya 'became the abode of misery himself even though he escaped the misery of fight with Rajaraja' is an exaggeration. Rājarāja also celebrated his victory, as recorded in an inscription, over the Cālukya Satyāśraya by offering flowers of gold to the god. Inspite of this claim the Cola did fail in the campaign and suffered loss of territory.

Rājarāja was followed by Rājendra. In the third year of his reign again there was a battle between the Calukyas and the Colas when 'Srutiman Nakkan Chandiran alias Rājamala Muttaraiyan on the occasion when in a fight with Satyāśraya, he was ordered by the king to pierce the (enemy's elephants).1

At the command of Sattiga (Satyāśraya) in 1006 A.D., a Lenka Keta fell fighting at the battle of Unukallu, probably against the Colas.² A Gadag inscription, dated in Saka 930 (1008 A.D.) of the reign of Satyāśraya refers to the siege of the agrahāra Kaldugu in the Belvola 300 by Desinga and the destruction of the forces because of the treachery of king Perggade.3

Padevala Taila, son of Nāgadeva, continued to serve under Satyāśraya and his mother Attiyabbe made a grant in 1005 A.D. Sobhanarasa, another important feudatory, was governing Halasige 12,000. Huligere 300 and Beluvala 300.4

Satyāśraya had one son Kundin or Kundirāja and two daughters. Vradhamabbārasi and Akkādevī. Akkādevī was a good administrator and was governing some one or other division during the time of Satyāśraya and his successors. Kuṇḍirāja was placed in charge of Banavāsī 12,000 and Santalige 1,000 divisions.

The last known date of Satyāśraya is Monday, November 15, 1008 A.D.

Vikramāditya, son of Daśavarman and Bhāgyavatī, succeeded his uncle Satyāśraya on the throne sometime after November 15, 1008 A.D. and before April 12, 1009 A.D. (Saka 930, Saumya, Samvatsara, lunar eclipse). Daśavarman, probably, died during Satyāśraya's reign. Why Kuṇḍirāja, the other son of Satyāśraya, who continued to govern certain provinces during the reign of Vikramaditya, Ayyana II and Jayasimha II, did not succeed his father is not known.

Vikramāditya adopted the titles of Tribhuvanamalla and Vallabhanarendra. A later inscription of the time of Jayasimha II, records that a certain Keśava Jiya, probably the Keśavarāja of the inscriptions and a subordinate of Vikramāditya, conquered the Kosala country which was ruled by the Somavamśi Mahābhava-gupta, who also claims to have worsted king of Karnāta. Akkādevī and Kundin,

CHAPTER 9.

the Kalacuryas of Kalyani.

THE CHALUKYAS. Satvaśrava.

Vikramāditya.

¹ ARASIE. 1912–13, App. B. No. 515. ² SII. Vol. XI, pt. i, No. 51. ³ ARSIE. 1932–33, Bk. No. 179.

⁴ SII Vol. XI, pt. i, No. 51.

The Cālukyas and the Kalacuryas of Kalyāņī. The last kn

daughter and son, respectively, of Satyāśraya, continued to govern some provinces of the Cālukya Empire during the reign of Vikramāditya.

The last known date for Vikramāditya is October 8, 1013 A.D.1

THE CHALUKYAS.

Avvana II

Vikramāditya was followed on the throne by his brother Ayyaṇa II. Many Cālukya records and Bilhaṇa omit his name and state that Vikramāditya was succeeded by Jayasimha II, while others² record that he did rule. No records of his time have been found. The earliest known date of Jayasimha falls in 1015 A.D.,³ which leaves app of two years for the rule of Ayyaṇa. Ayyaṇa is called "selfwilled and haughty."

Jayasimha II.

Jayasimha, brother of Ayyana, came to the throne probably after violently overthrowing the latter. He is called 'impetuous' in one of the inscriptions. His earliest known date is February 20, 1015 A.D. He adopted the title Trailokyamalla, Vikramasimha, Mallikāmoda and Jagadekamalla. His three queens known are Suggaladevī or Suggalā whose daughter was Hammā, also called Satī Āvvaladevī, who was married to the Yādava chief Bhillama III; Devaladevī, a Noļamba princess, whose bones on her death were immersed in the Gangā in 1036 A.D.; and Lakṣmīdevī. Kalyānī is for the first time referred to as his capital in 1033 A.D. Inscriptions, dated 1036 A.D., and 1040 A.D. also refer to the city as the capital Jayasimha was residing at Hoṭṭalakerel or Poṭṭalakere in A.D. 1033, 1040 and 1041; Kollipāke in 1033-34, at Etagiri Kampili in 1018 A.D., at Tagarila in 1032 A.D., at Vijayapura in 1036 A.D. and at Ghaṭṭadakere in 1038 A.D.

Rājendra Coļa invaded the Cālukya kingdom and claims to have defeated Jayasimha II at Muśangi and to have captured Idaituraīnādu or Ededore 2000, between the Kṛṣṇā and Tungabhadrā rivers and corresponding roughly to the modern Raicur district; Vanavāsī (Banavāsī) and Koļļippākkai, modern Kulpak, about 45 miles from Hyderābād and Maṇṇaikkaḍagam, Mānyakheṭa, the Rāṣṭra-kūta capital.¹⁵. The Coļa success did not last long and in a short time Jayasimha recovered all lost territories after defeating the Coļa king.¹⁶ This Coļa invasion took place in about 1017-18 A.D. After

¹ EC. Vol. VII, Sk. No. 471 (an inscription gives Saka 93(6), Sravana but the year not certain, SII. Vol. IX, pt. i, No. 79).

2 IA. Vol. IV, p. 208; EC. Vol. VII, Sk. Nos. 110, 130, 123 and 197; Sb. Nos. 233, 228; Vol. XI, Dg. Nos. 35 and 41; ARSIE, 1924-25, p. 75; HAS. No. 8, pp. 8, 9; IA. Vol. XLVII, p. 287.

8 EC. Vol. VIII, Sb. No. 76.

4 IA. Vol. IV, p. 108.

6 ARSIE. 1937-38, No. 59; EC. Vol. VIII, Sb. No. 16.

7 B.G. Old Edn.) Vol. I, Pt. ii, p. 435.

8 IA. Vo. XII, p. 119.

9 SII. Vol. I X pt. i, Nos. 91-92.

10 ARSIE. 1932-3, No. 122.

11 SII Vol. XI, pt. i, No. 69.

12 ARSIE. 1929-30, App. E, No. 8; 1917, No. 34.

12 EC. Vol. XII, Si. No. 37 and 40.

¹⁴ SII. Vol. XI, pt. i, No. 68. ¹⁵ SII. Vol. II, p. 92; Vol. III, p. 27; AISI. p. 65. ■ EC. Vol. VII, 8k. No. 125; MASR.1929, p. 135; EI. Vol. XVIII, p. 24.

■ brief period of peace the hostilities were resumed in about 1024 A.D., as an inscription records that Jayasimha was camping at Kolhāpūr after warring against the mighty Cola. As a result of this The Cālukyas and campaign the Calukyas gained possession of the Gangavadi 96,000, which the Colas had earlier captured.

of Kalyani, THE CHALUKYAS. Jayasimha II.

CHAPTER 9.

The Bansvara plates, dated January 3, 1020 A.D., reveal that the Paramāra Bhoja, successor of Muñja, granted a village on the anniversary of the conquest of Konkan.1 Konkan appears to have been annexed to his dominions by Bhoja in September 1019 A.D.2 The Kalyan inscription of Yasovarman, a feudatory of Bhoja, confirms occupation of Konkan by Bhoja after defeating the kings of Karnāta and Konkan.3 Jayasimha also claims to have 'searched out and beset and pursued and ground down and put to flight the confederacy of Mālava 4 in 1019 A.D. But this claim is not correct. The Miraj plates, dated 1024 A.D., reveal that Jayasimha issued the grant, when he was in his victorious camp near Kolhāpūr, having returned from the southern campaign after taking the property of the seven Konkanas and ready to conquer the north (i.e., north Konkan). Jayasimha appears to have dislodged the Paramaras from the Konkan as no trace of their occupying it is found after this date.

Merutunga records the story that when the Paramara Bhoja thought of invading Gujarāt, Dāmara, minister of the Cālukya Bhīma, diverted his mind towards the Tilinga country by showing him a drama, depicting the indignities Muñja had to suffer at Taila's hands. Incensed by the drama, when Bhoja was marching southward, he heard that the king of Tilinga was also advancing against him. He was frightened at this and he found himself between the devil and the deep sea when Damara told him, a mere bluff, that the Calukya Bhīma had already reached Bhojapuram for invading his dominions. Bhoja then sent Dāmara back to persuade the Cālukyas to go back. What happened to the Calukya force advancing against him from the south is not known. Bhoja also appears to have returned without pursuing his southern adventure.

If Merutunga is to be relied on, Bhoja appears to have made another attempt to invade the Cālukya dominions and avenge the insult they had done to Muñja. This time, in order to safeguard his rear and his own dominions during his absence in the south as well as to reinforce his own force by an ally, he made a compact with the Caulukya Bhīma and the Kalacuri Gāngeyadeva of Tripurī. The combined forces of these three then invaded the Cālukya kingdom. success they gained, cannot be measured as both the sides are equally eloquent in claiming victory for themselves. The battle appears to have been fought on the highlands of the southern bank of the river Godāvarī. The invaders were defeated by the Cālukyas and driven

EI. Vol. XI, p. 181.
 Ibid. Vol. XVIII, p. 320.
 ARASI. 1921–22, pp. 118–119.
 IA. Vol. VIII, p. 19.

Vf 3010-20

The Calukyas and the Kalacuryas of Kalyānī, THE CHALUKYAS.

Jayasimha II.

back to the other side of the river and the Kadamba Chattiga, a Cālukya feudatory, was awarded the title of the 'Guardian of Highlands' by Jayasimha for the gallant services rendered to his sovereign during the battle. The Kalavan plates2 and the Udaipur praśasti3 give Bhopa credit for the conquest of Karnāţa and the Khairah plates record that Gängeyadeva inflicted a crushing defeat on the king of Kuntala but later on restored him to his throne. On the Cālukva side the Kulenur inscription records that 'O Kundarāja, when they name thee in respect of courage, what further praise can others give? Is it not what is said of the troops of elephants of the Colas, the Gangeya and king Bhoja with open mouth as they flee away in terror through which they gallop off without waiting at all to charge with their tusks.' 4 Kundin's father-in-law Bachi claims to have put the Mālavas to shame.⁵ This Paramāra invasion and the battle of the Godavarī took place in about 1028 A.D., the date of the Kulenur

The conquest of Gangavādī 96,000 and Nolambavādī 32,000 divisions and the two Konkans, north and south, were the landmarks of the reign of Jayasimha II. The annexation of Gangavadī 96,000 is confirmed by the fact that Jagadekamalla Nolamba-pallava Permanadi alias Udayādityadeva, a feudatory of Jayasimha was ruling over Gangavādī 96,000 along with Kadambalige 1,000, Kogaļi 500, five villages of Māsiyavāḍi 140, Ballakunde 300 and Kuḍihāra 70 in Eḍadore 2,000 in 1018 A.D.⁶ He was governing Nolambavāḍī 32,000, Kadambalige 1,000, Kogali 500, Ballakurde 300, Kandiparavī 70 and Karividi 30 in 1032 A.D. and 1034 A.D.7 This does not include Gangavadī which appears to have been taken away from his charge as was Nolambavādī 32,000, which is also not mentioned in the list of the divisions under his charge after 1034 A.D. Gangavādī 96,000 was put under the charge of Mallideva Cola mahārājas and Barmmadeva Cola mahārāja, the latter of whom was ruling from there in 1040 A.D.9 Gangavādī has been identified with the regions between the rivers Tungabhadrā and Kṛṣṇā. It had its capital at Kuvalāļa. Under the Gangas it was of Talakad. The Cola Rajaraja, the Great, had conquered some portion of it in about 998 A.D. His son Rajendra I had reduced the whole of it under his subjection and had captured Talakad by driving out the Ganga king Racamalla. To commemorate this achievement Rajendra assumed the title of Gangaikonda¹⁰ Cola, the Cola who took Gangi, i.e., Gangavādī 96,000. The Calukyas conquered this division from the Colas before 1018 A.D.

Konkan, which Satyāśraya had subjugated, had reasserted its independence probably during the reign of Vikramāditya or Ayyana. It was conquered by the Paramāras but was reconquered for the

inscription cited above.

¹ EI. Vol. XVI, p. 359; Vol. XIX, pp. 71-72.

² Ibid. Vol. I.p. 235, 8
1 Ibid. Vol. XII, pp. 205 ff.
4 E1. Vol. XV, p. 333.
5 HAS, No. 8.

⁸ SII. Vol. IX, pt. i, No. 80.

Ibid. Nos. 85, 87, 82, 88, 90, etc. *EC.* Vol. XII, Si. No. 37.

Ibid. Si. No. 40.

¹⁰⁽Gangaikonda has reference to Rajendra's expedition to the Ganga-V.V.M.).

Calukyas by Jayasimha II in 1024 A.D. North and south Konkan, and Sātārā, Ratnāgirī and Kolhāpūr districts of the modern Mahārā-The Cālukyas and stra State, were ruled by two branches of the Silāhāras, the northern by Mahāmandaleśvara Chittarājadeva and the southern by the Silahāra Gandarāditya, whose known dates are 1010 A.D. and 1035 A.D.

Akkādevī, sister of Jayasimha II, was governing Banavāsī 12,000 jointly with Kadamba Mayuravarman, her husband, in 1037 A.D. Her son Toyimadeva had the title of 'the lion of Harikanta', like his father1. Cāvaņarasa, another subordinate of Mayūravarman was administering the two divisions of Belvola 300 and Puligere 300. He was also a minister of peace and war. A Hottur inscription, dated in 1037 A.D.2, records that Cavanarasa led an expedition against the forts of Pannāļa (Panhāļā) and Dvārasamudra. The fort of Panhālā was defended by Jattunga, predecessor of Gonka, whom Fleet assigned the dates 1035 A.D. to 1055 A.D. A fierce battle took place between the Silāhāras and the Cālukyas. The Cālukyas besieged the fort, stormed it and conquered it. The famous fort of Panhālā where in later times Sivājī had baffled the Moghal forces, is situated on a hill 12 miles from Kolhāpūr. Dvārasamudra, the other place conquered by Cāvanarasa, and called Dora in the inscription3 was governed by the Hoysalas, who were rising to power in the Deccan during this period* to play a prominent role in its history after the Cālukyas had disappeared from the scene. Sala Nṛpakāma who had founded the city of Dvārasamudra ruled from 1006 to c. 1040 A.D.5 Cavanarasa also claims to have captured the forts of Bijavadī, which may be identified with Bigevādī in the Bijāpūr district, and Balevattana, identified with Ballipattan in the Malabar district of the Kerala State. He is called the lord of Vanavasī, best of cities and a "comet to the Konkan, an uprooter of Panhāļā, a grindstone to Baleyavattana, a shatterer of the pride of the fortress of Bijavādi and diśa-paţa (scatterer) of Dora."6

The Brāhmaņas seem to have been dissatisfied with Jayasimha II. The cause of this dissatisfaction is not known. Some of them hatched a plot to kill the king, but Kālidāsa, styled as Sangrāma Kanthīrava, one of the Brāhmaṇas himself, remained faithful to the king, and was successful in dissuading the conspirators from their plans. Kālidāsa is praised as a great politician in the inscription.7

Jayasimha II had a daughter Hammā of Āvalladevī, who was married to the Yadava chieftain Bhillama II,8 and a son called Someśvara, who succeeded him. His last known date is April 25, 1042

CHAPTER 9.

the Kalacuryas of Kalyāņi, THE CHALUKYAS.

Javasimha II.

¹ El. Vol. XVI, p. 76.

I Ibid. p. 80.

⁵ El. Vol. XVI, p. 80.

⁴ Derrett: The Hoysalavansa,

⁵ Ibid.

⁶ EI. Vol. XVI, p. 80.

⁷ HAS. No. 8, pp. 7, 19, 20.

⁸ IA. Vol. XII, p. 119.

Vf 3010--20a

The Călukyas and the Kalacuryas of Kalyāņī,

Someśvara I.

A.D.1 The earliest known date of his son Someśvara is January 23,

Two learned men flourished during his reign, Dayāpāla and Vādirāja. Vādirāja who was the author of Pārśvanāthacarita, lived THE CHALUKYAS. in Jayasimha's court and is described as a very learned man. Dayapāla was the author of Rūpasiddhi which he wrote in Śaka 947.3

> Someśvara I, son of Jayasimha II, ascended the throne between April 25, 1042 A.D.4 and January 23, 1043 A.D.5 He bore the titles of Trailokyamalla, Ahavamalla and Rāyanārāyana. Six queens of his are known: Ketaladevi,6 Hoysaladevi,7 Mailadevi; or Mailaladevi, called priyarasī or chief queen;8 Bācaladevī;9 Candrikādevī,10 also called priyarasi or chief queen; and Liladevi.11 Ketaladevi was placed in charge of the administration of Ponnavada agrahāra, modern Honvād in the Kolhāpūr District. Bācaladevī was the mother of Someśvara's two sons Someśvara II and Vikramāditya.

> The Cālukya capital had been shifted from Mānyakheţa to Kalyānī in the reign of Jayasimha II. But it was probably Somesvara I who made it a permanent central seat of the Government. A number of places are mentioned in the inscriptions as places of royal camps where he stayed temporarily for short periods.12

> India at this time was in a state of utter political turmoil, the lust of territory and ambitious dynasticism dominated by the will to win a glory for the family by large scale ravages of others' dominions, as it were, guided the state policy. All this led to continuous wars and battles between the large number of states that had then come into existence. Its consequence was chaos. Someśvara himself pursued aggression with greater vigour than his predecessors.

> The defensive policy of Jayasimha II towards the Paramaras was changed into that of offensive by Someśvara I. Mālava was invaded and the Cālukya forces crossed the rivers Godāvarī and Narmadā and attacked Māṇḍava, modern Māṇḍū, 22 miles from Dhārā, in the district of the same name in Madhya Prades. Ujjain and Dhārā were also stormed. Bhoja fled away from his capital to Ujjain. Dhārā was burnt by the invaders. Ujjain was noted for its ramparts but here also Bhoja did not find safety. The Cālukyas captured Ujjain The generals, who participated in the campaign, were Nāgadeva, Jemarasa, Gundamayya and Madhuva. The Cālukya records contain a graphic account of this victory. The Nagai inscription says that Someśvara 'entered and burnt (the city of) Dhārā',

¹ EC. Vol. VIII, Ek. Nos. 108 (b) and 109 (b).

Ibid, Vol. VII, Sk. No. 323; Kielhorn List No. 159.

³ IA. 1914, p. 212; EC. Vol. II (rev. edn. No. 67), pp. 29 ff; Vol. VIII, Nr. No. 37.

⁴ EC. Vol. VIII, Sb. Nos. 108 (bis) and 109 (bis).

⁵ Ibid. Vol. VII, Sk. No. 323; Kielhorn's List No. 159.

⁶ IA. Vol. IX.

⁷ EC. Vol. VII, H1. No. 1; ARSIE, 1930, F, No. 179.

⁸ Bom. Gaz. (Old Edn.), Vol. I, pt. ii, p. 438; ARSIE. 1923, p. 101.

[□] E1. Vol. XV, 357.

¹⁰ Ibid.

¹¹ ARSIE. 1928, E. No. 244.

^{12,} EC. Vol. VII, Sk. No. 170; ARSIE. 1930 F. No. 79; HAS, No. 8.

'had (previously) captured Māṇḍava' and 'having raided on and burnt (the city of) Ujjayini (noted for its) rampart (alurkke), (he) there bore the silver ball with pride, by the strength of his arm.' The Cālukyas and General Gundamayya is similarly described "as a royal swan strolling on both the banks of the river Narmada, an evil comet to the Malava THE CHALUKYAS. people, a capturer of the fort, namely Mandava, and held in honour in the city of Dhārā." 2 Nāgadeva is called a Garuda to the serpent Bhoia.3 Madhuva claims to have 'driven out (from his capital) the lord of Dhārā.'4 Jemarasa is described as a flame of doom to king Bhoja.5 Bilhana confirms that Someśvara attacked Dhārā and it fell into the invader's hands.6'

In spite of all the loud claims in their records, the Cālukyas gained no permanent advantages from this campaign except probably plunder, loot and prestige. They withdrew as quickly as they had ravaged it, because of the threat of a Cola invasion of their own kingdom. The Paramaras returned to their capital but were soon after overwhelmed by the Caulukyas of Gujarāt from the north and the Kalacuris from the east. Bhīma the Caulukya king of Gujarāt and Karna, the Kalacuri king, defeated Bhoja and stormed his capital Dhārā. Bhoja appears to have died fighting in defence of his capital and Mālava lay at the mercy of the invaders. But Bhīma and Karna quarrelled over the division of Malava between themselves. Karna wanted to pocket the full loaf. The diplomatic Damara, who had once led Bhoja to disgrace came to his master's help, a second time and made Karna agree to share the spoils.7 It was not until Karna had been taken prisoner by Bhīma when the former was sleeping that he yielded, and ultimately having lost all, retired to his own kingdom leaving Bhīma as the final arbitrater of Mālava's fate. The Calukyas appear to have hunted out from Malava, the Paramara claimants to the throne. Jayasimha, son of Bhoja, then appealed to the Cālukya Someśvara for help. In spite of the fact that there was a traditional hostility between the two' Someśvara agreed to help him, for the political advantages from subservient Mālava against the hostile and powerful Kalacuris, the Caulukyas and the Colas were tremendous. The Calukya force sent for the help of Jayasimha, drove out the Caulukya Bhīma from Mālava. Jayasimha was restored to the throne8 before 1055 A.D. the date of his Māndhātā plates.9

A Belagāmi inscription¹⁰ speaks of the Lāṭa king making submission to Someśvara and paying him tribute. It appears that Trilocanapāla of Lata, when threatened by Vappulaka,11 general of the Kalacuri

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<sup>1</sup> HAS. No. 8, p. 18,
<sup>2</sup> MASR. 1929, pp. 68-69.

<sup>3</sup> EI. Vol. XV, p. 87.

    HAS. No. 8, p. 21.
    EI. Vol. XVI, p. 86.

6 Vikramankadevacarita. 1, vs. 91-96.
   Deyāshraya, IX, v. 57.
8 Vikramankadevacarita. III, v. 67.

    EI. Vol. III, p. 46.
    EC. Vol. VII.
    I.A., Vol. XII, pp. 196f, Mem. ASS. No. 23, p. 123.
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CHAPTER 9.

the Kalacuryas of Kalyāņī,

Someśvara I.

he Cālukyas and the Kalacuryas of Kalyānī.

THE CHALUKYAS. Someśvara I.

Karna, who claims a victory over Trilocanapala in the Rewah inscription preferred to seek the shelter of Someśvara and pay him tribute. Trilocanapala belonged to the house of Barappa, who had been placed in Lata by Taila II.1

The Cola Rajadhiraja I, successor of Rajendra the great, made a bold bid during the reign of Somesvara to recover the territories lost by his predecessor to Jayasimha II. Having reconciled the rebellious feudatory chieftains he invaded the Calukya kingdom with a view to recover Gangavadī 96,000.2 At this time Someśvara was leading a campaign in Mālava and the small Cālukya force that was left behind at home suffered a crushing defeat at the hands of the Cola king when it faced him under the command of Someśvara's sons, Vikramāditya and Vijayāditya. The battle was fought at Koļļippākkai, modern Kulpak, 45 miles east of Hyderabad, in Andhra. The Cālukva force had to retreat. It was pursued by the invaders who burnt Kollippākkai. A second Cola invasion, which took place about 1046 A.D., is described in the same, Manimangalam inscription3, dated in the 29th year of Rājādhirāja's reign, (1046 A.D.). It says that "When even Ahavamallan became afraid; when Gandappayan and Gangadharan (who belonged) to his army, fell along with (their) elephants (whose temples) swarmed with bees, (in a battle) with the irresistible army of Kevudan; (and) when the (two) warriors of great courage-Vikki and Vijayadityan, Sangamayan of great strength, and others retreated like cowards,-(the Cola king) seized (them) along with gold of great splendour and with horses, elephants and steeds, achieved victory in his garments, and caused the centre of Kollippäkkai, (a city) of the enemies to be consumed by fire".

During the second expedition the Cola king led his force upto Tungabhadra and burnt the city of Kampili, a place of royal residence.4 Both these expeditions were led before 1046 A.D. The Colas then claim to have attacked Pundur on the bank of the river Kṛṣṇā, called a cantonment city, where another great battle with the Calukyas was fought. The Colas claim to have captured a large number of Cālukyan feudatory princes with their women and sacked and burnt the city. They also claim to have burnt Mannandippai and erected a pillar of victory there.5 The Calukya reverses are admitted in a Sūdi inscription, dated in 1050 A.D., of the reign of Someśvara. It says that 'the seven ministers granted the settis renewal of their corporate constitution, which had partly broken down in the stress of the war with the Colas.'6.

In spite of all their resounding victories the Colas claim over the Cālukyas in their records, they did not make any territorial gains and the Calukya records dated in 1047 A.D. show that they remained in possession of the regions where the battles between them and the Colas had been fought.7 The Colas returned to the field against

¹ [Trilocanapala, defeated by Vappulla was a Pratihara King. CIL-IV, p. 280.-V.V.M.

HISI. p. 70.
 SII. Vol. III, p. 56.

⁴ Ibid. p. 57. 5 ARSIE. 18

ARSIE. 1890, No. 6; 1894, No. 221; 1895, No. 18, C [as, Vol. 1, p. 304.

⁶ EI.Vol. XV, pp. 77 ff.

⁷ ARSIE. 1914 No. 484.

the Cālukyas once again, probably with stronger forces. The date of the battle that was fought this time between the two is certain since the details of it are recorded in another Manimangalam inscription of the 4th year of the reign of Rajendradeva II corresponding to 1056 A.D.1 This inscription clearly states that Rajendra II THE CHALUKYAS. was crowned on the battlefield. This shows that the battle was fought in 1052 A.D.

The inscription contains a detailed description of the Cola invasion. The Colas attacked Rattamandalam and destroyed many towns and districts. It made the Sālukki king (Cālukya Someśvara I) iurious and he is said to have sprung up and said, "It is a disgrace to me" (his) eyes burning (with rage). He met the Cola force at Koppani. The Tiruvallam inscription speaks of the Colas erecting a pillar of victory at Kolhāpūr before the battle of Koppam, near Khidrāpūr, at the confluence of the rivers, Pañca Gangā and Kṛṣṇā, where stands the temple of Koppeścara in the Belganv district of the Mysore State. The Colas arranged their forces in two rows, the front and the rear; Rājādhirājā commanding the former and Rājendra the rear. Both the armies were commanded by veteran generals of the two sides and their names recorded.

The Calukyas launched the attack first and the front line of the Colas commanded by the Cola king himself, who like his opponent the Cālukya king was riding an elephant, was pierced and the Cola Rājādhirāja was killed with many of his warriors. There was great confusion in the Cola army because of the death of the king and the elephants frightened by the fury of the battle and riderless ran about in confusion. Even the elephant of the king without him ran about and was stopped only by the Cola king's brother Rajendradeva who had been so far waiting behind. When he saw the Cola army, without its commander, on the verge of a total collapse, he threw all his forces in the battle shouting "Fear not". The Calukyas once again attacked the elephants from which Rajendra was fighting and 'the shower of Ahavamalla's straight arrows pierced the forchead of his elephant, his royol thigh and his shoulders which resembled hillocks.' But soon after the tide of the battle turned against the Cālukyas, as the Cola record claims that Jayasimha, brother of Someśvara, was slain (?) along with a number of his feudatories named Pulckesin, Dasapanaman Asokaiyan, Āraiyan, Nanni, Nolamba. The Colas claim complete victory over the Cālukyas. The Śālukki king Āhavamalla, the armies of Kundamayan and Tuttan and Vanniya-Revan were completely routed. Someśvara 'fled, trembling vehemently, with dishevelled hair, turning (his) back, looking around, and tiring (his) legs, and was forced to plunge into the Western ocean.'. The Colas claim to have captured many elephants, horses, camels, 'the victorious banner of boar and the insignia of royalty', two queens, Sattiyavvai and Sangappai and many women who were left on the field by the Calukya king.2 Rājendradeva was crowned king on the field. The Cālukya records also claim victory over the Colas. A Belagami inscription, dated

CHAPTER 9.

The Câlukyas and the Kalacuryas of Kalyānī.

Someśvara I.

¹ SII. Vol. III, p. 58.

¹ SII. Vol. III, p. 63.

The Cālukyas and the Kalacuryas of Kalyāṇi. The Chalukyas. Someśvara I.

1054 A.D.¹ calls Someśvara 'a lion to the tusky elephant, the Cola' and records further that 'in the middle of the battle the Cola king exhausted his valour and died.' The Nagai inscription, dated 1058 A.D. refers to Rāyanārāyaṇa or Someśvara I as having captured Kāñcī and killed the Cola king and to have brought his decapitated head by the strength of his arm which had captured Māṇḍava. It further adds "King Trailokyamalla having on that (i.e., the farther, viz., the northern) side entered and burnt (the city of) Dhārā with determination, having on the (near, viz., the southern) side penetrated and set on fire (the city of) Kāñcī, by the strength of his arm which had (previously) captured Māṇḍava and having killed the Coļa king in anger, brought his fresh decapitated head". Bilhaṇa says that Someśvara killed the Coļa king and burnt the Coļa capital Kāñcī.

There is considerable difference of opinion among scholars regarding the final results of the battle. Some relying on the Cālukya records are of the opinion that the Cālukyas were the victors while others accept the version of the Cola records. In fact the truth lies in between the two. The Cola king was killed at Koppam, but the Cālukyas were also pushed back from there by Rājendra. Soon after the Cālukyas raided Kāñcī, the Cola capital, burnt the city and defeated the Colas once again. A Sūdi inscription dated Thursday, January 20, 1060 A.D., records that king Trailokyamalla was halting at his camp Puli, a town within Sindavāḍī division after 'having made a victorious expedition to the southern region and conquered the Cola.'2

All these bloody battles between the two sides led to no final results, but peace between them was preserved for a few years. Tiruvenganadu inscription of Vīra Rājendra, dated in the 2nd year of his reign (1064-65 A.D.) claims three victories for the Colas over the Cālukvas. In the first, Vikramāditya (VI), son of Someśvara I, was driven away from Gangapāti and had to retire to the other side of the Tungabhadra river along with his Mahasamantas whose strong hands (wielded) cruel bows.3 The Colas, too, retired without any gains. Vikramaditya then led an expedition into the Vengi country in alliance with the Paramāra Jayasimha, who had been placed on the throne by the Cālukyas. Jayasimha sent his brother to attack Vengī from the north when the Calukyas came from the west. invaders were driven away by Vīra Rājendra and the Karuvūr inscription,4 dated in the 5th year of his reign claims that he defeated and destroyed the powerful army which was sent by Vikkalan, i.e., Vikramāditya, to attack Venginādu. One of the Calukyan generals, Cāmundarāja was killed in the battle and Vīra Rājendra severed his head from the dead body and cut off the nose of the only daughter of Cāmunda, named Nāgalai, who was beautiful like a peacock and was married to Irugayan, whose identity is not known. It is claimed

¹ EC, Vol. VII, Sk. No. 118.

⁸ EI. Vol. XV, p. 92.

^{8 811.} Vol. III, p. 69.

⁴ Ibid. p. 37.

further that Vīra Rājendra killed the brother of Jayasimha, Jananātha of Dhārā. Cāmunda is not mentioned in any record after 1060 A.D. and this appears to be the date of the invasion. Bilhana also says that Vikramaditya invaded the Vengi country and repeatedly defeated the Colas.

The Colas and the Calukyas made preparations for the final battle that was fought at Kūdalasangamam on the banks of the turbid river in 1064 A.D. Kūdalasangamam is not far away from Koppam in the Belggany district. The Cola army was commanded by the 'Allied Kings', as the inscription says, but their identity is not known. The Cālukva army was also very large and included a large number of elephants and horses. It was commanded in person by Someśvara himself. He was assisted by Vikkalan (Vikramāditya) and Singan, who is sometimes called brother of the Cālukya king and sometimes king of Kosala.

The battle began with the Cola vanguard attacking the Calukya army, and it was pierced and repulsed. Singan, the Kosala king, who opposed the Colas, suffered defeat. The elephants who defended the front line of the Cālukyas were also pushed back. The battle was very bloody and if the Cola records are to be believed the Calukyas suffered a disastrous defeat and severe losses and fled away from the battlefield. The Karuvūr inscription's description of the battle may be quoted here: It reads:

"The enemy, full of hatred, met and fought against (him i.e., the Cola Vira Rajendra) yet a third time, hoping that (his former) defeats would be revenged. (The king) defeated countless Sāmantas, together with these (two) sons of Ahavamalla, who were Vikkalan and Singan, at Kūdalsangamam on the turbid river. Having sent the brave vanguard in advance, and having himself remained close behind with the kings allied to him, (he) agitated by means of a single mast elephant that army (of the enemy), which was arrayed (for battle), (and which) resembled the northern ocean. In front of the banner troop, (he) cut to pieces Singan, (the king) of warlike Kośal[ai], along with the furious elephant of (his) vanguard. While Keśava Dandanāyaka, Kettaraśan, Mārayan of great strength, the strong Potta[ra]yan (and) (Irechchayan) were fighting, (he) shouted:-(Follow) Muvendi, (king), (who wears) a garland of gold"! and cut to pieces many Sāmantas, who were deprived of weapons of war. Then Madhuvanan, who was in command, fled; Vikkalan fled with dishevelled hair; Singanan fled, (his) pride (and) courage having forsaken (him); Annalan and all others descended from the male elephants on which they were fighting in battle, and fled; Ahavamalla too, to whom (they were) allied, fled before them. (The king) stopped his fast furious elephant, put on the garland of victory, seized his (viz., Ahavamalla's) wives, his family treasures, conches, parasols, trumpets, drums, canopies, white cāmaras, the boar banner, the ornamental arch (makarca-torana), the female elephant, (called) Puspaka, and a herd of war elephants, along with a troop of prancing horses, and, amidst (general) applause, put on the crown of victory, (set with) jewels of red splendour."1

¹811., Vol. III,p.37.

CHAPTER 9.

The Calukyas and the Kalacuryas of Kalyānī.

THE CHALUKYAS. Someśvara I.

The Cālukyas and the Kalacuryas of Kalyāni,

THE CHALUKYAS. Someśvara I.

In spite of the crushing defeat the Calukyas suffered, the permanent gains the Colas made are not known. The Cālukya records are silent about this conflict. Only Bilhana states that Someśvara's son Vikramāditya led an expedition to the south sometime towards the close of his father's reign and is said to have burnt Kāñcī, a second time and also conquered a certain place called Gangakunda (Colapuram)1 Bilhana states further that Vikramāditya heard the news of the death of his father on the banks of the river Krsna when he was camping there after his return from his southern expedition.

Even the battle of Kūdalasangamam did not bring an end to the Cola-Cālukya war. The Manimangalam inscription of Vira Rājendra dated in the 5th year of his reign, 1067-68 A.D.,2 records that after his victory at Kūdalasangamam the Cola king started for his conquests in the south, against Kerala and the Pandya king and others. He then turned towards the north and killed a number of feudatories of the Cālukyas. This infuriated Someśvara and he challenged the Cola king to meet him again at the battle of Kūdal, (i.e., Kūdalasangamam). The Cola king came with his force to the battlefield, but the Calukvas were not there. He waited at Kandai for a month for the challenger and carried fire and sword through the Calukyan territory and erected a pillar of victory on the banks of the Tungabhadra river. He then went to Vengī which had been attacked by the Jananātha of Dhārā in alliance with the Calukyas, a second time.

The Manimangalam inscription records that "Having moved (his camp), he declared: - "(We) shall not return without regaining the good country of Vengai, which (we had formerly), subdued. You (who are strong), come and defend (it) if (you) are able!". That army which was chosen (for this expedition) drove into the jungle that big army, which resisted (its enemies) on the great river close to Viśaiyavadai (and) which had for its chief Jananatha, the Dandanāyaka Rājamayan, whose mast elephants trumpeted in herds, and Mupparasan."8 Vengi was conquered by the Cola king and restored to Vijayāditya and thus the Cālukya-Paramāra invasion of the country proved a failure.

A number of records speak of Someśvara's victory over the king of Kanyakubja, who, though uncontrolled from the beginning, hastily took possession 'of a cave in the Hima mountains', and give him credit for the conquest of Pancala. The history of Kanauj of this period is a record of foreign invasions and consequent chaos. The Pratīhāra Rājyapāla of Kanauj had been killed by the Candella Vidyādhara in 1019 A.D., for the fault of his ignominious surrender to Mahmud of Ghaznī.4 His successors, Trilocanapāla and Yasahpāla, are known from two records, dated 1027 A.D. and 1037 A.D.5, respectively. Kanauj then fell into the hands of a Rāstrakūta family and Gopāla was king of Gadhipura (Kanauj), according to the Sahet-Maheth inscrip-

¹ Vikrmān hadevacarits. IV, 21.

² SII. Vol. III, pp. 69-70.

⁸ Ibid.
4 IA. Vol. XVIII, pp. 33 ff.
5 J KAS. 1927, pp. 692-95.

tion, dated in 1118 A.D.1 The Calukya invasion took place during the reign of Gopāla's father Bhuvanapāla or grandfather Vigrahapāla. The Cālukyas appear to have secured the allegiance of the Kacchapaghātas of Gwālior before they invaded Kanauj. This seems probable from the fact that the two Kacchapaghata kings, Muladeva THE CHALURYAS. (c. 1035-1055 A.D.) and Mahīpāla (c. 1080 A.D., 1090 A.D.), had respectively the birudas of Trailokyamalla and Bhuvanaikamalla which were also the birudas respectively of the Calukya kings Someśvara I and Someśvara II. The Kacchapaghātas were ruling over Gwālior under the Candellas. It appears that when there was a temporary eclipse of the Candella power after the death of Vidyadhara, they transferred their allegiance to the Calukyas of Kalyani, to escape extinction at the hands of the Paramaras or the Kalacuris, their powerful neighbours. The two Cālukya birudas borne by the two Kacchapaghāta kings, who were also probably the contemporaries of the two Cālukya kings named above suggest an alliance between the two houses.

Any Cālukya penetration of the Doāb of the Gangā and the Yamunā inevitably led to a conflict with the Kalacuris, who themselves had been seeking hegemony over those regions and their king Karna had already established his hold over Prayaga and Kāśī. He also claims to have defeated the Candella Kirtivarman and his predecessor Devavarman. Bilhana speaks of Someśvara defeating and deposing Karna.² It is supported by a Belagami inscription which says that because of the attack of Jayasimha, brother of Someśvara, 'Dāhala is still smouldering.'3. Karna also claims to have conquered the Maratha country and to have defeated Bikkam, i.e., Vikramāditya4. Since Someśvara I died in 1068 A.D.,5 Karņa's invasion of the Deccan must have preceded the Calukyan invasion of the Kalacuri kingdom. And it could have been possible for the Calukyas to invade the north only between the battle of Koppan and that of Kūdalasangamam, as after the latter, their power appears to have been so badly crippled that they could not have thought of such distant and hazardous campaigns. This is clear from the fact that their attempt to raid Vengi did not succeed.

The Calukya inscriptions speak of Someśvara's victory over the kings of Lāṭa, Kalinga, Ganga, Karahāṭa, Turuṣka, Varāla, Cola, Karnāţa, Saurāṣṭra, Mālava, Daśārṇa, Keraļa, Magadha, Āndhra, Avanti, Vanga, Dravila, Khasa, Abhīra, Pāncāla, Konkan, Malaya, Ponnata, Saka, Nepāļa, Pāndya, Cera, Gurjara and Anga. Bilhana also states that he gained victory over Kāmarūpa, Keraļa, Coļa, Mālava, Gauda, Dravila, Vengī and Kosala.

The above countries cover practically the whole of India. What is interesting is that even Karnāta, Konkan and Karahāta which were included in the Cālukya dominions are also listed. The Cālukyas are generally referred to as the Karnnāṭas in the inscriptions. As such the claim of victory over the Karnnātas is highly intriguing, unless it refers to the people of a particular region and not the Cālukya king.

CHAPTER 9.

The Calukyas and the Kalacuryas of Kalyāņī,

Someśvara I.

¹ IA., Vol. XVII, pp. 61f.

² Vikramānkadevacarita, Ed. Bühler, I, vo. 102-63.

³ MASR. 1929, p. 137.

⁴ Prākritapingalam Ed. by Ghosh, pp. 296 and 448.

EC. Vol. VIII, Sr. No. 169.

The Calukyas and the Kalacuryas of Kalyāņi,

THE CHALUKYAS. Someśvara I.

This is not unlikely but the evidence available on this is so meagre that no conclusion can be reached. Karahāṭa and Konkan were ruled by the Kadambas and the Silāhāras respectively and it is quite possible that they had to be forced into submission as they might have tried to break away from the Calukyas because of the stress of the Cola war. His victories over Lāṭa, Mālava, Saurāṣṭra, Gurjara, Cola, Daśarna, Andhra, Avanti, Vengī, Dravila are covered by the accounts given above. The Abhīras may have been defeated in one of the northern campaigns. The Gangas and the Pandyas were in the south, the former remnants of the Imperial Gangas and the latter a feudatory house, after changing allegiance from the Colas to the Cālukyas and vice versa.

If at all his claims of victory over Kāmarūpa, Nepāļ, Anga, Vanga, Gauda, Magadha, Kosala and Kalinga have any truth, it means that he sent an expedition to northern and north-eastern India and on the authority of Bilhana, it may be suggested that this force was commanded by the king's son Vikramaditya1.

The Thakuri king Baladeva of Nepal, was contemporary of Someśvara. He ruled for 24 years. His known date is 1059 A.D.2 An attempt has been made to connect the foundation of the Karnnāţa dynasty of Nanyadeva of Mithila with the Calukyan invasion. Nanyadeva is called a Mahāsāmantādhipati, Dharmāvaloka, Mithileśvara, Karnāţa-kula-bhūṣaṇa. He had the titles of Rāpanārāyaṇa and Nrpamalla, which reflect his southern origin. Nanya was a variation of Nānniya and Nanni, a title commonly adopted by the Ganga and the Nolamba princes. Rājanārāyana was a title adopted by the Cālukya Someśvara and Nrpamalla is a synonym of Ahavamalla and Buvanaikamalla, the common Calukya birudas. It has been suggested that Nanya came to Mithila with a Calukya force and founded a kingdom there3.

Magadha, Anga, Vanga, Gauda comprise modern south Bihār (Magadha), Munger and Bhagalpur districts (Anga), Rajmahendry and Mursidabad districts (Gauda) and eastern Bengal (Vanga). The Pāla contemporary of Someśvara, who ruled over these regions, was Vigrahapāla III. A manuscript of Candakauśika speaks of Karnnāţa invasion of the Pala empire during the reign of Mahipala I. As Mahipāla closed his reign earlier than 1042 A.D., which is the date of Someśvara's accession to the throne, the Calukya invasion could not have taken place during his reign.4. Mahīpāla was followed by Nayapāla and he by Vigrahapāla III, who came to the throne in c. 1055 A.D. As a Belagami inscription, dated in A.D. 1054 A.D., is the first record that makes mention of the Cālukya conquest of these regions, it may be suggested that the Calukyas invaded the Pala kingdom, during the reign of the Pāla Nayapāla.

¹ EC. Vol. VII, Sk. Nos. 118, 169; HAS No. 8; Vikramānkadevacarita, III; EI. Vol. XV, p. 91.

² DHNI. Vol. I, p. 201.

s JAHRS. 1926, pp. 55 ff; IHQ. 1931, p. 680; HAS. No. 8; JBBRAS. Vol. IX, p. 306; El. Vol. III, p. 183; Lovi-Le Nepal, Vol. II, p. 201.

In reference is rather to the invasion of the Pratihāra capital Kenauj by Rāṣṭrakūṭa Indra III. Studies in Indology Vol. I, p. 58. V,V,M]

The Karnnāta origin of the Senas of Bengal may lend support to the above view. Sāmantasena is called a Kula-śiromaņi among the Karnņāṭa Kṣatriyas. Vīrasena and others are similarly called as southern rulers and belonged to the *Brahmaksatriya* stock. He is said to have slaughtered the wicked robbers of the wealth of the Karnnatas. A con- THE CHALUKYAS. nection between the Senas of Dharvad and Bengal is not unlikely. Sāmantasena probably came with the Cālukya Vikramāditya and founded a kingdom in Bengal. The Deopara inscription records that Sāmantasena carried on near the border of the dam (Setu-bandha) his victorious arms exterminating hundreds of opposing forces. Such a claim could be made only if Sāmantasena was a feudatory of a southern power and it could be no other than the Cālukyas, if the Senas were Karnnātas.1,

Kāmarūpa was ruled by Ratnapāla. He claims to have had superiority in conflict with the kings of Gurjara, Gaud, Kerala and the masters of the Deccan country, the last of whom may be identified with the Calukyas. He also claims to have caused 'pulmonary consumption to the masters of the Deccan.'2

Bhāśkara Ravi was ruling over Kerala from 982 to 1040 A.D. Nothing is known of Kerala after this until the Karuvayur inscription, dated in 1064-65 A.D., which shows that the Colas were the rulers of these regions. If at all the Calukyas raided this country, it could be between 1040 and 1064 A.D.3

Vikramāditya who led an expedition into northern and north-eastern India, returned through Kalinga and Kosala. A Belagami inscription, dated 1068 A.D., says that the king of Kosala paid tribute to the Cālukya king. Kosala (i.e., south Kosala) comprising modern Chattisgad and the adjoining regions, was ruled during this period by Mahāśivagupta, who claims to have conquered the lords of Karnnāṭa, Lāṭa, Gurjara and Dravila, and denuded Kāñci of its glory.4 Singan is called king of Kosala in one of the Cola inscriptions, but he is also called as the son of Someśvara. His identity remains uncertain. The Kalinga king may be the Ganga Vajrahasta V, who was ruling in 1050 A.D.

The Abhīras are very rarely mentioned in the records of this period. They were holding a precarious sway, if at all, near about Karahāṭa. Madhuva, a general of Someśvara, claims to have defeated the Ābhīra king and Konkan⁶. The Silāhāras were ruling over Konkan and the Silāhāra contemporary of Someśvara was Chittarāja. Ponnāla fort is no other than the famous Panhāļā. The Nagai inscription refers to a battle at Kālūru where Someśvara had to fight against a confederacy

CHAPTER 9.

The Cālukyas and the Kalacuryas of Kalyāņī,

Someśvara I.

¹JASB. 1901, Vol. I, p. 471, v. 4; EI. Vol. XV, p. 282, vs. 3 and 4; EC. Vol. VIII 8b. No. 477; JL. Vol. XVI, pp. 6-7; Gardarājamālā, p. 47; DHNI. Vol. I, pp. 331, 357; EC. Vol. VII, Sk. No. 83.

¹JASB. 1898, p. 105; Ray: DHNI. Vol. I, p. 251;

³HISI. p. 360; SII. Vol. III, p. 68.

⁴JBRAS. Vol. II, pp. 45 ff.

⁸SII. Vol. III, p. 27

⁵SII. Vol. III, p. 37. HAS. No. 8, p. 21.

The Cālukyas and the Kalacuryas of Kalyani, THE CHALUKYAS. Someśvara I.

of feudatories formed against him. The identity of the confederates is not known. Kālūru is near Nagai on the banks of the Bhīmā river.

The Cālukya claim of victory over Simhala (Ceylon) cannot be verified. The king of Simhala, Vijayabāhu, was constantly harassed by the Cola raids. It may be that the Simhala king who appears to have led an expedition against the Colas also fought against the Cālukyas. Karahāṭa, modern Karhād, was ruled by the Śilāhāra Mahāmandaleśvara Mārasimha II².

Vikramāditya also attacked Cakrakota,8 Sakkara-kottam of the Cola inscriptions, identified with the modern Cakrakota in the Bastar district of Madhya Pradeś. The Nāga Jagadekabhūşana was followed by Dhārāvarşa sometime before 1060 A.D. Dhārāvarşa is the same as Tārāvarşa of the Tirmullai inscription. He paid tribute to the Cola Vīra Rājendra. The Jainād inscription of the Paramāra Jagaddeva speaks of a Paramāra raid on this fort, probably in alliance with the Cālukyas. The Colas also claim to have raided this fort. Manimangalam inscription says that Vīra Rājendra having defeated the army headed by Jananātham crossed Kalinga and sent his army as far as the farther end of Sakkara-Kottam, Kulottungacoladeva claims to have wedded, when he was heir apparent, the brilliant goddess of victory at Sakkara-Kottam", Rajendra Cola claims to have defeated Vikrama Vira of Sakkara-Kottam and received4 tribute from Tārā (Dhārāvarṣa) at Sakkara-Koṭṭam. Vikramavīra may be Cālukya Vikramāditya.

Some inscriptions of his time also c'aim victory for Someśvara over the Turuskas.⁵ If these Turuskas are the Turks the claims can be regarded as substantial in that Someśvara I sent a contingent of his army to fight against the Turks along with other Indian powers, a reference to which has been made by Ferishta. Ferishta says that the Raja of Delhi with others retook Hanoy, Thanesvar and other dependencies from the governors to whom Mahmud had entrusted them. The Hindus from thence marched towards the fort of Nagarakote, which they besieged for four months." ".. The success of the Raja of Delhi gave such confidence to the Indian chiefs of the Punjab and other places that though before this time, like foxes, they durst hardly creep from the holes, for fear of the Mussalman arms, yet now they put on the aspect of the lion, and openly set their masters at defiance."6 This supports the view that a confederacy of the Hindu kings of the time was organised to oppose the Muslims. Paramāra Bhoja⁷ and Cāhamāna Anahilla⁸ also claim victory over the Turks. This shows that the confederacy was joined by all these kings,9 Cālukya Someśvara I, Paramāra Bhoja, and the Cāhamāna Anahilla, beside others.

²EI. Vol. III, p. 231; Above (Old Edn), Vol. I, pt. ii, p. 547.

^{**}EI. Vol. III, pp. 251; **Hobbe (Old Both), Vol. 1, pt. 11, pt. 11, p. 547.

**SII. Vol. III, pp. 69-71, pp. 234, 225; Vol. I, p. 99; EI. Vol. XXII, p. 60; IHQ. Vol. IX, p. 92; EI. Vol. IX, pp. 98 ff.

**EC. Vol. VII, Sk. No. 136; EI. Vol. XV, p. 91.

^{*}Brigg's Firishta Vol. I, p. 118.

*FI. Vol. I, p. 235.

*EI. Vol. IX, p. 72.

*IHQ. Vol. IX, p. 955.

Someśvara died by performing the Kuruvartti, the rite of the sacrifice of supreme Yoga, and entered the waters of the river Tungabladra The Calukyas and in Kilaka Samvatsara, Saka 990, 8th day of the dark half of Caitra-Sunday, March 28, 1068 A.D. Bilhana says that when Vikramāditya was returning from his southern expedition and was camping on the banks THE CHALUKYAS. of the river Kṛṣṇā, his mind was perturbed by some ill-omens. He was then informed by some messengers that the king Someśvara had entered the river Tungabhadra and died when he found no chance of recovery from the malignant fever from which he was afflicted.

The reign of Someśvara I was very eventful. If Taila II was the founder of the Călukva Empire, Someśvara consolidated it and extended its frontiers. Not only that the Colas were curbed and kept back within their own frontiers but brilliant successes were gained in the north as wel'. He had three sons and a daughter, named Suggaladevi, who was administering Nidugundi Kisukād 70.1

Someśvara I was succeeded by his son Someśvara II on April 11, 1068 A.D. (Śaka 990, Kīlaka Samvatsara, Vaiśākha śudi 7, Friday).² He was eldest of the three sons of Someśvara; the other two being Vikramāditya and Jayasimha. He was appointed heir-apparent when Vikramaditya declined that office in favour of his brother Someśvara according to Bilhana.8 Someśvara II was a Governor of Belvola 300 and Puligere 300 in 1049 and 1053 A.D., with the title of Mahāmandaleśvara.4 He was also called 'lord of Vengī'.

Somesvara II ascended the throne after the ceremony of the death of his father Someśvara I. These ceremonies were performed in the presence of the army. Vikramāditya was not in the capital at this time. On his return to Kalyānī he learnt of the coronation of his brother Somesvara II. He accepted him as king. paid him allegiance and presented all the spoils of the southern war that he had brought with him. Vikramaditya was certainly more able than Somesvara. He had fought in all the battles during the reign of his father and had commanded the Calukyan force sent to invade north and north-eastern India. While Someśvara is not heard of, Vikki or Vikkalan or Bikkam is mentioned in the Cola, Paramara and Kalacuri records. He was also put in charge of far bigger and more important administrative divisions like the Gangavādī 96,000, Noļambavādī 32,000, Banavāsī 12,000 and Santaļige 1,000 than his brother.⁵ If his presence in the capital aroused suspicions and fear in the mind of his elder brother, the king, as Bilhana says, this need not be considered as unusual. Ere long there were differences between the two brothers and Vikramāditya's life became unsafe. 'Of noble qualities as he was, he left the capital with his men', who could be no other than his armed men. He was pursued by a force sent by his brother, but Vikramaditya reached Tunga-

the Kalacuryas of Kalyāņī,

Someśvara I.

Someśvara II.

CHAPTER 9.

^{&#}x27;ARSIE, 1926-27, Bk, No. 202.

²EC. Vol. VII, Sk. No. 136, Tr. p. 102.

³ Vikramān kadevacarita, Bühler's Edn. pp. 30-31. ⁴ EI. Vol. XVI, pp. 53 ff; ARSIE. 1926-27, Bk. No. 144. ⁵ EC. Vol. VII, Sk. No. 136; IA. Vol. VIII, p. 20.

The Calukyas and the Kalacuryas of Kalyani, THE CHALUKYAS. Someśvara II.

bhadra and rested there with his army for sometime. He had taken away with him his brother Jayasimha also. On the banks of the river he heard that the Cola king was marching to attack the Calukya kingdom. He moved forward to oppose him. He was joined by a number of Calukya feudatories, kings of Malayadeśa, Jayakeśin, the Kadambas and the Alupas who also paid him homage. shows that a number of Calukyan feudatories transferred their allegiance to their old comrade and Commander in the many battles of the reign of Someśvara I. He is said to have visited Banavāsī also. The Cola king, as Bilhana says, got frightened from the big force that Vikramaditya had collected, sued for peace and agreed to give his daughter in marriage to him. Both Vikramaditya and the Cola king met on the banks of the Tungabhadra and the marriage between the Cola princess and Vikramāditya was performed after the peace between the two had been signed. The Cola king then retired to his capital where soon after he died. His death was a signal for anarchy which had been for sometime past brewing in his kingdom. When Vikramaditya heard this, he rushed post haste to the Cola capital to help his brother-in-law and succeeded in quelling the rebellion against the latter by defeating the rebels at the battle of Gangakunda and placed his brother-in-law on the throne and returned to his headquarters. He was waiting there for the opportunity to overthrow his brother and capture the throne.

Someśvara II bore the biruda of Bhuvanaikamalla.. His two queens Revaladevī and Mailaladevī¹ are known. The Cola king invaded the Călukyan kingdom shortly after the accession of Someśvara II. A Belgāmi inscription dated 1068 A.D. records that the Cola king was advancing with his army declaring "a new reign; (a kingdom) fit for a hero; this is the time to invade: I will surround Gutti and besiege it".1 The Colas burnt Kampili on the banks of the Tungabhadra and erected a pillar of victory at Karādikal. At this Somesvara sent his cavalry against the Cola who fled away from the field.² This was probably before Vikramāditya left the capital as a rebel and made peace with the Colas on the banks of the Tungabhadra.

When Vikramaditya made peace with the Colas and accepted the hand of the Cola princess this could be only with a political motive. And when the Cola king tied a glittering necklace, the insignia of royalty, round the neck of Vikramāditya, this signified without any doubt that he had accepted him as the heir to the Calukva throne. This further meant that the breach between the two brothers could not be reconciled. Someśvara too could not have failed to understand the real significance of the compact. But at the same time he could not think of taking any military action against him as Vikramaditya certainly was a much better general and enjoyed the support of not only a number of Calukyan feudatories but also of the Cola king. Vikramāditya also made no secret of his rebellion and assumption of an independent status. The Hulegudi³ inscription, dated December

¹ARSIE. 1927-28, App. B. No. 9. ²EC. Vol. VII, Sk. No. 136.

⁸ Ibid. Vol. XI, Cd. No. 82.

23, 1073 A.D., records that Mahārājādhirāja Parameśvara Paramabhattaraka Tribhuvanamalladeva was ruling as supreme king and that under him Trailokyamalla Nolamba Pallava Permādī Jayasinha- The Calukyas and deva was governing some divisions. Another inscription, dated February 25, 1071 A.D., gives the same titles to him and records that THE CHALUKYAS. he granted a village in the Kogali 500 'pleased with the victory he had attained over Dandanāyaka Ciddayya, when encamping in Govindavådī and when the Kadamba Mahāsāmanta Ghattiyarasa was governing Kogali 500.' Kogali is a village in the Bellary district of Madras State. This shows that Vikramaditya became independent before February 1071 A.D. and established his power over the southern part of the Calukya dominions. Someśvara did nothing to suppress his rebellion.

Someśvara II seems to have made an alliance with Karna, who may be identified with the Calukya Karna and not with the Kalacuri as proposed by some,2 and invaded Malava. The Nagpur Prasasti3 records the death of the Paramara king during an invasion by the combined forces of Karna and the Karnatas after which Udayaditya became king and recovered the kingdom. Dandanāyaka Udayāditya and Hoysala Ereyanga participated in this campaign. A Belagami inscription, dated in 1071 A.D. states that Udayaditya completely defeated the Malava king who had raised his enmity and all those who had secretly conspired against the throne and against the master and seizing their property and women laden with jewels, he handed them over to his emperor.".4 He is also called a right hand of the king. The Emperor referred to is the Calukya king Someśvara II. The Malava king killed in the battle was Jayasimha. Jayasimha had been an intimate friend and ally of Vikramaditya and the secret conspiracy that he is said to have formed against the throne refers obviously to his alliance with Vikramaditya, now a rebel, formed to overthrow Someśvara II. Vikramāditya had made a compact with the Colas. The Paramara Jayasimha was already his friend. When Someśvara invaded Mālava with a view to punish one of the two allies of his rebel brother, it is not possible to explain why Vikramāditya did not make any attempt to help his ally in distress. Probably he was not in a position to do so as from his camp on the banks of the Tungabhadra, he could not have marched through the long stretch of the Calukyan territories to reach Malava, without his own force being annihilated by the enemy. The Hoysala, records claim credit for the success of this expedition for Ereyanga.5 A record of 1112 A.D., says that Ereyanga, who was a powerful right hand of the Calukya king, trampling down the Malava army, did not spare Dhara, and burnt and scattered it.6 He is said to have seized the city of Udhapuram (?),7 which may be Udayapur in the Sehore district of Madhya Prades.

CHAPTER 9.

the Kalacuryas of Kalyāņī,

Someśvara II.

¹IMP. Vol. I, By. No. 182; SII. Vol. IX, pt. i, No. 135. ²HPD. pp. 127-128. [Sec, however, C. I. I. IV XCIV—V. V. M.] ³E1. Vol. II, p. 185. ⁴*HPD*. p. 128. ⁵*EC*. Vol. V, Ak. No. 102 (b); Sk. No. 117; Hn. No. 53, Vol. 11, No. 349; E1. Vol. XI', p. 94, etc. EC. Vol. VII, Sh. No. 64. ⁷EC. Vol. V, Ak. No. 102 (b); HPD, p. 129. Vf 3010-21

The Calukyas and the Kalacuryas of Kalyani THE CHALUKYAS.

Someśvara II.

When Jayasimha, the Paramāra king, died in the battle, a scion¹ of his house Udayaditya appealed to the Cahamana Durlabha III and drove the invaders out of Malava with his help. The Pṛthivīrājavijaya bears testimony to the fact that Udayaditya regained Malava with the help of Durlabha III.²

The restoration of the Cola Adhirājendra by Vikramāditya, after the battle of Gangakunda did not last long. The rebels raised their head shortly after Vikramaditya's withdrawal from the Cola capital. At the instigation of Rajiga (Rajendra), they overthrew and killed Adhirājendra. Rājendra himself captured Kāñcī, the Cola capital and declared himself a king. Vikramāditya did intervene on behalf of his brother-in-law, Adhirajendra, and when he was facing the army of Rajendra on the battlefield he heard that his brother Someśvara II was also planning to attack him. He was deeply distressed by the news as he found himself sandwiched between two hostile forces. He tried to dissuade his brother, as Bilhana says, from this treachery. Somesvara II pretended to have accepted the proposal. But Vikramaditya came to know that his brother was not sincere in the promise that he had made. Inspite of this breach of faith on the part of his brother, Vikramāditya was unwilling to fight, until he was prompted by Siva in a dream to do so. In any case Vikramāditya seems to have taken courage in both his hands and pounced upon both the forces and, as Bilhana says, he gained victory over both. Rājiga fled away from the battlefield and Someśvara was taken prisoner. Vikramāditya then returned to Tungabhadrā and thought of releasing his brother and restoring him to the throne when he was once again dissuaded in a dream from this action by Siva who also angrily commanded him to assume sovereignty. Vikramāditya then proclaimed himself as the Emperor.8 It is not correct that Vikramaditya in assuming sovereignty was a mere victim of Destiny as Bilhana tried to depict him; in fact it was an unscrupulous fulfilment of a long cherished ambition.

As Rājiga or Kulottunga ascended the throne in 1070 A.D. and Somesvara was deposed in 1076 A.D., the rebellion in the Cola capital during which Adhirājendra was killed, could not have directly inspired the deposition of Someśvara in 1076 A.D. A number of inscriptions' tell the tale of the transfer of power from Someśvara II to Vikramāditya VI. One speaking of the exploits of Teja Rāya Pāndya says that 'turning back Bhuvanaikamalla, so that the earth was terrified, he with great rejoicing seized his kingdom and his own body and gave it to Tribhuvanamalla.' Another records that 'Bhuvanaikamalla occupied the kingdom bestowed upon him by his father (Somesvara I), (holding to) that course which inspired dread in hostile kings and gave delight to his own adherents.'8 It adds further that 'when he had enjoyed the kingdom for some time

¹[He was Bhoja's brother. El., XXVI, pp. 177 b.—V. V. M.]

^{*}Sarga V, v. 78; HPD. p. 131.
*Vikramānkadevacarita, Intr. p. 36-37.

^{*}EC. Vol. V, Ak. No. 102 (a). *EC. Vol. V, Ak. No. 102(a). *EI. Vol. XV, p. 357.

and become neglectful of his subjects' burden because of his being infatuated with pride, his younger brother, who was righteous of soul, putting him under restraints making all hostile monarchs entirely the Calukyas and bow down, because of his mighty prowess Tribhuvanamalla, the Cālukya Vikramāditya, became a darling of the earth."

The last known date of Someśvara II is Śaka 998, Rākṣasa Samoatsara, Phālguna śuddha 14 = February 21, 1076 A.D.1 and the first year of Cālukya Vikrama Era falling in Nala Samvatsara, Caitra śuddha 5, corresponds to March 2, 1077 A.D.2 Supposing that Caitra fell towards the close of the first year of the reign of Vikramāditya, the beginning of his reign cannot be placed earlier than March, 1076 A.D.

Someśvara seems to have mostly resided at Bańkāpur in the Dharvad district of Mysore, about 200 miles south of Kalyani. Bankāpur is called the royal city. Someśvara was ruling from there in 1072 A.D., 1073 A.D. and 1075 A.D.3 He appears to have stayed at Bankapur to deal with his brother's rebellion, but ultimately himself lost the crown. What happened to Someśvara after his overthrow by his brother is not known.

Vikramāditya VI, second son of Someśvara I, ascended the throne in 1076 A.D. He is called Vikki, Vikrama and Vikkalan, Kali Vikrama and Permādī in the inscriptions,

Vikramāditya had several queens. Priya arasi or agramahisi, Candaladevi or Candralekhā, a Silāhāra princess of Karahāta, is said to have selected Vikramāditya as her spouse, according to Bilhana,5 in a svayamvara from amongst the kings of Ayodhya, Cedi, Kanyakubja, Kālanjara, Mālava, Čola, etc. Candralekhā was probably a daughter of the Silāhāra prince Mārasimha of Karhād. Kalhana⁶, in his Rājataranginī, also speaks of her exquisite beauty. The Kāśmīr king Harşa was enamoured of her beauty on seeing her portrait. This was after her marriage with Vikramaditya as she is called the wife of king Parınandi by Kalhana. To obtain her, Harşa thought of destroying Vikramāditya. In an inscription of 1102-03, she is spoken of as the mother of Jayakarna and in the year following made certain grants to the god Keśavadeva of the agrahāra Ruddavādi.7 Ketaladevī or Priya Ketaladevī is called Abhinava-sarasvatī as she knew many languages. She is highly praised in inscriptions and was governing some villages in the Ballakunde 300 division.8 Savaladevi, daughter of the Mahāmandaleśvara Jogamarasa, was governing the agrahāra of Nareyangal given to her by the king as pin money.9 Priya arasi Laksmīdevī is said to have been governing at the capital

of Kalyani,

THE CHALUKYAS. Someśvara II.

Tribhuvanmalla

Vikramāditya,

CHAPTER 9.

EC. Vol. VII, Sk. No. 30. 2 Ibid. Hl. No. 14.

³ Ibid. Sk. Nos. 129 and 221; Vol. VIII, Sk. No. 299.

⁴ARSIE. 1928-29, No. 150. ⁵Bühler's Edn. of Vikramankadevacarita Intr. pp. 38-42.

⁶Rājataranginī, Stein Tr., Vol. I, p. 355.

Bom. Gaz. (Old Edn.), Vol. I, pt. ii p. 449.

ARSIE. 1923, App. B., No. 672; 1927–28, No. 9.

Bom. Gaz. Loc. Cit. IA., Vol. X, p. 169, El., Vol. XV, p. 100.

The Calukyas and the Kalacuryas of Kalyāni,

THE CHALUKYAS. Tribhuvanmalla Vikramāditya.

at various times and also the 18 agrahāras and the city of Dharmapuri, (Dharmavolal or Dambal).1 Jakkaladevi, another queen, was the daughter of Kadamba Ţikka.² Malleyamadevī, Malayavatīdevī or Mālikā³ was the daughter of a village accountant, Rāyaṇa, and his wife Olajikabbe. Her daughter Mailaladevī was given in marriage to the Kadamba Javakeśin II of Goa,4 a friend and ally of Vikramāditya VI and who had helped the latter in obtaining the throne.

In his Vikramānkadevacarita Bilhana has given a very highly embellished account of the life of Vikramāditya, who was his patron. Bilhana lived in his court.

For some time after his victory over Someśvara II, Vikramāditya stayed at Etagiri,5 modern Itagi in the Bellary district or Ittagi in the former Hyderābād State. He moved to Kalyāṇī, the capital. in the 3rd year of his reign.6

Vikramāditya founded an era known as the Cālukya Vikrama Era after his own name and that of his family. This is described by a stone tablet as follows: "Emperor Vikramāditya, possessed of the beauty of Cakradhara, having said 'Why should the glories of the kings Vikramāditya and Nanda be a hindrance any longer? he, with a loudly uttered command, abolished that (era) which has the name of the Saka and made that (era) which has Cālukya figures."7 Another inscription says that "Having rubbed out the brilliant Sakavarsa, he, the impetuous one, the most liberal man in the world, who delighted in religion, published his own name throughout the world, under the form of Vikrama-varşa."8 The inscriptions of his reign are invariably dated in the era founded by him, but it fell into disuse after his death and served as an instrument of merely a personal glory, lasting for his life time. Its initial date it is difficult to determine, probably it commenced from 5th March, 1076 A.D., which was also the day of the king's coronation. March 5, 1076, was the most auspicious day during the gap of twenty days between the last, known date of Someśvara II and the first known date of Vikramāditya VI. One inscription shows that the first year of this era was current on Caitra su. 5, Anala Samvatsara corresponding to March 10, 1076 A.D., while the last known date of Someśvara II is Saka 998, Rākṣasa S. Phālguna śuddha 14=February 21, 1076 A.D.¹⁰.

Jayasimha, younger brother of Vikramāditya VI, had been governing some districts, during the life time of his father. He had been in charge of the Nolambavādī 32,000 division also. When Vikramāditya revolted against his brother Someśvara II and left Kalyāni, layasimha also had accompanied him and when he became king, he

¹¹A. Vol. X, pp. 185 ff. SII. Vol. XI, pt. ii, Nos. 131, 126, 140.

^{2811.} Vol. XI, pt. ii, No. 136.

^{*}Bom. Gaz. opt. cit. p. 449.

^{*}Ibid. No. 199. *EC. Vol. VII, Sk. Nos. 124, 135. He was also camping at Nadavi, Yuppayana-vidu, near modern Wadgeri in the former Hyderabad State, for a few days. Bom. Gaz. (old Edition), p. 446.
61bid. Vol. VIII, Sa. No. 109.

⁷IA. Vol. VIII, p. 187. ⁸Bom. Gaz. (old Edn.) Vol. I, pt. ii, p. 447. ⁸EC. Vol. VII, Ht. No. 14.

^{1.} Ibid. Vol. VIII, Sb. No. 315.

placed Jayasimha in charge of the Banavāsī 12,000 and made him the Yuvarāja, heir apparent. Sāntalige 1000, the two six hundreds Belvola 300 and Puligere 300,1-Kundur 1000 and the agrahara were The Calukyas and also added to his charge of Banavasī 12000.2 He is said to have gained victory over Dāhala, Lāha (Lāṭa?) and Końkaņ.3 Końkaņ was ruled by the Silāhāra prince Mummuņī or Māmvaņi, who had been defeated several times. Lāha or Lāļa may be Lāṭa, but it is better to search for a division of this name in the Deccan itself. Dāhala is Dāhalamandala ruled over by the Kalacuris. Jayasimha probably took part in the northern campaign of Vikramāditya during the reign of Someśvara I. Jayasimha remained in charge of the divisions named above upto 1081 A.D. He was governing some division covering the modern Bellary district in 1085 A.D.4 He is not heard of again after this date. Bilhana⁸ speaks of Jayasimha revolting against his brother. Jayasimha is said to have increased his power by oppression and strengthened himself by inducing the royal troops to join his ranks and the Dravida king to help him. When informed of the evil intentions of his brother, Vikramaditya first refused to believe the news, but the horror of the civil war and the spectacle of his own usurpation of authority from his brother Somesvara made him send spies to find the truth and they confirmed the news.

When persuasion failed to desist his brother from the course of rebellion and when he marched with his forces against Vikramaditya and pitched his camp on the banks of the river Kṛṣṇā, Vikramāditya was also compelled to take up arms against him. Before the battle began Vikramāditya made another unsuccessful attempt to persuade his brother. Jayasimha fought brilliantly and at one time it appeared that he might succeed, but ultimately the personal bravery of Vikramāditya, who had the experience of several battles, turned the scales in his own favour. Jayasimha was routed and fled away from the field. He was pursued and captured, but later raised.6 He is heard of no more.

An inscription dated December 1077 A.D., refers to a conflict between Vikramaditya and the Colas. It states that 'the feudatories of both the Emperors', viz., the Cola and the Calukya, i.e., Someśwara II, 'who fell upon him, mounting his elephant, he chased them away, and became the lord of the shining Laksmi of the Calukya kingdom, praised by the three worlds, Vikramadityadeva.'7 This was obviously before Vikramaditya's accession to the throne, Inspite of the victory, the Cola menace loomed large and Vikramaditya had to fight a second time with them as Bilhana records and it was only then that he could enter his capital Kalyāṇī.8 It has

CHAPTER 9.

the Kalacuryas of Kalyani.

THE CHALUKYAS. Tribhuvanmalla Vikramāditya.

¹EC. Vol. VII, Sk. No. 293.

²¹bid. Vol. VIII, Sa. 109.

³ Ibid. Sk. No. 297.

⁴H1S1. p. 89.

⁵ Vikraman kadevacarita: Bühler's Edn. pp. 42 ff.

⁶ Ibid., Canto XV., V, 87.

⁷EC. Vol. VII, Sk. No. 124.

^{*}Vikramankadevacarita, XVII, 68.

CHAPTER 9. The Calukyas and the Kalacuryas of Kalyani. THE CHALUKYAS. Tribhuvanmalla Vikramāditya,

been already stated that Vikramāditya had to stay on at Etagiri for about three years of his reign. This fixes the date of the war with the Colas in about 1078-79 A.D. An inscription dated 1083 A.D. praises Tribhuvanamalla Pāṇḍyadeva, governor of Nolambavāḍī 32000, as the defeater of the designs of Rajiga Cola.1 Another inscription states that the Cola lost his boundaries2 and that the Cola held his ears and shook. The Perumer inscription, dated in the 11th year of the reign of Kulottunga Cola and corresponding to 1081 A.D., records that "Not only did the speech (of Vikkalan):-" "After this day a permanent blemish (will attach to Kulottunga), as (to) the crescent (which is the origin) of (his) family,"-turn out wrong, but the bow (in) the hand of Vikkalan was not (even) bent against (the enemy).".

Everywhere from Nangili of rocky roads-with Manalur in the middle-to the Tungabhadra, there were lying low the dead (bodies of his) furious elephants, his lost pride and (his) boasted valour."...

(The Cola king) seized simultaneously the two countries called Gangamandalam and Singanam, troops of furious elephants which had been irretrievably abandoned (by the enemy), crowds of women, (the angles of) whose beautiful eyes were as pointed as daggers, the goddess of Fame, who gladly brought disgrace (on Vikkalan), and the great goddess of Victory, who changed to the opposite (side) and caused (Vikkalan) himself, who was desirous of the rule over the Western region, and (his) army to turn their backs again and again on many days."8 Another Cola inscription4 of a later date records the same thing. The conclusions of some scholars⁵ on the basis of these Cola inscriptions that the Colas gained victory over the Calukyas is not correct; for a number of inscriptions of the Cālukya Vikramāditya have been found in the Anantpur district which had been earlier always included in the Cola dominion.6 The Cālukya claim in one of their inscriptions that the Cola lost his boundaries is correct. This means that the Colas suffered a defeat in this battle and they lost a portion of their territories to the victors.

According to the Mahāvamśa, the king of Karņāţa, who may be identified with the Cālukya Vikramāditya VI, sent an embassy to the king of Ceylon. The Cola king also had done the same. The purpose for which the embassy was sent is not known. The Ceylonese king received the Karnāta embassy before that of the Cola. When the Ceylonese king returned the embassy to the Cola king, the latter cut off the nose of the messengers to retrieve the insult done by the Ceylonese when they received the Cola embassy after the Călukya.

¹EC. Vol. VII, Ci. No. 33. "Ibid. Sk. No. 137.

^{*}SII. Vol. III, p. 176.

⁴¹bid. p. 147.

⁵Ancient India, pp. 136-37. ⁶EC. Vol. IV, Hg. No. 80; H131. p. 88; IMP. Vol. I, App. No. 26, 27, 189.

The relations between the Caulukyas of Gujarāt and Vikramāditya were by no means friendly, but the nature of the conflict is not known. Both sides claim victory over each other. Jinamandana The Calukyas and in his Kumārapāla-prabandha relates the story that Jayasimha in order to display his valour before two Yoginis who had come from THE CHALUKYAS. the Himālayas to test his valour, devoured that blade of sword which was made of sugar and had the hilt of iron. This sword was got from Paramardi of Kalyāṇakaṭaka.1 According to Kumārapālacarita2 Jayasimha conquered Karnāta and other countries. The Talwada inscription3 records that Jayasimha crushed Paramardi in battle. The identification of Parmardi by some with the Candella Paramardideva cannot be accepted on chronological grounds.4 A number of Cālukyan records also claim victory over the Caulukyas. Of these a Huli inscription⁵ while describing the conquests of Bijjala, a feudatory of Vikramāditya, mentions the name of Jayasimha, but the context in which the reference was made is lost in the damaged portion of the record. As Jayasimha is mentioned along with others over whom victory is claimed by Bijjala, it may be reasonably concluded that victory was claimed over him also. This conflict if at all could not have taken place very much before 1115 A.D., almost at the same time as Jayasimha's war with the Paramāras as Jayasimha was only three years of age when he ascended the throne in 1095 A.D., and could have assumed reins of government from his mother Māyaṇalladevī only about 1110 A.D.

The Hoysalas, who had risen from insignificance into prominence under the Calukya patronage, rose into revolt against the patrons when they had acquired power and prestige as a result of their victories in Mālava and in the neighbourhood of their territories and their appointment by the Calukyas as the administrators of the Gangavādī 96,000 division.6 Vikramāditya appears to have taken help from the Paramāra Jagaddeva who had been at that time campaigning in those regions, against the fort of Cakrakotya and the Kākatīyas. The Paramāra Jagaddeva claims to have inflicted a defeat on the Hoysalas in his Jainad inscription,7 but the Hoysalas also claim to have defeated Jagaddeva⁸, who was sent by the Emperor i.e, the Calukya Vikramāditya VI. Jagaddeva was an ally of Vikramāditya and he appears to have readily joined his ally against the Hoysalas, who had invaded Dhara with Someśvara II. Since the last known date of Jagaddeva is 1094 A.D., the Hoysala rebellion took place before this date.9 If the Hoysalas were defeated, they could not be curbed for a long time. Vikramāditya was advancing in age and the Hoysalas were increasing their power and

CHAPTER 9.

the Kalacuryas of Kalyāņī.

Tribhuvanmalla Vikramāditya,

¹Kāshi Nagari Pracarini Patrikā, Vol. IX, p. 289.

¹Sarga 1, varga 2, v. 38.

^{*}Rajputana Museum Report 194-15, p. 2. *Kāshi Nagari Pracharini Patrikā, Vol. IX, p. 289.

^{*}EI. Vol. XVIII, pp. 202-03.

*EC. Vol. V, Ak. No. 186; Bl. No. 208; Vol. XII, Tp. No. 105.

*EI. Vol. XXII, p 62.

*EC. Vol. V, Bl. Nos. 193, 58, 116, Vol. VI, Tk. No. 45. Vol. V, Ak. No. 34; Vol. II,

^{°7}A Later date viz, Saka 1034 (A.D. 1112) for Jagaddeva is now known from the Dongargany inscription EI., XXVI, pp. 177 f.—V.V.M.]

The Calukyas and the Kalacuryas of Kalyāņī, THE CHALUKYAS.

Vikramāditya,

territories. The Hoysala Vinayaditya, who ruled from c. 1050 to c. 1100 A.D. was followed by his son Ballala I, elder to the other two sons Bittideva or Vișnuvardhana and Udayaditya. The earliest known date of Ballāla I is 1101 A.D. He was succeeded by his brother Visnuvardhana in about 1106 A.D.1 The Hoysalas bad considerably enlarged the extent of their territories and Ballala claims Tribhuvanamalla to have been a governor of Gangayadi 96000 division, Nolambayadi 32000, and Hānungal 500 divisions. Visnuvardhana led expeditions far and wide into the Calukya dominions and defeated a large number of smaller chieftains. He claims to have conquered Talakad and assumed the title of Bhujabala Ganga. His victories and conquests make a long list and include lord of Gandagiri, Pandya, Tuluva, Jagaddeva, Nāgavamśī king Someśvara, Adiyama, Narasimhabrahma, Kalapāla, Cengiri, Irungoļa, Mala-rāja, Cengiri-Perumāla, Paṭṭi-Perumāla, Talakād, Noļambavādī, Nīla-parvata, Kolāļapura, Kovatūr, Teriyūr, Vallūr, Nangalipura, the ghāṭs, Kāńcipura, Kāverī,² Ucchangi, Dumme, Pombuchha, Andhāsura-Canka, Bāleya-paṭṭana, Pānungal, Tonda, Heñjuru, Savimāle, Rodda, Rāvarayan-pura, Lakkigundi, Male Kisukāl, Madurā, Palāsige 12000, Anga, Jayakeśi, Indra, Masana, Lāţa, Cola, Kadamba, Kerala, Āndhra, Kongu, Singalika, Narasinga, Kongalva, Pallava, Narasimhavarmman, Vanga, Anga, Kalinga, Cera and Simhala-3

> These imposing conquests of the Hoysala Governor combine both actual achievements and traditional hyperbolical panegyric. At any rate this shows the power and prestige they had gained. Hence, the defeat they had suffered at the hands of the Paramara Jagaddeva could not keep them restrained for a long time. When Vikramaditya had summoned help from his ally Jagaddeva to suppress the Hoysala rebellion earlier that exposed his weakness. The Hoysalas were waiting for the opportune time and finding one they once again raised the standard of revolt. The army that was sent by Vikramaditya against the rebels was defeated by Gangarāja, minister of Vișnuvardhana, at Kannegal and a Hoysala inscription claims that "When the army of the Cālukya Emperor Tribhuvanamalla Permādīdeva including twelve sāmantas was encamped at Kannegal, this Gangarāja, saying, "Away with the desire to mount a horse; this will be a right battle for me," attacked and defeated with ease all the sāmantas, so that people said that the sword in the arm of Gangadevādhipa caused the men of the army who were entering the camp to enter mire, carried off the collection of their stores and vehicles and presented them to his own lord."4 But the glory of victory did not remain long with Visnuvardhana and he suffered a defeat at the hand of the Sinda Āchugi II,5 a feudatory of Vikramāditya VI. In any case the Hoysalas recognised the Calukya Vikramaditya VI as their overlord in 1122 A.D.⁶

¹*EC*. Vol. V Intr. p. XII. ²*Ibid*. Vol. V, Bl. No. 58.

[&]quot;Ibid. Vol. IX, Ht. No. 18; Vl. II, No. 132; 143; Vol. V, Bl. Nos. 124, 17; Vol. VI.

Cm. Nos. 160 and 137.

*Ibid. Vol. II, No. 73, Tr. p. 39.

*JBBRAS. Vol. XI, No. 174, p. 244. EC. Vol. VI. Cm. No. 151.

The rise of the Hoysalas in Gangavadī 96,000 served as a check to Cola penetrations in those regions and as such the theatre of conflict between the two powers shifted to Vengi. The details of the conflict The Calukyas and between them there cannot be precisely fixed. The inscriptions of the Calukyas and the Colas found in the regions of Vengi suggest THE CHALUKYAS. that certain areas changed hands several times. A Drākṣārāma inscription1 dated in Cālukya Vikrama era 17=1093 A.D. records a gift of land during the reign of Vikramāditya VI. This shows that the Cālukyas had occupied this region. But a Bhīmāvaram² inscription speaks of minister of Vikramāditya making a gift of two lamps in the reign of Visnuvardhana Mahārāja Kulottunga Coļa II in his 31st year of the reign, \$aka 1019=1097 A.D. This shows the Cola suzerainty restored over this area and friendly relationship between the Colas and the Calukyas, for in that case only it could be possible for a Calukya feudatory to make a grant in Cola territory unless it is presumed that religious gifts could be made in the enemy's territories. Two records, one undated while the other dated Saka 1021 = 1099 A.D.4 in the Ramcandrapuram taluka show that Vikramāditva was ruling over the region. But two records of 11015 and 11186 A.D., speak of the Colas as the sovereign. Once again in 1118 A.D. the Cālukyas captured a large part of the territory in the Vengi region. The Calukya records found in this region are dated in 1021 A.D., Ch. V. 46, Saka 10437 (1121-22 A.D.), Ch. V. 478 (1122-23 A.D.), Ch. V. 489 in Rāmcandrapuram tālukā, Cocanada tālukā and Godāvarī tālukā. Inscriptions, dated in 1116 (?) A.D., Ch. V. 47 (1122 A.D.) and Ch. V. 5110 (1126-27 A.D.) show that Vikramāditya had wrested a portion of the Guntur district also from the Colas. One Govindara, nephew of the famous chieftain Anantapāla, was placed in charge of the Kondapalli 300. He claims to have burnt Bengipura, defeated a prince at Jananathapura and conquered Gonka,11 later the Velanad chief Gonka II, son of Rajendra Cola I (1115-1130 A.D.). Govindara was subordinate to Anantapāladeva and was in charge of Banavasi 12000, Santalige 1000 and the two six hundreds in 1114 A·D.¹² The Cālukyas had also taken possession of what is now called the Cuddapah district.

The Calukya conquest of Vengi was made possible because of unsettled conditions in the Cola Empire. Kulottunga Cola I died or retired from the throne in A.D. 1118 and his son Vikrama Cola, who had been staving there probably to protect the Velanadu chief Gonka, who was governing Vengimandala, succeeded to the throne. When Vikrama Cola left Vengi none appears to have been appointed as its CHAPTER 9.

the Kalacuryas of Kalyani

Tribhuvanamalla Vikramāditya,

^{3/} MP. Vol. II, Gd. No. 161.

²¹bid. Vol. II, Gd. No. 35.

³ Ibid. No. 43.

⁴¹bid. No. 100.

⁵IMP. Vol. II, Gd. No. 100, p. 725.

^{*}Ibid. No. 99, p. 725.

⁷Ibid. No. 238.

⁸*Ibid.* Nos. 33 and 334. ⁹*Ibid.* No. 265.

¹⁰ Ibid. No. Kl. No. 351.

¹² EC. Vol. VII, Sk. Nos. 137, 294, 149, 131, 98.

The Calukyas and the Kalacuryas of Kalyanî

THE CHALUKYAS. Tribhuvanamalla Vikramāditya,

Governor. The Pithāpuram inscription records that when Vikrama Cola, also called Tyāgasamudra, after Kulottunga was dead, had gone to protect Cola-mandala which had been beset with difficulties, Vengi was deprived of its ruler.1

Another inscription refers to some kind of troubles in the Cola dominions during which Kulottunga appears to have died. This had necessitated the sudden departure of Vikrama Cola, who having defeated the trouble makers acquired the sovereignty of the Cola country and did not return to Vengi...

Vikramāditya VI had three sons: Someśvara III, Jayakarna and Mallikārjuna. He was succeeded by Someśvara. Jayakarņa, begotten on his queen Candaladevi,2 had the title of Mahāmandaleśvara and was governing Kundi division in 1121 A.D.8 Mallikārjuna, who was also the crown prince in the beginning, was in charge of the Taravādī 1000 division in Ch. V. 20=1096 A.D.4 He was probably the eldest, but died before his father. The only known daughter of Vikramaditya was married to the Kadamba Javakesin of Goa.5

The reign of Vikramāditya was comparatively peaceful, except that the Hoysalas frequently raised rebellion in the southern part of his dominions and the war against the Colas had to be fought for conquests in the Vengi country. Except these, Vikramaditya did not launch any aggressive wars nor had he to defend his Empire against any outside aggression. He appears to have remained in the capital throughout his reign and the task of suppressing the Hoysalas and the conquest of Vengi was left to his commanders and feudatories.

The great Kāśmīrian poet Bilhaņa lived in his court and wrote Vikramankadevacarita in appreciation of his patron. Bilhana was born in the Kauśika Brāhmana family in Khonamukha near Pravarapura in Kāśmīr. His father's name was Jyestha Kalaśa, who wrote a commentary on the Mahābhāṣya. Bilhana had two brothers, Iṣtarāma and Ānanda. He visited Mathurā, Kānyakubja, Prayāga and Vārāņasī and met the Kalacuri Karņa. Having visited Ayodhyā he went to the court of the Dahala king. Bilhana then paid visit to Somanath and the court of the Caulukya king Karna and then reached Kalyānī. Vikramāditya conferred on him the title of Chief Pandita and extended his patronage to him. Besides Vikramānkadevacarita which is a poetical biography of Vikramāditya VI, Bilhaņa is said to have written another work Karnasundari in honour of the Caulukya king Karna of Gujarāt. His authorship of Bilhanacarita-kāvua is doubted by scholars.

Another author who flourished in his court was Vijñāneśvara, who wrote the celebrated commentary, the Mitākṣarā, on Yājñavalkya smrti.

¹E1. Vol. IV, p. 241; SII. Vol. III, p. 129, pp. 308ff.

³ Hom. Gaz. (old Edn.) Vol. I, pt. ii, p. 455. ³ J BOBRAS. Vol. X, pp. 294-9. ⁴ A RSIE. 1929-30, App. F, No. 35. ⁵ J BOBRAS. Vol. IX, pp. 245, 267, 273.

Vikramāditya encouraged works of art. He is said to have built palaces and temples, constructed big tanks and planted gardens. He also founded the city of Vikramapura after his own name.

The Calukya Empire attained widest frontiers during the reign of On the north it extended up to Nagpur and THE CHALUKYAS. reached the river Tapi. On the east it covered the regions between the rivers Kṛṣṇā and Godāvarī and included Godāvarī, Kṛṣṇā, Kurnool, Guntur, Cuḍapah, Anantapūr and Bellāry districts. On the south it stretched upto the Kolā and the Mysore districts. On the west it was bounded by the Konkan and the Western Ghāts and included Dhārvād, Bijāpūr, Belgānv, Ahmadnagar, Poonā, Sātārā and Kolhāpūr districts.

Vikramāditya VI was succeeded by his son Someśvara III. His date of accession is not certain, because of certain records having overlapping dates for him and his father. The earliest known date for Someśvara is Ch. V. 52, Prabhava S. Phālguna śuddha 14, Somavāra=Monday, February 28, 1127 A.D.1 But an inscription dated in Ch. V. 53, Kilaka S. = March 1128 A.D.² mentions Vikramāditya VI as king. Another inscription³ of Vikramāditya is dated in Ch. V. 52, Samvatsara Vaišākha šudha 15=April 28, 1127 A.D. and a third in Plavanga Samvatsura, Kārtika vadya, Sukravāra=Friday, October 2S, 1127 A.D. From these overlapping dates it appears that Vikramāditya abdicated in favour of his son due to advancing age and lived a few months more during which some of the records were dated in his reign and which mentioned him as king.

Someśvara adopted the biruda of Bhūlokamalla, 'wrestler of the terrestrial world' and the usual titles of Prthivivallabha Mahārājādhirāja Paramabhattaraka Cālukyakulabhūsana, etc. He was also called Sarvajñacakravartin, the 'omniscient Emperor' and was praised for his wisdom by the learned.

The accession of Someśvara III added to the confusion that had marked the last years of the reign of his father and the māndalikas and the sāmantas, the hereditary chieftains, were not quite confident that the new king will be in position to give the necessary protection against external aggression and hence began to find security in committing aggression themselves against not only their former foe, but also one another. The common bond of unity among the feudatories of the Calukyas was their allegiance to the Emperor and his weakness as such became the cause of conflict between them.

Someśvara had to go to the southern part of his dominions in the early part of 1129 A.D. to restore order in those regions which were agitated because of the Hoysala aggression. 'With the intention of making a victorious expedition to all parts' he went to the south and fixed his camp at Hulluni-tirtha.5 This was while leading an expedition against the Hoysalas, who appear, to have made another bold

CHAPTER 9.

The Cālukyas and the Kalacuryas of Kalvāni

Tribhuvanamalla Vikramāditya,

> Someśvara III (1127-37 A.D.)

¹EC. Vol. III, Sb. No. 141.

^{*}Ibid., Vol. X1, Dg. No. 90, *Ibid. Vol. VII, Sk. No. 99.

⁴Ibid. No. 280.

⁵⁷bid. No. 100.

The Calukyas and the Kalacuryas of Kalyani THE CHALUKYAS.

Someśvara III (1127-37 A.D.). bid for expansion of their territories as also to gain independence. The Hoysala Visnuvardhana was a bold, brave and ambitious chieftain who could not be easily held in restraint by his sovereign. His attempts to gain independence during the reign of Vikramaditya VI had proved abortive. This time, during the reign of Someśvara, he did gain some success, though not full independence, at least in extending the frontiers of his territories and in subjugating some of the neighbouring Cālukya chieftains and feudatory princes. The details of the Hoysala marauding activities against the loyal Calukya feudatories form a complicated and twisted tale and cannot be precisely fixed in a chronological frame in the short space here. In their broad outlines it appears that the Santara chieftain Permādī who was also hostile to the Cālukyas had been fighting against the Kadambas and had suffered a defeat in A.D. 1127 at the hands of Masanayva, a Kadamba general, at Isapur according to the Udri inscription.1 The Kadambas remained in possession of the Inspite of the Hoysala support, the Santaras Santalige 1000.2 appear to have gained no ground and no success. Someśvara had to go to the south to Hulluni-tirtha very probably to curb the rebellious activities of the Hoysalas and the Santaras and to support the Kadambas against the former two.

As soon as Visnuvardhana had withdrawn to his own seat of government, Somesvara also returned to his own capital. Visnuvardhana did not keep peace for a long time. He invaded the Kadamba and the Pandya territories. The Kadambas of Hangal and the Pandyas of Ucchangi were allied together matrimonially as the Kadamba Tailapa had married Bācaladevī, a Pāṇḍyan princess.³ Before his adversaries could make any preparations Vișnuvardhana fell upon the Pandyas. His general Camadeva stormed the fort of Ucchangit and captured it and claimed the title of 'The Putter to flight of Pandya' in a Sravana Belgola inscription of 1131 A.D.5 and others.6 Ucchangi became one of the capitals of Visnuvardhana as revealed by another inscription of 1137 A.D.7 The Kadambas were his next target. Having attacked the lofty elephant Ucchangi' and having also captured it, Visnuvardhana claims to have 'calmly marched by Banavasi, with daring seized Belvola and sprang forward with joy to the Perddore unshaken, planting his foot on Hanungal.'.8 The Kadambas fought bitterly against the Hoysalas and inflicted heavy losses on the invaders. Two inscriptions record the death of two Hoysala warriors, Deva⁹ and Madhuvarman,10 Masana or Masanayya, a general of the Kadamba Taila, opposed the Hoysalas and was killed11 Tailanaga,

¹EC. Vol. VIII, Sb No. 141.

²¹bid. Vol. VII, Hl. 47.

³I.A. Vol. X, p. 25; EC. Vol. XI, Dg. Nos. 39, 151 and 159; Kadambakula p. 127, 4EC. Vol. XII, Ci. Nos. 29 and 30.

⁵¹bid. Vol. II, No. 143.

⁶ Ibid. Vol. 11, No. 384; Vol. IV, Kp. No. 78.

⁷lbid. Vol. XII, Tp. No. 14. 3lbid. Vol. VI, Kd. Nos. 69 and 96.

MASR. 1916, p. 53.

¹⁰*Ibid.* p. 52. ¹¹*EC.* Vol. V, Bl. No. 17.

brother-in-law of the Kadamba king, also tried to stop the Hoysala advance on the banks of the Dharma river, but he too lost the battle.1 Vișnuvardhana claims to have killed Kadamba Taila II The Calukyas and in a battle at Virātanagara, modern Hāngal. Taila probably died on Monday, October 6, 1130 A.D. and Bopanna, brother of Masana, THE CHALUKYAS. committed suicide to honour his vow to live as along as his king and Mayūravarman, son and successor of the Kadamba Taila, raised monuments to commemorate them.2 The Hovsalas then claimed that they killed Taila in battle. The Kadambas seem to have surrendered Hangal to the Hoysalas.

Kadamba Taila II was succeeded by his brother Hemma Mayūravarman, who was very young at that time and as such is called a boy king. During his time Masana had to defend him from an attack by a certain Malla3 whose identity is not known. Mayuravarman died soon after and was followed by his brother Mallikarjuna in about 1132 A.D.4 The only achievement of Mayūravarman was that he regained Hangal from the Hoysalas. The Kadambas suffered another reverse during his reign in that they lost Bankapur to the Hoysalas in 1133 A.D.,5 after Masana6 and his son Sovana7 had been defeated and slain, the latter while defending the fort of Bankapur itself. Visnuvardhana, thus, "destroying root and branch Masana, who was ferment to the country he (Vișnuvardhana) wrote down the Banavasī 12000 in his kadita (account books) according to an inscription dated 1136 A.D.8 The Hoysalas attacked Hangal also and captured it⁹ m 1138 A.D., but lost it too soon after. A number of inscriptions record the details of this battle. They are dated 1138 A.D., 10 1139 A.D., 11 1140 A.D. 12 The Hoysalas also claim to have captured Palasige 12000 and a number of other minor divisions which formed part of the Cālukya dominions and defeated Jayakeśin of Goa according to an inscription dated 1136 A.D. 13 Visnuvardhana further claims to have conquered Talakādu, Kongu, Nangali, Gangavādī, Nolambavādī, Banavāsī and Hānungal¹⁴ and Māsavādī, Huligere and Halasige. All these divisions were included in the Cālukya empire. The claims of these conquests are not correct and should be taken to indicate that the Hoysalas were disturbing the Cālukya empire and enlarging their principalities at the cost of other feudatories and in utter disregard of their Sovereign. Someśvara III failed to suppress them.

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<sup>1</sup>Kadambakula, p. 128, App. III, No. 11, p. 445.

<sup>2</sup>EC. Vol. VII, Hl. No. 47.
<sup>8</sup>Kadambakula, App. III, No. 12; EC. Vol. VII, Hi. No. 47. 

<sup>4</sup>Abve (Old Edn.) Vol. I, pt. ii, p. 562. 

<sup>6</sup>EC. Vol. V, Bl. No. 124.
MASR, 1926, p. 45,
7EC. Vol. V, Bl. No. 17.
*Ibid.
91bid. Bl. No. 202.
10 Ibid. Cn. 199.
11/bid. Vol. XII, Gb. No. 13.
<sup>18</sup>Ibid. Vol. V, Bl. 17, Vol. VIII, Sb. No. 414.
18 Ibid. Vol. V, Cn. No. 199.
14 Ibid. Bl. No. 124.
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CHAPTER 9.

the Kalacuryas of Kalyānī

Someśvara III (1127-37 A.D.)

The Călukyas and the Kalacuryas of Kalyānī THE CHALUKYAS. Someśvara III (1127-37 A.D.)

The claim that Somesvara placed the lotuses in the form of his feet on the heads of the kings of the Andhra, Dravila, Magadha and Nupāļa¹ are merely hyperbolical with no truth at all. If the Prākṛta Pingalam is to be believed the Ghadavala Govindacandra,2 who may be identified with the king of Kāśī of the Prākṛta Pingalum fought with the king of Mahārāstra and Tilinga countries who himself has been identified with the Calukya Someśvara III.3

Like his father Vikramāditya VI, Someśvara also started an era known after his name and called the Cālukya-Bhūlokamalla-varṣa, but it faded into obscurity during his own life time. Someśvara was more of a scholar than a soldier. He won no military glories and led no expeditions outside his own kingdom. He even failed to maintain peace within his own dominions. His own feudatories were the source of his trouble. The Hoysalas under Vișnuvardhana launched a policy of systematic extirpation of their neighbouring Cālukya feudatories and undermined the authority of their overlord.

Someśvara was more interested in the profession of the pen than that of the sword and the inscriptions of his time speak highly of his knowledge and wisdom. He was called 'Sarvajña Cakravartin' and as the one praised by all the learned men.4 At one time we find him 'making a speech on the subject of Dharma', and after its conclusion donating land to the temples of Nagareśvara in Ballige. In the 4th year of his reign he wrote a big treatise in Sanskrt called Abhilașitārthacintāmaņi, which was a compendium on State and polity, poetry, music, painting, astronomy, etc.

The last date of Someśvara cannot be determined with certainty. From an inscription, it is Siddhartha Samvatsara, Pusya, śuddha 13, Adityavāra=January 4, 1140 A.D.6 Another inscription is dated in Kālayukta Samvatsara, Phālguna śuddha 5, Ādityavāra=Sunday, 5 February, 1139 A.D.7 Two other inscriptions are dated December, 1137 A.D.'s and that dated Kālayukta Samvatsara, Māgha śuddha 10, Thursday=12, January, 1137 A.D.9 speaks of Jagadekamalla II, as king and refers to Bhūlokamalla Someśvara III as the king, ruling before Jagadekamalla. It records that 'by his glory piercing the hearts of the hostile armies was Bhūlokamalla.. Yet another inscription, dated four days earlier than this record, i.e., Sunday, January 8, 1139 A.D., makes no mention of a king and gives the year in the 13th year of the reign of Bhūlokamalla era. 10 This suggests that from 1137 A.D., Jagadekamalla was associated with the administration and discharged some of the duties of the king. Therefore, the last

¹JBOBRAS. Vol. XI, p. 268.

^{*}IHQ. Vol. XI, p. 566.

^aBibliotheca Indica, Sanskrit Series, Ed. C. M. Ghosh, 1900; IHQ. Vol. XI, p. 364.

^{*}JBBRAS. Vol. XI, p. 268. ⁵EC. Vol. VII, Sk. No. 100.

^{*}Ibid. Sk. No. 112. *EC. Vol. VIII, Sk. Nos. 415-16.

^aKielhorn's List of Inscriptions in Southern India, No. 237. ^aEC. Vol. VIII, Sb. No. 233.

¹⁰ Ibid. Vol. VII, Sk. No. 266.

date of Someśvara III may be January 4, 1140 A.D., shortly after which his son Jagadekamalla ascended the throne.

The name Jagadekamalla appears more like a biruda. Tagadekamatta adopted the usual Calukya titles in addition to Pratapa-cakravartin, the valorous Emperor. He was also called Perma.2

The imbecile policy of Someśvara III, threatened to claim its retribution during the reign of his successor. The loyal Calukyan feudatories, particularly the Kadambas, who had been left to their own fate to defend themselves against the rapidly growing might and intransigence of the Hoysala general Vișnuvardhana faced almost total extermination at his hands. Inspite of a determined bid by the Hoysalas to overwhelm them, they continued to fight tenaciously against the aggressors and held a precarious existence. Vișnuvardhana had also pitched his camp at Bankapur, which he had already captured from the Kadambas in a final bid to wipe them out.

The Hoysalas appear to have recaptured Hangal sometime in 1140 A.D., as an inscription of that year records that 'king Visnu reduced to dust the famous fortress of the Virāţa king with the help of his peerless army.'. And he was in residence at that place with his queen Bammaladevii and had appointed his officers to collect the revenue of Banavāsī in defiance of the Cālukya authority.5

Jagadekamalla was built of better metal than his father and determined not to allow the Hoysala chieftain Vișnuvardhana to carry on his war of extirpation against his feudatories in the southern part of his dominions and deputed the Sinda Chieftain Permādi to bring Visnuvardhana to book. Permadi not only defeated and deprived Visnuvardhana of most of his conquests, but also killed him. Vīra Pāṇḍya, who had lost their territories to the Hoysalas, and the Kadambas, joined hands with the Sinda chieftain to launch a concerted attack against the common foe. They did gain victory over Vișnuvardhana as an inscription says: 'He (i.e., Sinda Permādi) seized upon the royal power of Hoysala, who were the foremost of the fierce rulers of the earth and acquired the reputation of being himself proof against all reverses. Going to the mountain passes of the marauder Bittiga, plundering, besieging Dvarasamudna and pursuing him till he arrived at, and took the city of Balipura, king Perma of great glory driving him before him with the help of his sword, arriving at the mountain pass of Vahadi, and overcoming all obstacles, acquired celebrity in the worlds. Pursuing and seizing in were the friends, (mighty) (as elephants though they were of the king), who joined king Bittiga in the work of slaughter, (Permādi) unequalled in his great impetuosity brought them (back as captives), with derisive cheers."8 All this took place before October

CHAPTER 9.

The Calukyas and the Kalacuryas ■f Kalyānî THE CHALUKYAS. Jagadekamalla

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¹/A. Vol. VI, p. 140.

²EC. Vol. XI, Dg. No. 41. ³Ibid. Vol. V, Cn. No. 199.

^{4/}bid. Vol. XII, Gb. No. 13. 4/bid. Vol. VIII, Sb. No. 298.

^{*}JBBRAS. Vol. XI, pp. 244-45.

CHAPTER 9. The Călukyas and the Kalacuryas of Kalyāni. THE CHALUKYAS. **Iag**adekamalla 11.

24, 1143 A.D., the date of an inscription which claims victory over the Hoysalas by Jagadekamalla.1

The Hoysala Vișnuvardhana had died before his capital was besieged by Permādi. His death actually took place at Bankāpūr in about 1141-42 A.D. His armies had been shattered by the Sinda chieftain, to such an extent, that his funeral procession was not allowed to pass out from Bankapur peacefully; it was plundered. The Hoysalas naturally withdrew from Bankapur. A pathetic story of the last journey of Visnuvardhana is told by a mute stone record of the time. It says that in the year Saka 1063, Durmati S. "When the senior king Bitti-deva having died in Bankapur, Boppadeva dannāyaka, taking the body (kanthavam), came behind the battle of Mudugere,-Binna-Gauda of Miriyavalpalli in Taligenād, having secured the possession of the elephant and treasury, On this the chiefs and farmers of the nine fought and fell. mandes of the Talige-nad thousand land, having made petition to Narasimha-deva, obtained one hana of land, gave it to Bute-Gauda, the son of that Binna Gauda, and set up this stone."2

A Hoysala attack in about 1143 A.D., against Māhalige, was beaten back when the Kadamba Mallikārjuna 'was ruling the kingdom of Haive 500, Māhalige, Kondarade, Kabhunālige, the four bāda and Mogal-nād in peace and wisdom.'.3 The Cālukya authority was once again restored in these regions and Mallikārjuna was ruling under the Călukya Jagadekamalla II in 1145 A.D. according to an inscription.4 Keśimayya was ruling over Belvola 300, Puligere 300, Halasige 12000 and Hanungal 500 in 1147 A.D.5 Vīra Pandya was ruling over Nolambavādī 32,000 in 1145 A.D. and 1148 A.D. and had his residence at Ucchangi.6 Banavāsī was governed by Dandanāyaka Bammadevarasa.⁷

Once Vişnuvardhana was defeated and killed and peace established in the southern provinces of the Calukya dominions, Jagadekamalla II turned his attention in the direction of the north where Mālava was in turmoil. The Caulukya Siddharāja of Gujarāt, having defeated Yasovarman, the Paramāra king, annexed Mālava to his kingdom in about 1134 A.D. Jayavarman, son and successor of Yasovarman, did regain it in 1138 A.D., but could not rule in peace for a long time for, the Calukya Jagadekamalla invaded Mālava. Jayavarman was probably killed during the invasion. The Cālukya general Keśirājas and Vīra Pāṇdya took an active part in the expedition and the Calukya records claim that king of Malava was destroyed, and that Malava was left without possession and that

¹EC. Vol. XI, Dg. No. 85.

^{*}Ibid. Vol. VI, Cm. No. 96.

^{*}Ibid. Sa. 58.

⁴DKD. p. 562. *E1. Vol. XVI, pp. 44 ff.

⁶EC. Vol. VII, Ci. No. 38; Vol. XI, Dg. No. 41.

⁷ Ibid. Vol. VII, Sk. No. 267. 8 EI. Vol. XVI, p. 8 EC Vol. XI, Dg. No. 43.

¹⁰ Ibid, Vol. VII, Sk. No. 123.

every great and small king of Malava was seized.1 In the light of the events described above the view of Dr. Ganguly that the Hoysala Narasimha accompanied the Cālukya army sent against Mālava is The Cālukyas and not tenable.2 Narasimha's claim of the conquest of Malava is not The invasion of Malava took place before 1143 A.D. THE CHALUKYAS, (V. S. 1200), which was the earliest known date of the Paramara Laksmīvarman, brother and successor of Jayavarman.³ Ballāļa,⁴ who ruled over Mālava between V. S. 1199 (1143 A.D.) and V. S. 1208 (1151 A.D.), and who was ultimately killed by the Caulukya Kumārapāla of Gujarāt in V. S. 1208, even though he may have been a southerner as it appears from his name, could not have had anything to do with the Calukya invasion of Malava as suggested by some scholars, for the reason that if he was a Hoysala prince he could not have been left behind by the Cālukyas to rule over Mālava on their behalf.

CHAPTER 9.

of Kalyāņī Jagadekamalla

An inscription dated in 1143 A.D. records that Jagadekamalla 'frightening and driving away in alarm the Cola king proud of his arm and his power in battle, made the Cola nala (Cola country) as if an al nala (slave or servant country)5'. Keśirāja also claims to have shattered the power of the Colas.⁶ These claims were a direct consequence of the attempt of Jagadekamalla to restore the Calukya authority over the Vengi country which had been for a time captured by Vikramaditya and had been lost during the reign of Someśvara III. But the success that he gained was nothing remarkable; for Kulottunga Cola, who had succeeded Vikrama Cola in 1135 A.D.,7 remained, according to the Cola records, in undisputed possession of the country.

Several Cālukya records claim victory for Jagadekamalla over the Gurjaras and of having captured his 'herd of elephants, wealth and troops of horses'.8 Keśirāja is also given credit for having shattered the Gurjaras.9 The Caulukya Siddharāja Jayasimha (1094-1143 A.D.)10 and Kumārapāla (1143-1172 A.D.)11 were the Gurjara contemporaries of Jagadekamalla. It may be that when the Cālukyas invaded Mālava they had to fight against the Caulukyas also who had been in possession of the whole of it for some time12 and some portion at another¹⁸ and who must have naturally opposed

¹EC. Vol. XI, Dg. No. 55.

⁸HPD. p. 172. ⁸DHNI. Vol. II, pp. 899 ff; Journal of M. P. Itihasa Parishad No. 3. ⁴Ibid. Vol. II, pp. 989 ff; ÉI. Vol. VIII, p. 207; IA. Vol. LXI p. 192, ⁵EC. Vol. VII, Dg. No. 84.

⁶E1. Vol. XVI, pp. 44 ff. *'HISI.* p. 101.

^{*}Rice Mysore and Coorg from Inscriptions; Ec. Vol. VIII, Sb. No. 277; Vol. VII, Sk. No. 108.

⁹E1. Vol. XVI, pp. 44 ff.

¹⁰ Prabandhacintamani pp. 80 and 115; JBBRAS. Vol. IX, p. 155; DHNI. Vol. II,

p. 96°.
11 Prabandhacintamani p. 151; JBBRAS. Vo. JX, p. 155, 157; Mirat-i-Ahmadi Tr. p. 143; DHNI. Vol. II, p. 985.

¹³ARASWC. 1912-13, p. 55. ¹³EI. Vol. I, p. 302; DHNI. Vol. II, p. 887.

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The Calukyas and the Kalacuryas of Kalyāni. THE CHALUKYAS. Jagadekamalla

any attempt by a third power to establish itself in the regions which they considered within their sphere of ambition.

The Cālukyas appear to have fought with Madhu-Kāmārņava alias Annatavarmadeva (1147-1165 A.D.) of Kalinga. This was probably over Vengi, which was a bone of contention during this period between the Calukyas, the Colas and the later Ganga kings of Kalinga. Inscriptions dated 1159, 1160, and 1164 A.D. say that Jagadekamalla 'filled up the troubles of Kalinga',1 that he made "Kalinga marked with tears on account of unmitigated calamities"2 and that he changed 'the appearance of the multitude of Kalinga's respectively.

If Saka 1174, Prajāpati Samvatsara Pusya Suddha 10, Somavāra is taken to correspond to December 20, 1151 A.D., this is the last known date of Jagadekamalla II. Another earlier date⁵ is Cālukya Vikrama 72, Pramoda Samvatsara, Caitra Vadya 11, Sukravāra = Friday, April 12, 1151 A.D. This date is more certain because it is regular.

Taila III.

Jagadekamalla was followed by his brother Taila III. earliest known date from an inscription is Ch. V. (a mistake for Saka) 1074, Prajāpati Samvatsara, Caitra Suddha 13=March 20, 1152 A.D.6 Taila assumed the titles of Trailokyamalla Pratāpa-Cakravarti7 and Cālukya-Cakravarti.8 He was also called Nūrmadi Taila or Tailapa.

The decline of the Calukya Empire had set in after the reign of Vikramāditya VI. During the reign of Someśvara the Hoysalas under Visnuvardhana, made a bold bid to wipe it out, but the southern feudatories, the Kadambas, the Sindas and the Pandyas served as shock absorbers of the Hoysala onslaughts and ultimately the Hoysala attempts were wrecked on the rocks of the Kadamba opposition. Jagadekamalla did make a determined effort to revive the glory and greatness of the Cālukyas of the time of Someśvara I and Vikramāditya VI and did gain some success in Mālava, Vengī and Kalinga. He also succeeded in crushing the rebellions of the Hoysalas with the help of the Sindas and the Kadambas. But his successes were only a temporary respite to the process of decline of the Empire which had been tottering from its very foundations.

Taila III did not have the capacity to hold the Empire together. The Caulukya Kumārapāla seems to have invaded Konkan. After some initial reverses while attempting to cross the river Kalvani the Cālukya general Ambād returned with reinforcements and defeated and killed the Silāhāra Mallikārjuna, ruler of Konkan. and a feudatory of the Cālukyas. Even though the Cālukyan campaign did not leave any lasting results over Konkan, it did

¹EC. Vol. VII, 8k. No. 123. ²Ibid. Vol. XI, Dg. No. 355.

⁸*Ibid.* Dg. No. 43. ⁴*Ibid.* Vol. VIII, Sb. No. 132.

⁵ Ibid. Sb. No. 86. *Ibid. Vol. VIII: Sb. No. 464.

⁷EI. Vol. V, p. 235. 8Ibid.

[°]EC. Vol. VIII. Sb. No. 175.

give a rude blow to the Calukyas whose prestige had already fallen very low in the Deccan. The Hoysala opposition had lost its sting efter the death of Visnuvardhana. His son and successor Narasimha was not of the same fibre as his father and the Kadambas and the Sindas could keep him within bounds. Another feudatory chieftain, the Kalacurya Bijjala, was forging weapons under the patronage of Taila himself, with the help of which he was to pull down the patron from the throne.

The defeat of the Silāhāras of Konkan at the hands of the Gurjaras appears to have been followed by a worst disaster which sapped the strength and undermined whatever prestige had been left of the Calukya authority. This was the defeat and disgrace of Taila III at the hands of the Kākatīyas. The Kākatīya Prolarāja invaded the Calukya Empire and inflicted a crushing defeat on Taila III and took him prisoner. The Anamkonda inscription of Rudradeva, successor of Prolaraja dated in Saka 1084=1162 A.D. gives the following account of the fight between the Prolaraja and Taila III. 'He (i.e., Prolaraja) made captive in war the glorious Tailapadeva, the ornament of the Calukyas who was skilful in the practice of riding upon elephants, whose inmost thoughts were even intent upon war, and who was mounted upon an elephant which was like a cloud; and then at once he, who was renowned in the practice of severing the throats of his (captive) enemies, let him go from goodwill (produced) by (his) devotion,"1

Though Taila had secured his release from his captor, the last straw on the camel's back had been snapped. The final blow to the Calukya sovereignty came from within the Empire, from one of its own feudatories in whom Taila III appears to have reposed his confidence. This was the Kalacuri Bijjala. Bijjala started his career as a subordinate chieftain of the Calukya Someśvara III and was in charge of the administration of the Karahada 4000 in 1142 A.D.² and his great-grandmother Abhinava Candaladevi was administering Valasanga in Kalambade 300 division. She is also called Abhinava Săradādevī and was the wife of Tribhuvanamalla Vikramāditya VI. Bijjala or Bijjana had the title of Mahāmandaleśvara. An inscription dated in the 10th year of the reign of Jagadekamalla, Prabhava Samvatsara, Āśvayuja Amāvasyā, Sunday, solar eclipse = Sunday, October 26, 214 A.D.³ refers to Bijjala's brother Mailugi. It makes mention of Karahata and its sub-division Kalambade, called a kampana and the village of Telasangava. Bijjala's father, Permādī, subordinate of Someśvara III, had been governing Taravādī4 according to an inscription dated April 20, 1129 A.D.5 Bijjala himself was governing as a feudatory of Taila III in 1151 A.D

The Calukyas and the Kalacuryas of Kalyani. THE CHALURYAS.

CHAPTER 9.

Taila III.

¹IA. Vol. XI, pp. 12-13. ²ARSIE. BK. No. 128 of 1940-41.

^{*}Karnataka Inscriptions Vol. II, No. 21, pp. 79 ff.

^{*.} K. Aiyanger: Ancient India p. 264.

*ARSIE, 1938-39, B. K. No. 66. The date is not regular as the solar eclipse fell on Saturday and not Monday. When this record speaks of the Emperor it could be no other than the Cālukya Someśvara. Hence the view that Permādi did not scknowledge the fact is not tenable. (El. Vol. XXVIII, p. 25, fn. 5.)

The Calukyas and the Kalacuryas of Kalyanî. THE CHALUKYAS.

Taila III.

and had Mahāpradhāna Senādhipati Dandanāyaka Mailarāya as his subordinate in charge of Taravādī 1000.1

Bijjana or Bijjala secured his appointment as the Commander-in-Chief of the Calukyan army and in the Harihara inscription he claims to have been protecting the whole Calukyan army.2 His influence began to increase in obverse proportion to the decrease of Taila's and the Calukyan records give him great importance using almost as highsounding titles as his overlord. Some of the inscriptions in which he is mentioned are even dated in his regnal years, as if he had assumed full royal powers. These records do show that he had become the de facto sovereign and that Taila was reduced to a shadow of a king. The titles given to Bijjala and Taila III in a Belgāmi inscription dated Cālukya Trailokyamalla varsa 6, Yuva Samvatsara, Māgha, Amāvasyā, Somavāra=Monday, January 24, 1156 A.D.⁸ explains the position very clearly.

Inscriptions, dated in the 2nd year of the reign of the Kalacuri Bhujabala-cakravarti Bijjala-deva correspond to Saturday, February 1, 1158 A.D.4 and Wednesday, December 26, 1157 A.D.5 and in the 4th year to Sunday, December 6, 1159 A.D.6 They show that Bijjala had gained enormous powers and that inscriptions were dated in his regnal years though Taila III was yet the sovereign. An inscription, dated September 24, 1158 A.D. (the date is not regular) speaks of Bijjala ruling the kingdom in peace and wisdom. Another of Monday, March 2, 1159 A.D., gives the Calukyan pedigree upto Taila III and then speaks of Bijjala as king (ksonipāla).8 A third of 1159 A.D. does the same. These inscriptions show that inspite of the fact that Bijjala had the title of Mahāmandaleśvara, he was supreme in the affairs of the State and that the authority of Taila was reduced to a mere shadow. The Cālukya feudatories, the Gangas¹⁰ and the Pandyas,¹¹ acknowledged his authority. The Kadambas who tried to resist him were ultimately subdued by force of arms. In 1159 A.D., Bijjala launched an attack against them and the fort of Gutti was besieged. 12 Another attempt by the Kadambas to oppose Bijjala was crushed in 1163 A.D., when Bijjala Deva's Minister, Sovayamarasa, attacked Gutti¹³ again. The Kadambas too then acknowledged the fait accompli of Bijjala.14 The Santaras too inspite of their attempt to become independent,15 acknowledged Bijjala as their overlord.16

¹Bom. Gaz. (Old Edn.), Vol. I, pt. ii p. 460. ²JRAS. Vol. IV, p. 16.

⁸EC. Vol. VII, Sk. No. 104. *Ibid. Vol. VIII, Sb. No. 255.

⁵ARSIE. App. E, No. 201. ⁶EC. Vol. VIII, Sb. 131.

^{7/}bid. Vol. VII, Sk. No. 18.

^{*}Ibid. Vol. VIII, Sb. No. 328. *Ibid. Vol. VII, Sk. No. 173.

^{10/}bid. Vol. VII, Sk. No. 18 111bid. Vol. XI, Dg. No. 43.

¹³Ibid. Vol. VIII, Šb. No. 416,

¹⁸ Ibid. Sk. No 568.

¹⁴ Ibid. Sb. No. 177.

¹⁵ Ibid. Sb. No. 177, 567, Sa. No. 114.

¹⁶ Ibid. Sa. No. 66.

Taila appears to have left Kalyānī sometime after 1157 A.D. and fled to Jayantīpura in Banavāsī1 and later took refuge at Anni-Bijjala assumed The Calukyas and gere,2 to which place he was followed by Bijjala. full royal title at Annigere in about 1162 A.D.3 In an inscription, dated January 17, 1162 A.D., he had the title of Mahāmandaleśvara only. He was on this date at Balligāve while leading an expedition to the southern regions. Taila III is not mentioned in this inscription.

Taila III appears to have died before January 19, 1163 A.D., the date of the Anamkonda inscription which records his death in the following words: 'Though king Tailapa went to sky, his delicate body being wasted by violent diarrhoea through fear of this most valorous king, \$rī Rudradeva.'.4

The fall of the Calukyas created an utter political chaos in the Deccan. The Cālukyan feudatories, the Kadambas, the Sindas, the Pāndvas, the Hoysalas and others could not reconcile themselves with the usurpation of Bijjala and if at all they acknowledged his authority, it was only as a measure of expediency. They continued to wage wars against him, whenever they had a favourable opportunity. The story of the Kalacuri rule lasting for about two decades and described in detail below, was one of constant feud between him and the other feudatories of the Calukyas. Some of them made no secret of their allegiance to the Calukyas, whenever they had a favourable occasion to do so. Inscriptions dated 1165 A.D.5 and 1182 A.D.6 show that Vijaya Pandya, recognised a certain Cālukya Jagadekamalla, probably a brother of Taila III, as his sovereign. The Nidugal chief Mallideva Cola Mahārāja did the same in 1169 A.D.7

Having captured the fort of Gutti from the Kadambas the Hoysalas began their raids into the Kalacurya possessions. In 1164 A.D. a Hoysala general raided the Kerivakasive Agrahara.8 In the same year Bijjala ordered his subordinate chieftain Televūr Hāradi Sovavarma (?) and others to attack Gutti.9 The fort of Gunnalagundi where in 1161 A.D., the Hoysalas had been besieged by the Kadambas, was besieged by Bammarasa and Vira-rasa in 1166 A.D., without any success.10 The Pandyas were defeated and their big and strong fort of Ucchangi was captured by Ballala II, who had usurped the Hoysala throne from his father Narasimha I. then turned against the Kadambas to whose rescue Kalacuri Sankamadeva first sent his general Kavanayya and later took the field

CHAPTER 9.

the Kalacuryas of Kalyāņī.

THE CHALUKYAS Taila III.

^{*}DKD. p. 469. *JRAS. Vol. IV, p. 16, fn. 2. ³IA. Vol. XI, p. 18. ⁴EC. Vol. XI, Dg. No. 77. *Ibid. Vol. XI, Cd. No. 13. *ARSIE. 1917, No. 733; HISI. p. 116. *MASR. 1928, No. 81. *EC. Vol. VIII, Sb. 372. *Ibid. Sb. 287.

¹⁰ MASR. 1928, No. 81.

the Kalacuryas of Kalyani. THE CHALUKYAS. Taila III.

himself, when the battle of Bettaur did not end in his favour in 1179 A.D.1 The battles at Madavalli and Hadadeyakuppa also were The Calukyas and lost by the Kalacuris, even though Ballala did not gain any material advantage from them either.2 The Kalacuryas appear to have patched up peace with the Hoysalas to save themselves from total But the Kadambas carried on the fight and besieged the fort of Uddhare which they had lost to the Hoysalas earlier3 and captured it in 1181 A.D. This defeat was avenged in that very year by Ballāla.4

Someśvara IV.

The Calukya Someśvara IV, who had been in hiding with the Pandyas or the Kadambas, probably at Annigere in the Dharvad district, hearing of the defeat of the Kalacuryas by the Hoysalas, emerged from his exile and recovered the kingdom by driving out the usurpers. The date 1181 A.D. in which Someśvara IV was ruling at Kalyāni, according to the Kuragoda inscription⁶, is not reliable as it is irregular.

The Korvar inscription in the Bijāpūr district, dated Vikārī Samvatsara, Vaiśākha, Amāvasyā, Tuesday, May 8, 1179 A.D., also speaks of Someśvara IV, but it is very much damaged and if at all this date for him is genuine, it belongs to a period when Someśvara was just a refugee. However, it gives a clue to his hideout. The details of dates in the 2nd year of his reign correspond to November 5, 1184 A.D.6 and December 24 (?), 1184 A.D.7 and those in the 4th year correspond to April 5, 1182 A.D.8

With these irregular dates, it may be said that Someśvara's restoration of the Calukya sovereignty took place in the middle of 1183 A.D. 'Someśvara uprooted that race of the Kalacuryas as if it were but a billa tree.'. The same record adds that 'a very close connection between the earth and himself being formed at that time when the dense darkness that was the Kalacuryas dispersed before his brilliance,-the Cālukya king Soma became famous.'9 Someśvara was helped by his feudatory Brahma or Bammarasa or Bamayya in securing the throne. Brahma is called 'the establisher of the Calukya sovereignty,'10 and 'the chief of all the leaders of the army.' Other inscriptions also extol him for this achievement.11 Brahma's (Brāhmaṇa's) father, Kāma or Kāvaṇa, who was alive at the time of his son's battle with the Kalacuryas, 12 was Dandanāyaka of the Kalacurya Sankama according to a Harihara inscription. He was also their commander-in-chief in 1179 A.D.¹³ and a Dandanāyaka of Āhavamalla in 1181 A.D..14

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<sup>1</sup>Kadambakula, pp. 138, 444-45, Ec. Vol. VII Sk. No. 171.
<sup>8</sup>EC. Vol. XI, Dg. No. 44.

<sup>8</sup>Ibid. Vol. VI, Hd. No. 33.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid. Vol. II, No. 327; Kadambakula, p. 14-.

<sup>8</sup>EI. Vol. XIV, pp. 265 ff.
 •ARSIE. 1928-29, App. E, No. 207.
**Ibid. 1940-41, B.K. No. 46.

**Ibid. 1940-47, B.K. No. 37.

**EI. Vol. V, p. 259.

**Ibid. Vol. V, p. 250.

**IJRAS. Vol. IV, pp. 16-17; Bom. Gaz. (Old Edn.), Vol. I, pt. ii, p. 464.

**III Vol. VI, p. 92 ff.

**Ibid. p. 92.

**Ibid. p. 92.
 14 /bid. p. 192.
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Brāhmaņa himself was a Mahāpradhāna Senādhipati and Dandanāyaka of the Kalacurya Sovideva in 1175 A.D.1 He turned a rebel against his master on account of an insult done to his father and The Calukyas and took service under the Calukya Someśvara IV to seek vengeance upon him.2

The revival of the Calukya sovereignty at Kalyani was a passing phase of the tangled history of the Deccan, during this period. The Kadambas, the Pāṇḍyas, the feudatory Colas and other feudatories were happy at the restoration, for this meant the success of their efforts to drive out their relentless enemy, the Kalacuryas. The Cālukyas had always defended them from the Hoysalas.

The Calukya restoration did not last long. The Yadavas from the north and the Hoysalas from the south were desperately fighting their way to Kalyani in a bid to wipe them out and win the sovereignty of Karnāta. Someśvara did not have the strength to oppose them.

One attempt of Ballala in 1183 A.D.8 to drive out Somesvara IV had been beaten back by Brāhmana.4 But Ballāļa returned to the scene four years later and defeated the Calukyas and drove Someśvara IV out of Kalyāni. Someśvara fled away to Jayantīpura.5 The Gadag inscription of Ballala recounts his victory in the following words: 'And by force, he, the strong one, defeated with cavalry only, and deprived of his sovereignty, the general Brāhmaṇa whose army was strengthened by an array of elephants and who acquired sixty tusked elephants with a single tuskless elephant, when, on account of an insult, he was tearing the royal fortune from the family of the Kalacuryas.'6

Ballāļa could not feast upon his conquest of Kalyāņī for a long time. The Yadava Bhillama with equally unbounded ambitions as the Hoysala proved more powerful than the latter. He swooped down upon Kalyānī from the north, defeated Ballāla and drove him out from there, and as an inscription dated in 1189 A.D. at Annigere records, he had become the beloved of the goddess of the sovereignty of the Karnāţa country and was rejoicing over the whole kingdom. Hemdari confirms this, but he is not correct when he says that Ballala was killed by Bhillama.8 Bhillama in pursuit of Ballala reached as far south as Alur in the Hassan district where a fierce battle between the two was fought. Who was the victor in this battle is not known. Very soon Ballala returned with reinforcements and another fierce battle was fought between the two at Sorrātur before December 30, 1190 A.D., the date of record which says that "Ballala put them (the Yadavas) to flight and slaughtered them from Soratur to the banks of the

CHAPTER 9.

of Kalyāņi.

THE CHALUKYAS: Someśvara IV.

¹E1. Vol. VI, p. 92.

²Ibid p. 92. ²EC. Vol. VIII, Sb. No. 419.

^{**}ARSIE. 1916, App. B, No. 458.

*EC. Vol. XI, Cd. No. 33.

*EI. Vol. VI, p. 92.

**Bom. Caz., (Old Edn.) Vol. I, pt. ii, pp. 518-19.

^{*}EHD. (R), App. C, vs. 38-39.

The Calukyas and the Kalacuryas of Kalyani.

THE CHALUKYAS.

Somesvara IV.

CHAPTER 9.

Kṛṣṇavēṇi."1 The Yādavas were driven away and a large part of the region fell into the hands of Ballala.2 But Bhillama too after sometime returned to the scene and was at his victorious camp at Heruru, 30 miles north-east of Gadag, on June 23, 1191 A.D.3 This was just on the eve of the final battle between the two which is described in the Gadag inscription dated 21 November, 1192 A.D.4 of Ballala II. Ballala won this battle and Bhillama lost his life. The Yādavas with Jaitugi as the leader of the force made Lokkigundi their base of operations, but Jaitugi, also called a minister of Bhillama, was defeated and Lokkigundi was captured by Ballala who pitched his victorious camp at Lokkigundi itself according to the Gadag inscription of 1191 A.D. A later inscription records that "The king Ballala moistening his valiant sword with the blood of his enemy the Pandya king, whets it on the grindstone of the head of Bhillama and sheathes it in the lotus mouth of Jaitugi "h And the Gadag inscription says "And cutting off Jaitrasinha who was as it were the right arm of that Bhillama, he, the hero, acquired also the sovereignty over the country of Kuntala."6 Inspite of all these victories, Ballala seems to have failed to capture Kalyani.

Someśvara did not live long to see the spoliation of his Empire. His last known date is December 25, 1189 A.D.⁷ when he was ruling with the support of the Kadambas and was their host.

¹MASR. 1926, No. 9.

²EC. Vol. XI, Dg. No. 25; IHQ. Vol. IV, pp. 123-23.

³Ibid. Vol. XI, Dg. No. 25; Cn. No. 179.

⁴E1. Vol. III,p. 219.

^{*}EC. Vol. V, Bl. 77.

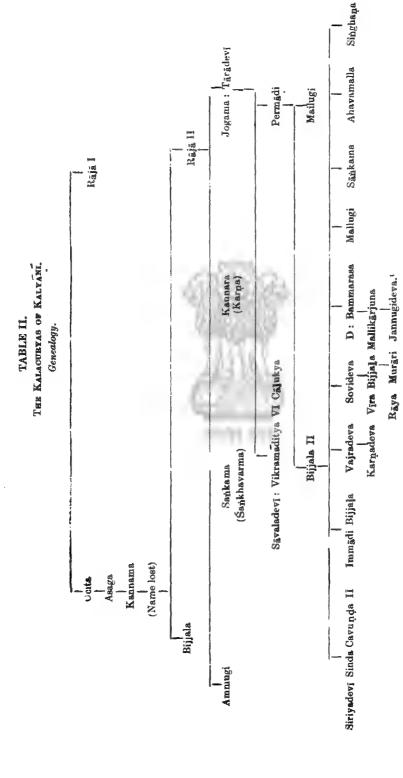
cEI. Vol. VI, p. 92

¹EC. Vol. VIII. Sb. No. 129.



The Cālukyas and the Kalacuryas of Kalyāṇi.

THE KALACHURYAS.



*The relationship of Rayamurari Junnugideva and Mallikarjuna with other Kalacuri princes cannot be determined.

THE KALACURYAS OF KALYĀŅĪ

the Kalacuryas of Kalyāni. THE KALACHURYAS, Origin,

The Kalacurya usurpation of Cālukva sovereignty had a precarious The Calukyas and existence for nearly two decades. The Kalacuryas trace their Haihaya, the progenitor of the descent from the Haihayas. Haihayas, was a grandson of Sahasrajit, who himself was a descendent of Yadu. The Haihayas had their seat of power at Māhişmatī, modern Māndhātā, in the Nimar district of Madhya Pradeś.1 Māhismatī they expanded their hold to Kāśī.². One of their kings, Arjuna, recovered Māhiṣmatī which had been in the meantime lost to the Karkota king.3 The Haihayas, later known as Kalacuris, suffered set back at the hands of Sagara, but retained Kāśī.4 In more recent times, the Kalacuris established their hold over Mālava the central regions of the present Madhya Sankaragana's son Buddharāja had his capital in Vidiśā. He was defeated by the Călukya Mangaleśa⁶ of Badami.⁷ Other branches of the family established their dominion in the U. P., Saryupārār, Dāhala and Ratanpur. Some members of the family who claim to have belonged to Kālañjara in M. P. migrated to the south and took up service under the Cālukyas of Kalyānī.8

> The epigraphical version of their origin reads as follows: "A certain Brāhmana girl was adoring with devotion Hara, the chosen of Girijā In order to bestow on her the desire of her heart, he appeared to her in a dream, and from that union she miraculously conceived a portion of Iscara in her womb. When she had thus completed nine months, there was born Kṛṣṇa, beautiful in form, matchless in valour, distinguished by all auspicious marks, acquainted with all learning, a burning heat to hostile kings. Being born he slew in Kālañjara an evil-minded king who was a cannibal and followed the calling of a barber, thus gaining in advance the applause of the world. Did he not? Forcing him between the teeth of Yama, he seized by might of his arm, the wealth of the Kalacuri-kula. The king Kṛṣṇa ruled in peace. Among those born in his line, after many kings had passed away, there was renowned in the earth king Kannama Deva, skilled in the art of captivating the coyest women by his beauty, the cause of destruction to the proud, his fame being like a spotless moon. To that celebrated one like two extra arms were two dear sons named, Rājā and Bijjala, of good learning, beloved of the goddess of victory. The Kalacuryas claim to be Ksatriyas. 10 A different version with different genealogical details is given in another record.¹¹ The family had the royal insignia of a svarna vrsabha, distinguished by a Damaru.

¹IA. Vol. XIV, p. 68; DHNI. Vol. II, p. 738; EHD. (R), p. 160; ASWI. No. 10; Pargiter: Indian Historical Traditions, IH7. pp. 148, 41, 102, 143, 153, 263, 87, 88 and 150 ²IHT. pp. 153-56. *Ibid. pp. 265-66. 'Ibid. p. 263. '[Vidisa was only the site of his can r. See CII. IV, p. 49.-V. V. M.] *IA. Vol. XIX; p. 7.

*Bom. Gaz. Old. Edn. Vol. I, Pt. i, pp. 740-41.

*EI. Vol. XX, p. 269; Vol. XII, p. 291; IA. Vol. I, p. 191. EC. Vol. XI, Dg. No. 42.
 PIA. Vol. IV, p. 275.
 FC. Vol. VII, SR. No. 256.

The genealogical details of the family remain somewhat obscure. The inscriptions do not give conso idated or a complete list. With the help of several of them1 the genealogy of the family given in The Calukyas and the Table is reconstructed.2

CHAPTER 9.

the Kalacuryas of Kalyānī.

> THE KALACHURYAS, Origin.

Nothing is known of the early kings Ucita and Rājā Is and Asaga, Kannama, his unknown son, and his sons Bijjala and Rājā II4. Of the four sons of Rājā II only Ammugi and Jogama appear to have ruled and the latter had the title of Talikada.5 The title was obviously assumed on the basis of the intimate connection of the family with Tarikādunādu, which is mentioned in a number of inscriptions and was situated in the Kuntala country.6

Jogama,

Permadi

Jogama was a Mahāmandaleśvara⁷ of the Cālukyas. He was governing Karahāda 4000 division in A.D. 1087-88 and 1093 as a feudatory of the Cālukya Vikramāditya VI.8 He had a daughter named Sāvaladevī from his wife Tārādevī.9 Sāvaladevī was given in marriage to Vikramaditya VI.10 This was significant as this helped the insignificant Kalacuryas to gain some prominence. Jogama's son was Permādi, who is known from two records,11 one of which is dated in 1129 A.D.,12 which was the 12th year of his rule. The Emperor referred to in this record means the Calukya Vikramaditya VI. He also had the title of Mahāmandaleśvara and the biruda of Tarīkāda. He was governing Tarddavādi 1000 division in 1128-29 A.D.18 An inscription dated in 1142 A.D.14 reveals that Abhinava Candaladevi, also called Abhinava Sāradādevī, wife of the Cālukya Vikramāditya VI. was also a great-grandmother of the Kalacurya Bijjala, son of Permadi. This can be explained only by the fact that Abhinava Candaladevi was the grandmother of the mother of Bijjala. This would mean that the daughter of Vikramāditya VI and Candaladevī was given in marriage to Jogama. This gave further impetus to the rise of the Kalacuryas to power.

The Kalacuryas had their headquarters at Mangalavad or Mangaliveda, modern Mangalvedhe near Pandharpur, which was the chief town of Tarikādu-nādu.18

¹EC. Vol. XI. Dg. No. 42; Vol. VII, Sk. No. 236; EI. Vol. XV, p. 324; Vol. XIX p. 234. Bom. Gaz. (Old. Edn.), Vol. I; pt. (ii), p. 468; SIE. AR. 1940-41, Bk. No. 128; EC. Vol. VII, Sk. No. 197; ARSIE. 1937-38, BK. No. 81; 1936-37, BK. Nos. 63 and 91; 1938-39, No. 50; EC. Vol. XI, Dg. No. 44; Vol. VII, HL. No. 50; KI. Vol. XXVIII, pp. 24 ff. *EI. Vol. XXVIII, p. 38. *Ibid., p. 24. *EC. Vol. XI, Dg. No. 42. *ARSIE. 1940 41, BK. No. 171; EI. Vol. XV, p. 324. Ibid., 1940-41, BK. No. 103, 124 and 130.
 Ibid. 124, 131, 103.
 Bom. Gas. (Old. Edn.) Vol. I, pt. ii, p. 448. 11ARSIE. 1940-41, BK. No. 102; 1936-37, BK. No. 95, 18 Ibid. No. 128. 12 Ibid. 1936-37, Bk. No. 95. ¹⁴Ibid. 1940-41, Bk. No. 128. ¹⁵EI. Vol. XV, p. 324; EC. Vol. XI, Dg. No. 44.

The Calukyas and the Kalacuryas of Kalyānī.

> THE KALACHURYAS. Bijjala II,

Bijjala II followed his father Permādi. He was a feudatory of the Calukya Jagadekamalla II and Taila III, both his cousins. He is known from an inscription, dated in 1142 A.D., as governing Karahada 4000 division, when his great-grandmother Abhinava-Candaladevī, also called Abhinava-Sāradādevī and wife of Vikramāditya VI was governing Valasanga in Kalambade 300 division. This shows that this queen of Vikramāditya VI, was alive in 1142 A.D., and was associated with Bijjala in the administration of a division. Mahāmandaleśvara Bijjala or Bijjana is mentioned with his brother Mailugi in another inscription, dated 1147 A.D., as a subordinate to Jagadekamalla II. The inscription registers a gift of certain incomes in kind and coins by the trade guild for the sattra of Mahāgrahāra Telasangava² in Kalambada kampana in Karahāţa vişaya in Kuntala-deśa. Nothing is then known about Bijjala for about ten years as no record of this period so far known mentions his name. However, from 1157 A.D., Bijjana suddenly emerges with great prestige and importance, first as a Cālukya feudatory and then as a usurper of the Cālukya throne and an independent king. More than seventy-five records of his reign have been found, mostly in the Simoga, Citaldurg, Dharvad, Bijāpūr and Belgānv districts of Mysore State.

Though a number of inscriptions of his time are dated in his regnal years, the chronology of his rise to power cannot be precisely determined as the details of most of these dates are not regular. According to some inscriptions, his first regnal year falls in 1152 A.D.,3 while according to others it would fall in 1155 or 1156 A.D.4 But the actual usurpation of the Calukya throne by him took place in 1162 A.D., when he assumed full paramount titles of samastabhuvanāśraya Śripṛthivivallabha Mahārājādhirāja Parameśvara Paramabhattāraka besides a number of birudas which include Tribhuvanamalladeva Tribhuvanaikavīradeva and Bhuvanaikamalla. He is also praised as Kālañjarapuravarādhīśvara, Giridurgamalla and Sanivarasiddhi. He was ruling from Kalyānī⁵ in May 6, 1162 A.D.⁶ while according to another, from Mangalivada in January 17, 1162, A.D.7 This might show that he usurped power between January 17, 1162 A.D. and May 6, 1162 A.D.

The story of his rise to power has been told earlier. Of the two inscriptions, dated January 17, 1162 A.D., one says that he was governing from Mangalivada⁸ and makes no mention of the Calukya sovercign, while the other says that he was at that time encamped at Balligave having gone there to subdue the southern region.9

¹ARSIE. 1940-41, BK. No. 128.

²Karnālaka Inscriptions, Vol. II, No. 21, pp. 79 ff. ³ARSIE. 1938-39, BK. No. 20; 1936-37, BK. No. 57. ⁴Ibid, 1943-43, BK. No. 20; 1940-41, BK. No. 111, 45; 1937-38, BK. No. 14; 1936-37, Bk. No. 45, 57, 63.

^{*}EC. Vol. VIII, Sb. No. 346. *ASRIE. 1937-38, No. 14.

⁷lbid, 1940-41, Bk. No. 111. *Ibid, No. 111. *EC. Vol. VII, Sk. No. 102.

the Kalacuryas

of Kalyāņi.

THE KALACHURYAS,

Bijjala.

Bijjala had a brother Mallugideva who is known from number of records dated from 1147 A.D.1 to 1176 A.D. He also had The Calukyas and a number of sons; Someśvara, Sovideva, Sańkama, Āhavamalla, Sińghana and Vajra and a daughter Siriyadevi, who was married to the Sinda Cavunda II.

Some of the inscriptions of his reign give him credit for the conquest of a number of countries, viz., Gurjara, Magadha, Kalinga, Āndhra, Saurāstra, Vengī, Lāta, Cera, Nepāl, Pancāla, Pāndya, Turuşka, Cola, etc.2 There could be no truth in all these claims. Bijjala had hardly any time to cross beyond the frontiers of his chaotic few territorial divisions to lead any campaigns of conquests. His southern adversaries, the Hoysalas, engaged his attention all the time.

The Hoysalas had been nursing their ambition of establishing their own dominion and had rebelled against their sovereign several times. Bijjala certainly took them by surprise. Thereby he proved a better general and tactician than his Hoysala adversary. Before actually overthrowing the Calukyas, he defeated the Hoysalas. An inscription states that a battle between the Hoysalas and the Kalacurvas under the command of Bammarasa dandanātha, brother-in-law of Kasapayya Nāyaka, a feudatory of Bijjala, took place on the banks of the Tungabhadra. The name of the Hoysala chief is not given.3 The contemporary Hoysala king was Narasimha I. The Hoysalas from their stronghold at Gutti4 were leading expeditions into the Kalacuri territories. In 1164 A.D., the Hoysala chief raided Keryakāsive agrahāra.⁵ A Kattūru epigraph, dated 1164 A.D., records that Bijjala ordered his subordinate Tolevur Hāradi Somavarmma (?) and other chieftains to attack the fort of Gutti, which they besieged.⁶ How the siege ended is not known. An inscription, dated 1166 A.D., records that Mandalika Bammarasa, who had fought the battle of the Tungabhadra with the Hoysalas, was in possession of the fort of Gutti and that he along with Virarasa laid siege to the fort of Gunnalagundi and that the Hoysala Māndalika is said to have driven away the besiegers by stratagem. It is further claimed that he did not resort to force of arms yet it records the death of a warrior Katamallasetti.7

The disturbed political condition of his dominions is revealed by a number of memorial stone-pillar-inscriptions, recording the death of soldiers in battles or raids. In 1160 A.D., the agrahara lambur was besieged by one Kalarasa8 and the fisherman Bitteya was killed in the raid. An inscription commemorates the death of a soldier during

¹EC., No. 197; Vol. XI, Dg. No. 44; ARSIE, 1938-39, BK. No. 50; 1936-37; BK. No. 63; Karnātaka Inscriptions, Vol. II, No. 21.

⁹EI, Vol. XV, p. 324; EC. Vol. VII, Sk. No. 197; Karnātaka Inscriptions,

vol. II, Nos. V° EC. Vol. XI : Dg. No. 42. *MASR. 1928, No. 81. *EC. Vol. VIII, 8b. No. 372.

^{*}Ibid, Sb. No. 287.
*MASR, 1928, No. 81.
*EC. Vol. VII, Sk. No. 78.

CHAPTER 9. The Calukyas and the Kalacuryas of Kalyani. THE KALACHURYAS. Bijjala.

the raid of Jayasinga Maiyaka in 1159 A.D.¹ Uddhare Ekkalarasa burnt Satradahalli in 1159 A.D.² Bijjana's force is said to have been marching to destroy Tagarte in 1162 A.D.3 In 1163 A.D., a battle was fought between Mahāmandaleśvara Kīrtirasa, Mahāmandaleśvara Ekkalarasa and Mahāmandaleśvara Bammana on one side and lagadevarasa on the other4. Ekkalarasa was again marching against Jagadeva according to another inscription.⁵ The death of a soldier is recorded in another record of 1163 A.D., during the raid of Uddhare Yakkalarasa (Ekkalarasa).6 Ekkalarasa thus fought at one time for, and at another against, Bijjana. Bamma, Bammana or Bammarasa is called a son-in-law of Bijiana in an inscription of 1163 A.D. He was governing Banavāsī 12000.7

Bijjala's reign is marked by a serious religious upheaval. A reformist movement led by Basava rose into prominence in the kingdom at this time. Basava's followers are known as the Virsaivas or the Lingāyatas. Basaya held a high office under the Kalacurya Bijjala. Evidently there seems to have been a great conflict between the conservative and the reformist religious forces in the kingdom. One result of this conflict would appear to be the assassination of the king Bijiala. An account of this revolution is given in the Basava Purāņas, Canna, Basava Purāna and Bijjala Carita or Bijjala Kāyya. The versions given by the Jain sources of this event differ greatly from those given in the Virsaiva source.

Bijjala's last known date from the Yali-sirūr inscription is Saturday, September 30, 1167 A.D.8 Bijjala is said to have had a big army consisting of 196,000 horses, 10,000 elephants and 1,00,000 soldiers. He is also said to have possessed a thousand hill forts and a thousand forts in the plains and a thousand along with the sea shore.9 All this is obviously improbable.

Rāyamurārī Someśvara Sovideva whom Bijjala had nominated succeeded him. The inscriptions mention Mallugideva and Karna, brother and grandson respectively of Bijjala, who succeeded him one after the other. There is nothing definite to show that Mailugi or Mallugi ruled after Bijjala. But since Kandara, Kālideva or Karņa is mentioned immediately before Sovideva, he appeared to have ruled for a short while. Mallugideva did rule later as an inscription is dated in the 2nd year of his reign which corresponds to December 2, 1176 A.D.10 Karna was placed on the throne by some of his supporters, but was overthrown and killed by An inscription records that Kasapayya, a Kalacurya Sovideva-

EC. Vol. VIII, Sb. No. 131.

^{*}Ibid. Sb. No. 99. *Ibid. Sb. No. 56.

¹Ibid. No. 177. ⁵Ibid. No. 193.

⁶ Ibid. No. 449.

^{7/}hid. Vol. VII, Sk. No. 242.

^{*}ARSIE. 1926-27, BK. No . 15.

JRAS. Vol. IV, p. 20.

¹⁰ A RSIE.

minister, and others plunged the Kalacuri sovereignty into chaos by their evil actions and were ultimately driven with Karna whom they had illegally placed on the throne by Soma and Madhuva. Karna may have been the son of Vajradeva, son of Bijjala, or that of Immadi Bijjala, his other son.

The earliest known date for Someśvara Sovideva is Kalacuri varsa 16, Sarvadhāri S., Vaišakha Pūrņimā, Adityavāra, Somagrahana = Sunday, March 24, 1168 A.D.² Another date for him is Sunday, July 27, 1169 A.D. He appears to have ascended the throne in 1166 A.D.3 The inscriptions of his reign are dated in his regnal years, which also support this date.4

He was ruling from his nelevidu Mangaliveda on Wednesday. September 18, 1168 A.D.⁵ and from Kalyānī in 1172 A.D.⁶ Besides the paramount titles he adopted the birudas of Bhujabalamalla and Rāyamurārī, meaning respectively 'the powerful wrestler' and 'a very Viṣṇu',7 His two queens, Sāvaladevī and Bāvaladevī are known. A copper-plate inscription dated in Saka 1096=9th October, 1174 A.D. records grant on the occasion of the queen Bavaladevi singing a beautiful song when some important persons of his and other kingdoms had gathered together in his audience hall. Savaladevi was also highly proficient in music and dancing and gave public performances.8

No historical event of any importance is mentioned in the records of his time; some of them record raids for cattle and young girls⁰ and violent skirmishes between some of the dandanāyakas. There cannot be any truth in the claim of conquests of Gurjara, Kimmīra, Khaśa, Turuska, Kalinga, Cola, Cera, etc., made in some of the records.

The last known date for Sovideva according to an inscription is January 31, 1177 A.D.¹⁰ Another record has the date January 17, 1177 A.D.¹¹

Someśvara Sovideva was succeeded by his brother Sankamadeva in Saka 1099, Hemalamba, Āṣāḍha vadya, Kṛṣṇāngārikā caturdaśī = Sunday, June 26, 1177 A.D. On this date Sankama was ruling from Kalyani and the Mummuridandas of Kurugodu, with the consent of the Sinda Mahāmandaleśvara Răcamalla, built II temple and made a grant of land. The Mummuridandas are praised as "the bravest of the brave, CHAPTER 9.

the Kalacuryas of Kalyanî.

THE KALACHURYAS. Bijjala II.

¹EI. Vol. XXVIII, p. 26. ²EC. Vol. VII, Sk. No. 92. ³Karnātaka Inscriptions Vol. II, No. 25. ⁴ARASI. 1936-37, Bk. No. . 40; 1937-38' BK. No. 52; 1938-39, BK. No. 57; 53; 1940-41, Bk. No. 115; 117; EC. Vol. VII, Sk. No. 150. *Ibid. 1936-37, Bk. No. 37.

^{*}EC. Vol. VIII, Sb. No. 389 and 543, *Bom, Gaz. (Old Edn.), Vol. I, pt. ii, p. 484.

 ^{*}Ibid, WC. CIT.
 *EC. Vol. VII, Sk. No. 236; Vol. VIII, Sb. No. 389.

¹⁰ EC. Vol. VIII, Sb. No. 498.

¹¹ MASR. 1929, No. 80.

CHAPTER 9. The Calukyas and the Kalacuryas of Kalyani.

> THE KALACHURYAS. Someśvara Sovideva.

protectors of the submissive, cruel to the wicked, good to the good and conquerors of powerful enemies." This inscription is set up in the Basaveśvara temple, evidently dedicated to the god after the name of Basava. This shows the importance of Basava. The Mummuridandas and the Nakharas are mentioned in another inscription dated 1176 A.D. of Sovideva.2 He is also called Sankhavarmadeva. Whether his name was derived from Sankha in the Tarkada-nadu in former Jath state³ cannot be said. He had the biruda of Nihśankamalla 'the wrestler without apprehensions'. He had his capitals at Kalyāni4 and Mangaliveda. No event of any historical importance of his reign is known. The disturbed political conditions are reflected in the several records of his reign which record death of certain persons in cattle raids or for the abduction of young girls and the fight between the Dandanayakas of the king. The claim of conquest of various countries are made in the traditional style with no truth whatsoever.

The last known date of Sankama from an inscription is January 5, 1183 A.D.6 It is difficult to accept that the Hoysala chief Ballāla II was his feudatory as Dr. Fleet thinks.7 From one record the name of one queen of Sankama is known as Rāmadevī.8

During the reign of Sankama there was a fratricidal war between himself and his other brothers, who established themselves as independent kings in certain parts of the kingdom. His brother Ahavamalla, which sounds more like a biruda, claims to have been ruling as an independent king according to some inscriptions, the earliest of which is dated Monday, January 28, 1180 A.D.9 and the latest as November 26, 1182 A.D., 10 both of which fall in the reign of Someśvara Sovideva. From the regnal years given in his records it seems that Ahavamalla became independent in 1178 A.D.11 Ahavamalla's inscriptions are found mostly in the Sikārpūr tālukā of the Simogā district and in the Parasgad tālukā of the Belgānv district. He had the biruda of Rāyanārāyana.

Singhana, another brother of Sankama, also appears to have become independent and ruled for a short time. An inscription of his reign dated Monday, August 30, 1182 A.D. gives him the title of Mahārājādhirāja.12 Another Kalacurya prince called Mallikārjuna is known from an inscription dated Thursday, November 25, 1176. He is given

¹SII, Vol. IX, pt. i, No. 297. ²Ibid. No. 296.

³ARSIE, 1940-41, Bk. No. 86.

⁴SII, Vol. IX, pt. i, No. 297.

⁶ARSIE. 1940-41, Bk. No. 89. ⁶ARSIE. 1926-27, BK. No. 184. ⁷Bom. Gaz. (Old Edn.) Vol. I, pt. i, p. 488.

⁹EC. Vol. VII, St. No. 144.

¹⁰ E.C. Sk. No. 245.

[&]quot;Ibid. No. 158, 119.

ul A. Vol. IV, pp. 274b.

the title of *Pratāpa-cakravart*ī.¹ There is nothing to accept the suggestion that he is the same as Mailugideva, who is mentioned in other inscriptions.²

The revival of the Cālukya power and the end of the Kalacuryas after Sovideva has been told earlier.

An inscription dated *Paridhāvi*, *Phālguna Purṇimā*, Monday, a lunar eclipse, corresponding to November 20, 1192 A.D. (the details are not regular) speaks of a certain Vīra Bijjaladeva, son of Rāya Murārī Sovideva.³ If at all he ruled as an independent king, it could have been only for a short while as in that year the Yādavas and the Hoysalas were fighting for supremacy in these regions and neither of them could have allowed this pretender to the Kalacurya sovereignty to persist in his claims for a long time.

*Ibid p. 194.



The Cālukyas and the Kalacuryas of Kalyāṇī.

THE KALACHURYAS,

Someśvara Sovideva,

¹ARSIE. 1936-37, Bk. No. 96.

^{*}ARSIE, 1940-41, Bk. No. 108.



CHAPTER 10

THE YADAVAS OF DEVAGIRI.

In the preceding chapter we have already narrated how the Yadava chief Bhillama annihilated the power both of the Kalacuris and the later Cālukyas and established his supremacy over a considerable part of the Deccan. Before we proceed with his subsequent career, we shall devote • few pages to the earlier history of his house when his ancestors were ruling over a small principality in the Deccan as feudatories, first of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas and then of the Later Cālukyas.

The early history of the Yādavas is shrouded in considerable darkness. It has to be reconstructed largely from a praśasti of the dynasty composed by Hemādri in c. 1180 A.D. Being written in the last quarter of the 12th century, it's information about the rulers of the 9th and the 10th centuries is naturally insufficient, and often inaccurate. This information can be, to some extent, checked by the genealogies and account given in the epigraphical records of the dynasty. We shall refer to or quote from the epigraphical records in our footnotes to this chapter.

The traditional genealogy of the Yādavas, as given by Hemādri, traces their descent from Viṣṇu, the Creater through the Moon and Yadu who were his later descendants. The historian is naturally not much concerned with legendary personalities, who can be assigned neither a place nor a time. In due course the genealogy mentions one Subāhu as a universal ruler with Dvārāvatī as his capital and we are told that Dṛḍhaprahāra, his second son, was the first to migrate to the south. The universal overlordship of Subāhu is obviously mythical, but we may concede historicity to Dṛḍhaprahāra, his son, who seems to have carved out a small principality in Seuṇadeśa¹ in c. 860 A.D.

The Yādava records naturally describe Dvārāvatī or Dvārakā, the capital of the Yadus from whom they claimed descent, as the original home of the family. No Kāṭhiāvāḍ records, however, have so far disclosed any Yādava family near about Dvārakā ruling in the 9th century A.D., nor do the actions or policies of the Yādavas show any anxiety to recover their patrimony or to establish any political or cultural connections with it in the heyday of their glory. The story

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CHAPTER 10,

The Yadavas of Devagiri.

^{*}This Chapter is contributed by late Dr. A. S. Altekar, M.A., L.L.B., D.Litt,

'Seunadeśa was a name given to the territory extending from the district of Nāśik
to Devagiri, Its original extent probably was smaller than this area. As the boundaries of the kingdo m of the Yādavas, who called themselves as the rulers of Seunadeśa
extended, the geographical limits of Seunadeśa also became more extensive.

The Yadavas of Devagiri.

of the Jain tradition of how the mother of the founder of the family was saved by a Jain sage from the conflagration which consumed Dyārakā and how she later delivered a posthumous son, has hardly any historical foundation. Some inscriptions from Dharwar district have recently disclosed the existence of some Yadava chiefs ruling there in the 9th century, which was the time of the rise of the Yādaya family of Drdhaprahāra. As, however, the name of none of the rulers mentioned by Hemādri or found in the Yādava genealogies occurs in them, we cannot possibly trace the original home of Drdhaprahāra in Dhārwār. The early patrimony of the family was in Nāśik and Khāndeśa: their later capital Devagiri is in Mahārāstra and Marathi literature flourished in their court in later times. We may, therefore, well presume that the original home of Drdhaprahara lay neither in Dyārakā in Kāthiāvād, nor in Dhārwār in Karnātaka, but somewhere in Khāndeśa or Nāśik in Mahārāstra to which their small patrimony was confined for a long time. Like the contemporary Hoysalas, they mentioned Dvārakā as their original home because they claimed descent from the Yadu race.

EARLY YADAVAS.

The early Yādavas were feudatories of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas, who were the rulers of the Deccan. It appears that Dṛḍhaprahāra and his son Seuṇacandra gave valuable military assistance to Amoghavarṣa I and Kṛṣṇa II in their wars with the Gurjara-Pratīhāras and were awarded a fief in Nāśik or Khāndeśa. Epigraphical evidence shows that Dṛḍhaprahāra (c. 860 to 880 A.D.)² founded the city of Candrādityapura, modern Cāndor, 40 miles north-east of Nāśik. But the Vratakhanḍa mentions Srīnagara or Sinnar as his capital. Seuṇacandra may be regarded as the real founder of the dynasty; for it is he who for the first time receives the feudatory titles in later inscriptions and records of the dynasty. He ruled from c. 880 to 900 A.D. His principality was a small one and did not extend much beyond Nāśik district.

The next three rulers of the family, Dhādiyappā, Bhillama I and Rājiga or Śrīrāja are shadowy figures and may be presumed to have ruled during 900 to 950 A.D. Rājiga's son Vaddiga or Vandugi was married to princess Vohiyavvā, a daughter of Dhorappa or Dhruva, a younger brother of the contemporary Rāṣṭrakūṭa emperor Kṛṣṇa III. Vaddiga zealously participated in the hurricane campaigns of his uncle-in-law³ and we may well presume that the latter may have increased the Jāgir of his martial son-in-law. In politics, however, blood relationships do not always count for much, for we find Bhillama II,⁴ son of Vaddiga, zealously championing the cause of the Cālukya emperor Tailapa, who overthrew the Rāṣṭrakūṭa empire. He compelled, says a verse in his own record, 'the Goddess of Royalty to remain as a chaste wife in the house of Raṇarāga Tailapa II'. Bhillama also helped Taila in his protracted war against

¹I. A. XII, pp. 119-24. ²The date of Drdhaprahära is approximately determined from the known contemporarity of one of his descendants to Kṛṣṇa III (c. 938 A. D.), the famous Rāṣṭrakūṭa emperor.

³See Bassein grant, I. A. XII 119 of Kalas Budruk records; I. A. XVII, p. 117. Hemādri also concurs with this view, v. 22.

Bhillama's wife Lakşmi was also a Rāṣṭrakūta princess. R. G. Bhandarkar's view that her father Jhanja was the Silāhāra prince of that name is untenable, for we know that latter flourished between c. 910 and 930 A.D.

The Yadavas of

Devagiri.

the Paramāra ruler Muñja. As a reward for his help portions of Ahmadnagar district were added to his fief by Taila. Bhillama II is the earliest Yadava ruler known so far from his own grant. His Sangamner copper plate, issued in 1000 A.D. records a grant in EARLY YADAVAS. favour of the temple of Vijayabharanesvara erected at Sangamner in Ahmadnagar district. Vijayabharana was a new title adopted by Bhillama and the deity was named after it. Bhillma ruled from c. 980 to 1005 A.D.

The next ruler Vesugi is a shadowy figure; his queen Nayilladevi was a Calukya princess from Gujarat¹. Bhillama III, who succeeded him,2 (c. 1025 to 1045 A.D.), is known from the Kalas Budruk grant issued by him in 1026 A.D. He was a brother-in-law of Ahavamalla, his feudal lord, his wife Hamma being the latter's sister; this must have increased his prestige. He offered help to the Calukyas in their wars with Bhoja. The next two rulers Vadugi and Bhillama IV are mentioned only in Hemadri's genealogy but omitted in the inscriptions. During their short rule of about 20 years, the Yadava house suffered an eclipse; for Seunacandra II the next king, whose relationship with his predecessors is not mentioned, is described as the rescuer of the fortunes of his family, as Hari was of the earth. He is known from his own grant, the Bassein plates issued in 1089 A.D.8. Seunacandra II was a skilful diplomat; in the struggle for the throne that was going on in the imperial Calukya family, he could correctly judge that Vikramaditya, though the younger brother, would succeed against his eldest brother Somesvara II. He threw in his lot with the former and helped him to win the throne. His crown prince Erammadeva or Paranmadeva co-operated with him in securing the throne for Vikramāditya VI, as suggested by the evidence of the Aśvī inscription. Some idea of the growing importance of Seunacandra can be obtained from the circumstance of his Waghli inscription referring to one of his feudatories, Govindaraja of the Maurya lineage. The reign of Seuncandra II may be placed during c. 1065 to 1085 and that of his son Erammadeva during c. 1085 to 1105. The latter was succeeded by his brother Simharaja, who is credited with having helped his feudal lord Vikramāditya to complete his Karpūravrata by procuring a Karpūra elephant for him.

Yādava history becomes obscure during the 50 years, from c. 1125 to 1175 A. D. Simharāja's son and successor Mallugi is credited with the capture of the fort of Parnakheta, probably Palkhed in Akola district. Hemādris praśasti mentions Amaragāngeya, Garudarāja (relationship not given), Amaramallugi, another son of Mallugi, and Kāliyaballāla (relationship not stated) as the next rulers. We are further informed that the sons of Kāliyaballāla could not succeed him as his uncle Bhillama superseded them. In addition to these rulers, epigraphic evidence shows4 that a Yadava prince named Seunacandra was ruling in Nāśik district in 1142 A.D., but his relationship to any of

¹Between Vaddiga and Bhillama II, a ruler named Dhadiyasa had intervened, but his precise relationship to Bhillama is uncertain. He may have been his elder brother. His name is omitted in epigraphs.

^{*}Her ather Gogi ruled in Läta or Southern Gujarät, I.A. XII p. 200. He cannot be identified with the Silähära prince Goggi as he flourished two generations earlier.

*Hemädri does not really refer to any ruler between Vesugi and Bhillamma III.

Arjuna is introduced merely as an object of comparison in v. of the Prajacti.

Afijaneri Inscription, I.A., XII, p. 126.

The Yadavas of Devagiri, EARLY YADAVAS.

the above four rulers is not known. Probably he belonged to a collateral branch, for Mallugi seems to have ruled from c. 1120 to 1155 A.D., as his general Dādā and the latter's son Mahīdhara are described as terror to the army of the Kalacuri upstart Bijjaṇa. Mallugi seems to have sided with his sovereign Taila III in his war with Bijjaṇa. Govindarāja of unknown pedigree, who ruled between the reign of Amaragāngeya and Amaramallugi, the two sons of Mallugi, was probably an upstart. The same may have been the case with Kāliyaballāļa, who succeeded Amaramallugi.

While these weak rivals were contending against one another. Bhillama V appeared on the scene and snatched the throne for himself. A contemporary record describes him as the son of Karṇa¹, but Hemādri, who wrote a hundred years later, states that he was an uncle of Ballāļa. Probably the term uncle is used rather loosely, and Karṇa, the father of Bhillama V, may have been the son not of Mallugi, but of a brother of his.

We give below the genealogy and chronology of the early Yādava rulers.

Drdhaprahāra, c. 860-880 A.D. Seunacandra, c. 880-900 A.D. Dhādiyappa I, c, 900-920 A.D. Bhillama I, c. 920 to c. 935 A.D. Rājiga, c. 935 to 950 A.D. Vaddiga = Vohiyavvā, d. of Rāstrakūta Dhruva, c. 950-970 A.D. Bhillama III c. 980 to 1005 A.D. Dhādiyappa, 970-980 A.D. (1000 A.D., known date). Vesugi, c. 1005 to 1025 A.D. Bhillama III,—Hammä, d. of Calukya Jayasimha, o. 1025—1045 A.D. 1026 being known date. Vādugi II c. 1045—1055 A.D. Vesugi II, c. 1055-1065 A.D. Sounacandra II, c. 1065-1085 A.D. Simharāja, c. 1105-1125 A.D. Erammadeva, c. 1085—1105 A.D. Mallugi c. 1125 to 1155 A.D. Karna Bhillama V. Amaragangeya Amaramallugi Kāliyāballāla Govindaraja

⁽¹⁾ Afijane ri Inscription, I. A., XII, p. 126.

We have stated above that the accession of Bhillama took place in c. 1175 A.D. Some of his records¹ however indicate that 1183-84 A.D. was the first year of his reign, while others show² that it was 1187-88. It is likely that the former of the above years is the date of his overthrow of Ballāļa and the latter, of his assumption of the imperial titles by the defeat of the Cālukyas and the Kalacuris. C. 1175 would mark the commencement of his career as ruler in the new principality that he carved at the beginning of his career.

A number of political feats have been ascribed to Bhillama V by Hemādri; others are referred to by the records issued by him or his successors. All these exploits cannot be accommodated in the short space of four or eight years. Bhillama was either son or a nephew of Mallugi, who died in c. 1170. We may, therefore, assume that Bhillama started his career soon after his death, but first proceeded to carve out principality outside the ancestral Yādava kingdom, so as to avoid conflict with his cousins. And times were favourable for this step; because the Kalacuri kingdom was torn with internal dissensions, as we have seen already.

Very probably Bhillama began his career by conquering the fort of Śrīvardhana and storming the fort of Pratyantagada (Pracandagada or Tornā). He then proceeded southwards and killed the local ruler at Mangalvedhe in Śolāpūr district.³. These feats made him the ruler of portions of Poonā, Śolāpūr, and Ratnāgiri districts. Bhillama's self-acquired kingdom had thus became much larger than the ancestral patrimony of his cousins in Khāndeś. When incessant conflict between the contending brothers and cousins and upstarts began to produce a chaos in the ancestral Yādava kingdom in Nāśik, Bhillama intervened and setting aside all the weak contendants, he ascended the throne himself. This he probably did in 1184 A.D., which is given as the first year of his reign by some records.

Bhillama is definitely known to have fought against the Gurjaras and the Mālavas as also against the Kalacuris and the Hoysalas. It appears likely that he spent the first few years after his usurpation in his wars in the north. His Muttugi record, dated 1189 A.D., describes him as 'a severe pain in the head of the Mālavas and the dread roar of a cloud to the swan flocks, the Gurjaras.' His wars against these two powers may be placed between 1184-88 A.D.

The situation in Gujarāt and Māļvā was at this time favourable for an outside invader. Mūlarāja, the contemporary Cālukya ruler, was a mere child and Vindhyavarman, the Paramāra king, had just succeeded in rescuing his province from the domination of the Cālukyas. His struggle with the Cālukyas, though successful, had weakened him. And both kingdoms were also apprehending Muslim invasion from the north.

CHAPTER 10.

The Yadavas of Devagiri, BHILLAMA.

¹A. S. I. A. R., 1930-34, p. 224,

²E.C. Muttugi inscrpition, E.I. XV, p. 37; I. A., IV, p. 274. ³Hemādri's praṣasti, v. 38.

⁴These are also referred to in a Pāṭaṇ inscription, E. I., I, p. 341 and in the Sūktimuktāvali v. II General Jalhaṇa was the right-hand man of Bhillama in these campaigns.

CHAPTER 10,

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The Yādavas of Devagiri,
BHILLAMA.

There is no doubt that Bhillama invaded both Māļvā and Gujarāt, and penetrated right up to Mārvāḍ; for a record of the Cāhamāna king Kelhaṇa of Naḍḍula in Jodhpūr state, claims to have defeated Bhillama¹. Bhillama's invasion was however a mere raid, and he returned home from Mārvāḍ as he was far away from his base and was meeting with stubborn opposition.

The claim of the Muttugi record that Bhillama had defeated the kings of Anga (Bhāgalpūr), Vanga (Bengal), Pāncāļa (Rohilkhand) and Nepāļa is probably a mere boast; there is so far no evidence to show that his armies had ever gone to the east of Māļvā or to the north of Mārvād.

The daring and successful raid into Mārvād across Mālvā and Gujarāt must have inspired Bhillama with new confidence in his powers and he must have decided to make bid for the imperial position in the Deccan, for which a struggle was going on between the Kalacuris, the Cālukyas and the Hoysalas. The details of this conflict have been already given elsewhere and need not be repeated. Someśvara, the last Calukya king, had to face a Hoysala invasion from the south and a Yadava attack from the north. His Brahmana general had scored a victory over the Hoysala king Vīraballāļa on an earlier occasion and so he probably decided to measure his strength against him first. The elephant phalanx of his army was however outmanoeuvred by the swift cavalry divisions of the Hoysalas and Someśvara was completely routed. He had not the guts to reorganise his forces and offer a fresh resistance. He returned to Jayantipūr or Banavāsī and lived there precarious existence with the assistance of his Kadamba feudatory Kāmadeva down to 1189 A.D.

Bhillama V intervened in the struggle probably just at this time. He found the whole field open before him. He marched forward and occupied Kalyāṇī, the Cālukya capital, before Vīraballāļa's victorious army could occupy that city². He then proceeded southwards and attacked Viraballāļa. Though the latter's forces were flushed with success, they were routed out by Bhillama and were pursued right up to Hassan district in Mysore State. Hemādri's claim that Bhillama killed the king of the Hoysaļas is unfounded, if it refers to Viraballāļa himself, for he is known to have ruled down to c. 1220.

Probably a collateral scion of the Hoysala royal family fell in this battle. Periya Sāhaṇa, the commander-in-chief of the cavalry divisions who had taken a leading part in the campaign, was put in charge of the conquered districts. Some of Bhillama's records show that he started a new reckoning of his regnal years from 1187 A.D. This year may be the year of his occupation of Kalyāṇī and the victory over Viraballāla.

Kalyāṇī, the Cālukya capital, was too near the Hoysala frontier. We, therefore find Bhillama transferring the capital to the new fort

^{&#}x27;दक्षिणाधीशोदञ्चभिल्लमनुपतेर्मानहम् ।

E. I., IX, p. 77. 1165 and 1192 A. D. are the earliest and the latest dates of Kelhana.

*Hoyasala records do not claim for Ballāļa the conquest of Kalyāni, while Hemādri expressly credits Bhillama with the storming of the Cālukya capital (V. 38).

city of Devagiri, which was more centrally situated and was in the heart of Mahārāstra. Hemādri expressly mentions Bhillama as the founder of Devagiri and record of his successor, dated 1196 A.D.,

described the city as the capital of the new empire1.

Vîraballāļa was not disheartened by his defeat. He decided to make a fresh bid for the hegemony of the Deccan and managed to reconquer Banavāsī and Nolambavādī within a couple of years. Bhillama realised the significance of the new move and marched down to meet the invader in Dharwar district with a strong force, of 200,000 infantry and 12,000 cavalry². We find him encamped in Dhārwār district in June 1191. Soon after this date the two contending armies met in a fateful battle near Soratur in Dharwar district and Bhillama was completely defeated in it. He had to beat a hasty retreat from the battle field where a large number of his soldiers perished. His general Jaitrapala tried to stem the tide of victory by defending the fort of Lokkigundi (Lokkundi); he was defeated and killed in battle. Ballala captured a number of forts like Yelburga, Gutti and Belattage and occupied all the territory to the south of the Kṛṣṇā and the Malaprabhā.8. Bhillama died towards the end of 1191 A.D. probably due to a broken heart4.

The tragic end of Bhillama should not however blind us to his greatness as a warrior and statesman. He was a self-made man. He managed to carve out a small kingdom for himself in portions of Poona, Solapur and Ratnagiri districts, almost unaided. He managed to penetrate right up to Mārvād in one of his daring raids. He intervened in the struggle for the supremacy of the Deccan just at the right moment and frustrated the plans of the Hoysalas to conquer Kalyani and become the emperors of the Deccan. His armies succeeded in occupying the Raicur Doab for some time. It is true that he was overthrown at the end. But his armies were defeated and not annihilated; for Vīraballāļa did not dare to cross the Krsnā and attack either Kalyānī or Devagiri. To conclude, like most other founders of empires, Bhillama was a soldier, a statesman and a man of tact and vision.

Before concluding, we may refer to an interesting story narrated in Prthvīrāja-rāso of king Prthvīrāja carrying away in a svayamvara, Sasivratā, daughter of the Yādava king Bhānu of Devagiri, who had fallen in love with him, but whom her father wanted to wed to somebody else. Pṛthvīrāja was a contemporary of Bhillama, and Yādava king Bhānu of Devagiri mentioned by Canda Bhārdāi may well have been Bhillama. But until more substantial evidence becomes available, it will be difficult to state whether Bhillama was really a father-in-law of Prthvīrāja Cauhāna,

year before.

The Yadavas 🖬 Devagiri. BHILLAMA.

CHAPTER 10,

¹A. S. I. A. R., 1929-30, p. 170. ²E. C., XI, Dg. No. 25; The Vyavahāraganita gives an interesting example based upon the fate of the soldiers of the cavalry force of 12,000; I. H. Q. IV, p. 127. ⁸E. I., XIII, p. 176,

The claim of a Hoyaala record that the head of Bhillama, was made a grind stone for his sword by Ballāļa (E. C., VI, Belur No. 771) would suggest that the Yādava king was killed on the battle field. But this record is dated in 1198, and the Gadag inscription, dated in 1192 A.D. and so issued immediately after the battle, states that the Hoysala king had killed Jaitrasimha in action. It is silent about the fate of Bhillama, which would not have been the case, if he had really been killed in action the

CHAPTER 10. The Yadavas of Devagiri. AITUGI.

Bhillama was succeeded by his son Jaitugi towards the end of 1191 A.D. The situation at his accession was very critical, for the Hoysaļa ruler Ballāļa was expected to follow up his victories by a march against Kalyānī and Devagiri. Jaitugi however so reorganised his forces that Ballala did not venture beyond the Kṛṣṇā-Malaprabhā line, which was tacitly accepted as the boundary between the Yadava and Hoysala kingdom by the two parties.

The Kākatīyas of Warrangal were the feudatories of the Later Cālukyas. But they had not transferred their allegiance to the Yādavas. Nay, the Kākatīya king Rudra exploited the defeat of Bhillama by the Hoysalas by sending an expedition into the Yadava kingdom under his brother Mahādeva.1. When the affairs on the Kṛṣṇā front became settled down by c. 1194, Jaitugi retaliated by a hurricane invasion of the Kakatīya kingdom, in which king Rudra was killed2 and his nephew Ganapatī, son of Mahādeva, was taken captive. Mahadeva continued the resistance with the assistance of his Raserla general Rudra, but he also was killed in battle3. For a time, the Kākatīya kingdom was completely occupied by the Yādavas, but following the usual policy recommended in Hindu works of polity, Jaitugi restored it to Ganapati who was a captive with him, in c. 1198 A.D.4 on the condition of behaving as a loyal feudatory. Ganapati kept that promise for a long time. Sankara, who figures as General and Premier of Jaitugi in Bijāpūr record5 of 1196, probably played an important role in the campaign against the Kākatīyas and was rewarded with the fief of Tardevadi 1000. Jaitugi had other able military officers under him; his northern frontier was vigilantly watched by the able Nikumbha brothers with their headquarters in Khāndeś. It may be passingly mentioned that Laksmidhara, a son of Bhāskaracārya, the famous astronomer, was a court poet of Jaitugi.

One epigraph credits Jaitugi with victories over the Pāndyas, the Colas, the Mālavas, the Lātas, the Gurjaras, the Turuşkas, and the kings of Pāñcāla and even Nepāļa⁶. Most of these victories seem to be more imaginary than real. It is however possible that some frontier skirmishes may have occurred between the Yādavas and their northern neighbours, in Malva and Gujarat, in which victory may have lain on the side of Jaitugi. But his armies never penetrated deep into Mālvā or Gujarāt and could hardly have seen the frontiers either of Pañcala or of Nepala.

Epigraphs give conflicting dates about the end of the reign of Jaitugi. But it appears most probable that his son Singhana succeeded him in 1210 A.D.7 The dates 1197 and 1207, suggested by some

¹Garavapāda inscription, E. I., XVIII, p. 351. ²Hemādri's prafasti, v. 41. Raudrasya in the verse is a mistake for Rudrasya. ³Palampet record, Hy. Arc. Sur., Vol. III. ⁴1198 works out to be the initial year of the long reign of Ganapati. A contemporary record shows that he was actually ruling in 1203 A.D., Corpus of Telingana Inscriptions, p. 40.

⁵Referred to in B. G., I. p. 521. ⁶This date is supported by Kadkal record, I.A., XII, p. 100 and Kuptaru and Elevata inscriptions, E. C., VIII, Sorab Nos. 250 and 402.

⁷Mangoli inscription, E. I., Vol. p. 53.

records as the initial year of the reign of Singhana may probably refer to his participation in the administration as a de facto and de jure Yuvarāja.

Singhana, who was the next ruler of the dynasty, had received long and valuable training in administration under his father. For more than ten years, he had acted as crown prince and had taken active part in shaping and carrying out the policy of the State. His creditable share3 in the successful operations against the Kākatīyas had aroused his military ambition. He was determined to curb the power of the turbulent feudatories and to avenge the defeat inflicted on his house by the Hoysalas. He turned out to be the ablest emperor and the most powerful general of his dynasty; under his stewardship, the Yadava empire reached the zenith of its prestige and became as extensive as the old Calukya Empire. He fully deserved the title praudhapratāpacakravartin, which is given to him in his records.

We have seen above that the Kṛṣṇā-Malaprabhā line had become the boundary between the Yadava and the Hoysala kingdom as a result of the crushing defeat inflicted on the Yadavas at Soraţur. Singhana had already crossed this border in 1206, defeated king Ballala, annexed a part of Bijapur district and put his general Keśavadāsa in its charge4. After his accession he continued the war with redoubled energy. He himself directed the military operations and wrested away the districts of Dharwar, Anantpur, Bellary, Citaldurga and Simogā from the Hoysalas and annexed them to his kingdom⁵. Sarvādhikārī Māyideva was appointed the governor of the new territory6: We find him succeeded by Venka Ravuta, an officer hailing from Karhād, in 1222 A.D. Inscriptions of Yādava rulers down to the time of the last king Rāmacandra refer to a number of Yādava feudatories or imperial officers ruling in this territory; it is clear that it became a part and parcel of the Yadava kingdom and that Hoysalas reconciled themselves to its loss.

The campaign against the Hoysalas came to an end by c. 1215 A.D. Then there was a conflict with the Silāhāras of Kolhāpūr. As usual the cause of this war was the imperial ambition of the opposing rulers. Bhoja's father Vijayaditya had played the role of the king-maker when he had helped Bijjala to oust Taila III. This naturally aroused imperial ambition in his son Bhoja (c. 1175-1216 A.D.7.). Emboldened by the reverses of the Yadavas at the

CHAPTER 10.

The Yadavas of Devagiri.

SINCHANA. (1210-1247).2

> Campaign against the Hoysalas.

Annexation of Kolhāpür and Saundatti.

¹¹¹⁹⁷ is suggested by a record noticed in A. S. I. A. R., 1928-29 p. 172 and 1207 by another noticed, ibid. at p. 175. 1196 is the latest known date of Jaitugi noticed in B. G. I. p. 521, n. 3.

Tasgany plates, v. 5 marks the interesting disclosure that Singhana was so named because he was regarded as a favour of the goddess Narasimhi of Parnakheta, S. M. H. D.

A few late records credit him with outting the head of one Tolanga king and putting another on the throne (Munoli Inscr., J. B. B. R. A. S., XII, 42, Chikka Sakuna Inscr., M. A. S. R., 1929, p. 143). This is obviously due to his having co-operated with his father in the operations against Mahadeva.

⁴S. I. E. R., 1927-28; appendix E, No. 264. ⁵See Gadag inser., I. A., p. 297, E. C., VIII, Sb. 221, 224, 227, 309, 376; S. I. I., IX, Nos. 363-67.

[°]E. C., VII, Sk. No. 97; Hl. Nos. 44, 49.

⁷ Ibid., Hl. No. 20.

CHAPTER 10. The Yadavas of Devagiri. SINGHANA (1210-1247)

hands of the Hoysalas in 1178 A.D., he assumed imperial titles like Paramabhattāraka, Rājādhirāja and Paścimacakrāvartī¹ and appears to have attacked the Yadavas when their armies were engaged in sanguinary operations against the Kākatīyas and the Hoysaļas. Singhana decided not to tolerate the existence of a feudatory who was entertaining imperial ambitions and had proved himself to be n thorn in his side. He attacked Kolhāpūr, the capital of Bhoja, in 1216 and captured it. Bhoja fled to the fort Parnāļā (modern Panhālā), but the fort was besieged and Bhoja was taken into captivity. Singhana annexed the entire Silāhāra kingdom in 1217 A.D.,2 for Gandarāditya, the eldest son of Bhoja is not referred to as a king in any later Silāhāra records. On the other hand Yādava records make their appearance at Kolhāpūr, from 1218; the earliest of them refers to the erection of a gate in front of the temple of Ambābāī by an officer of Singhana.8.

Not far from Kolhāpūr was a small Ratta principality ruling at Saundatti. It was also annexed by Singhana soon after 1228 A.D., which is the last known date of its last ruler Laksmideva II.

Relations with the Kakatīyas,

Ganapati, the Kakatiya ruler who had been reinstated on his paternal throne in the earlier reign, had a long reign of more than sixty years. He continued to be loyal to the Yadava overlords and participated in their Gujarāt wars*. Later on Gaṇapati considerably expanded his kingdom in the south and once penetrated right up to Kāñci. But this southern expansion of his kingdom did not provoke any jealousy in the mind of his overlord; on the whole the two continued to be on cordial terms, inspite of occasional frontier skirmishes5.

Conflict with the Paramaras and the Cālukyas.

For more than thirty years after the raid of Bhillama V into Gujarāt and Māļvā in c. 1185, no hostility had broken between these powers. The Yadavas were busy at their southern frontier and the Cālukyas and Paramāras were facing the Muslim onslaught. When Cālukyas received a serious blow from Qutb-ud-din Aibak in 1194 A.D., the Paramāra king Subhatavarman invaded Gujarāt, obviously as a revenge for the wanton invasion of Malva by the Calukyas half a century earlier. Bhīma was unable to withstand the attack and Subhatavarman was successful in compelling Simha, king of Lata ruling at Broach, to transfer his allegiance to him. Subhatavarman next marched to the Gujarat capital, which fell before his attack. He had however to soon relinquish it at the approach of relieving forces under Lavanaprasada, a minister of Bhīma. Subhatavarman however could not be driven from southern Gujarāt, whose ruler Simha continued to be the feudatory both of Subhaţavarman and his successor Arjunavarman (c. 1210-1217 A.D.)6.

^{11.}A., X, p. 256, see also Graham, Kolhāpūr, p. 397 for a record where Bhoja calls himself Vikrama of Kali Age.

²S. M. H. D., III, p. 19. ³E. C., VIII, Sb. No. 135, dated 1217 A.D. refers to Singhana as Vajra or thunderbolt to the Parnala fort.

A record of Ganapati, dated 1228, refers to his defeat of the Latas. This must participated. Corpus Telingana Inscriptions, p. 52.

*I. A., XXI, p. 200.

*E. I. VIII, p. 103.

Such was the political situation in Malva and Gujarat, when elated by his signal victories in the south, Singhana decided to a northern expedition. It is not improbable that some hostile action may have been initiated by Arjunavarman, because his queen Sarvakalā was a Hoysala princess, and it is but natural that the son-in-law could not have remained a passive spectator, when Singhana was delivering blows after blows to his father-in-law. Whatever the real cause may have been, we find Singhana invading Māļvā in 1216. His attack was successful and his opponent Arjunavarman seems to have died on the battle field. His short reign is seen terminating at about 1217 and Hemādri claims that Singhana killed him on the battle field1. After breaking the power of the Paramāras, Singhana marched against Simha, king of Lāţa. The latter was no match against the invader and retransferred his allegiance to the Cālukya Bhīma in order to secure the help of his powerful minister Lavanaprasada against the southern invader. The drama Hammiramadamardana which refers to this alliance,2 is however silent about the events that followed it. The Kirtikaumudi, however states that Lavanaprasada compelled Singhana to retire³. No date however is mentioned, and so we do not know whether the expulsion of the forces of Singhana refers to his invasion of 1216 A.D. It is not impossible that Singhana being satisfied with his achievement in Māļvā, may have retired after a mere show of force in southern Gujarāt. It may have been a mere reconnoitering expedition, or it may be that the tired Yadava army was really compelled to retire by the joint forces of Simha and Lavanaprasada. This expedition of Singhana was over by the spring of 1218 A.D., for a record in Mysore is seen proclaiming his victories in Gujarāt and Māļvā to his Canarese subjects as early as September 1218 A.D.4

Singhaṇa launched a fresh attack on Lāṭa in 1220 A.D. Kholeśvara, a Brāhmaṇa general hailing from Vidarbha, was put in charge of the expedition. On this occasion, Simha had to face the invasion single-handed; the Paramāra power had been broken and Jayantasimha, the usurper at Anahilavād, was not interested in lending support to Simha, who was changing his allegiance so frequently. Both Simha and his brother Sindhurāja were killed on the battle field and the latter's son Sangrāmasimha alias Sankha, was taken prisoner. Broach fell in the hands of Singhaṇa, but he did not annex the Lāṭa kingdom. He soon released Sangrāmasimha from captivity and allowed him to rule as his feudatory. This second Gujarāt expedition of Singhaṇa probably came to a successful end in c. 12235.

CHAPTER 10.

The Yadavas of Devagiri.
SINGHANA.

¹It may however be pointed out that some doubt arises on this point because the Bahala inscription, dated soon after the event (1222 A.D.), refers only to the defeat of Arjunavarman, and not to his death on the battle field.

Act I. v. 13.

^{*}Dakşinah kşonipalopi ghanasainyolpavikramo hyena tadviparltena parityajati vigraham, I f, 75.

⁴E. C., VIII, Sk. No. 91.

⁸Ambe inscription, dated 1228 A.D., mentions the killing of Simha. We may therefore place the invasion a few years earlier.

CHAPTER 10,

The Yādavas of Devagiri.

SINGHANA, (1210-1247).

Sangrāmasimha remained steadfastly loyal to Singhana and sought to extend his fief with the latter's support. He demanded the restoration of Cambay from Lavanaprasāda and twice organised expeditions to capture it¹. Vastupāla, who was appointed the governor of this port, refused to surrender it. His position was rather critical; the Gurjara dominion was at this time being threatened by the Muslims from the north. Vastupāla, however, was able to beat back the invading forces²; we do not know whether they contained any battalions sent by Sangrāmasimha's overlord Singhana. The precise date of this event is not known, but we may not be wrong in placing it at about 1225 A.D.

The history of these events has to be mainly reconstructed from poetic works like Vasantavilāsa, Kīrtikaumudī and Hammīramadamardana; they are more poetic than historical and do not give us any dates. The data given in the last work, however, suggest that a fresh attempt was made by Sangrāmasimha to gain his objective with the help of the Yādava ruler Singhaṇa and the Parmāra ruler Devapāla. A coalition between Devapāla and Singhaṇa looks prima facie improbable, but we should not forget that in politics enemies of yesterday often become friends of today owing to changed circumstances.

The joint invasion of three powers created consternation in Cambay; and the population began to flee. Being perhaps not sure that he would defeat the combined forces of the allies, Lavanaprasada, who was leading the defence, sought to create dissensions in the enemy camp. He had recourse to a clever ruse. One of his spies, who had succeeded in securing service under Devapala, managed to steal one of his horses, which was branded with its master's name. Another spy offered it to Sangrāmasimha as a present from his ally Devapāla. A third spy forged a letter, which was contrived to fall in the hands of Singhana. This letter referred to Devapala's present of the horse to Sangrāmasimha and assured him that he would attack Singhana in the rear, as soon as he entered Gujarat, so that Sangramasimha may get an opportunity to avenge the death of his brother, who had fallen at the hands of Singhana. How far this story given by contemporary poets is historical, we do not know. It appears that Singhana began to doubt the sincerity of his allies. Lavanaprasada also was threatened with an invasion from the north and made overtures for peace, which were not unwelcome to Singhana, who had now become suspicious of his allies. A treaty of mutual help and non-aggression was formed between Singhana and Lavanaprasada the text of which was probably not very different from the sample treaty between these two rulers preserved in the Lekhāpaddhati (p. 52). The statement in the Kirtikaumudi (IV 13) that Singhana did not dare to penetrate further into Gujarāt though Lavanaprasāda withdrew his forces to attack the northern enemies, because the deer are afraid to traverse the path once trodded by the lion, need not be taken seriously. Singhana

1 Vasantavilāsa, Cant. V.

 $^{^{2}}Vasantavil\bar{a}sa$, Cant. V and $K\bar{i}rtikaumud\bar{i}$, Cant. V describe the victory of Vastupāla no doubt in the poetic manner.

was probably satisfied with his booty and the formal recognition of his protectorate over Lata. He therefore returned to his capital in 1231 A.D.

CHAPTER 10. The Yadavas of Devagiri. SINGHANA.

Invasion of

Northern

India.

A few years later, probably in c. 1240 A.D., Singhana launched a fresh attack upon Gujarāt, which was entrusted to Rāma, the son Viśāladeva, who had succeeded Lavanaprasāda of Kholeśvara. fiercely contested the crossing of the Narmadā and the general Rāma was killed in the action1.

Probably this must have necessitated a retreat of the Yadaya forces and we may well presume that the victory lay with the Gurjara chief².

Hemādri claims that Singhana had captured an elephant corps of king Jājalla and deprived king Kakkula of his sovereignty. A Pāṭanā record, dated as early as 1206 A.D., states that kings of Mathura and Banāras felt the sting of the Yādava power.3. These claims appear to be rather tall, but they have recently received some slight support by the discovery of a small hoard of five gold coins in Raigarh⁴ State in 1946, three of which were of Singhana and one of Nasiruddin Mahmud (1246-1266 A.D.)⁵. It is not unlikely that Pratapamalla, the last known Cedi ruler of Chattisgadh, may have been succeeded by Jajalla III, who may have acknowledged the suzerainty of Singhana.

It is not unlikely that Kakkula, mentioned by Hemādri, may have been a hitherto unknown ruler of that name, ruling at Tripuri⁶. In that case we shall have to assume that the kingdom of both Daksina Kosala and Cedi came within the Yadava sphere of influence for some time. We cannot be certain whether the rulers of Mathura and Kāśī were overthrown and a Muslim ruler was defeated by the Yādava forces. It is not unlikely that with his base at Tripurī or Jubblepore, Singhana may have raided into the Muslim dominions. More convincing evidence will be necessary before these claims can be accepted as historically true. It is not impossible that the verse in the Patana record may be referring to some refugee rulers from Banāras and Mathurā, who had settled down in Bundelkhand and carved small principalities there?. The claim of some Yadava records⁸ that either Singhana or his general Kholeśvara, Rāma or Bicana had defeated kings of Sindh, Pañcala, Bengal, Bihar, Kerala and Pandya may be dismissed as mostly imaginary.

¹Ambe inser., A. S. W. I., III, p. 85.

²A Gurjara record describes Vissiadova as the submarine fire to the ocean of the army of Singhana, (I. A., VI, p. 212).

¹P_fthviso Mathurādhipo ranabhuvi Kasī patih pātitah, yenāsāvapi yasya bhrtyabatunā Hammiraviro jitah, E. I. I, p. 340.

⁴J. N. S. 1., VIII, p. 146. ⁵The 5th coin was illegible.

⁶We have to add that at this time in Karnāṭak also there was a ruler named Kakkula M. A. S. R., 1929, p. 142. Can he be Kakkula of Hemādri?

⁽Kakara was a mighty ruler of Varāta. This country was situated in the South, probably to the North of Mysore. See E. I., Vol. XXV, p. 203 V. V. M.).

'Just as the Guttas of Dhārwār and the Yādavas of Devagiri called themselves as rulers of Ujiayinī and Dvārāvatī respectively, though they did not rule over these places, so also those refugee rulers may have called themselves rulers of Kāśī and Mathurā, from which they had emigrated.

E. g. Manoli inscr., 1222 A. D., J. B. B. R. A. S., XII, p. 4, Behatti plates, ibid., p. 44.

CHAPTER 10,

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The Yādavas of
Devagiri,
SINGHANA

Singhana received valuable assistance in his conquests from two generals, Kholeśvara and Bīcaṇa. The former, a Brāhmaṇa by caste, was his right-hand man in his northern expeditions. Bīcaṇa was Vaiśya, who has been compared to Yama in destruction and Viṣṇu-gupta in political intelligence. He kept the Raṭṭas and Kadambas under control and took prominent part in the later wars against the Hoysalas; he is credited to have planted a column of victory on the Kāverī. He was rewarded with the governorship over Karnāṭak.

The Yadava power reached its zenith during the reign of Singhana. Neither the Hoysalas nor the Kākatīyas, neither the Paramāras nor the Cālukyas could think of challenging its supremacy in the Deccan. Each of these powers was attacked by Singhana and defeated. Narmada became the northern boundary of the Yadava empire from Broach right up to Jubblepore. Chattisgadh was included under its sphere of influence. The whole of Madhya Pradeśa and the Western part of the Ex-Hyderabad State were included in it. Maharāstra, and northern Mysore were its integral parts. It is a pity that with such a big empire under his control, Singhana wasted its resources in endless wars with his northern and southern neighbours. History of the Deccan would have taken a different turn, if Singhana could have risen above the traditions of his age and formed a big Deccan federation to oppose the impending southern advance of the Muslim invaders. Instead of doing this, Singhana proceeded, on more than one occasion, to stab his northern neighbours in the back when they were bleeding as a result of Muslim onslaught.

Like many other warrior kings, Singhana was also a patron of letters. Cāngadeva and Anantadeva, two famous astrologers, flourished in his court. The former, who was the grandson of Bhāskarācārya, founded an astrological college and the latter wrote commentaries on Brahmasphuṭasiddhānta of Brahmagupta and Bṛhajjātaka of Varāhamihira. Sangītaratnākara of Sāngadeva¹ was probably written in his court; king Sinha, who has written a commentary on this work, is however not Singhana, but a chief of the Lācherlā family ruling in Andhra country. Singhana's long reign came to an end either in November or December of 1246². His son Jaitugi, who was acting as Yuvarāja in 1229 A.D.³, had predeceased him, and so he was succeeded by the former's son Kṛṣṇa.

KRISHNA. (1246 to 1260.) Soon after his accession, Kṛṣṇa launched an attack against the Paramāras, whose power had been completely eclipsed by the capture of Bhilsā and Ujjayinī by Iltumush in 1235. It is tragedy that instead of making common cause with the Paramāra ruler Jaitugideva against the common northern foe, Kṛṣṇa should have stabbed him in the back. This attack was the first military venture of

¹The father of Śārṅgadeva, Sodhala, was a Kāshmirī emigrant in the Deccan and held the post of Chief Secretary under Siṅghaṇa.

^aSee E. C., VII, Sk. No. 217 and S. I. E. R., 1926, c. p. 426, which show that 2nd November 1248 fell in the 2nd year of Kṛṣṇa's reign, but that 25th December fell in his 3rd year.

Kṛṣṇa, since Yādava records refer to the Mālava victory as early as 1250 A.D.

CHAPTER 10.

The Yadavas of Devagiri.

Krishna. (1246-1260).

After his victory over the Paramāras, Kṛṣṇa invaded southern Gujarāt and attacked Vīsaladeva. Each side claims victory in this war¹. Probably only inconclusive frontier skirmishes occurred in which either side may have obtained some temporary advantage over

Soon after 1252 A.D., the kingdom of Gaṇapati, the Kākatīya feudatory was attacked by Jaṭāvarman Sundara Pāṇḍya². Kṛṣṇa's general Bīcaṇa was sent to help Gaṇapati and he stemmed the invasion. Bīcaṇa and his elder brother Malliseṭṭi were the mainstay of the Yādava administration; the latter rose to the position of Sarvādhikārī or Premier and was succeeded by his son Cāmuṇḍarāya. Lakṣmīdhara and his son Jahlaṇa, who hailed from Khāndeś, were among other trusted ministers. Jahlaṇa was skilful leader of the elephant phalanx; he was also a man of literary taste and is the author of an anthology named Sūktimuktāvali. Another important work written at this time is Vedāntakalpataru of Amalānanda, which is a commentary on the Bhāmatī.

Kṛṣṇa had no grown up son at the time of his accession: his brother Mahādeva was functioning as Yuvarāja as early as 1250 A.D.³ The relation between the two brothers is described like that between Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa. Kṛṣṇa had a son named Rāmacandra, but he was probably too young to ascend the throne at the time of his father's death in 1260 A.D.⁴ The crown passed to the younger brother Mahādeva, who may perhaps have assured his dying brother that Rāmacandra would ascend the throne in due course.

Soon after his accession, Mahādeva attacked the small kingdom of the Silāhāras of northern Konkan. Someśvara, the last Silāhāra king, was defeated and drowned in a naval engagement, and his kingdom was annexed; we find a Yādava governor ruling over the territory in 1273 A.D.⁵ Mahārājādhirāja Konkana-Cakravartī, who is mentioned in a record, dated 1266, was probably a scion of the imperial Yādava family. Or alternatively we shall have to suppose that he was a collateral Silāhāra ruler, who managed to carve a kingdom after the overthrow of Someśvara.

Mahādeva's victory over Vīsaladeva, referred to in the Paithan plates, was probably mere frontier raid. There was no serious conflict with the Paramāras; Hemādri states that the Mālavas put a boy upon their throne, because they knew that Mahādeva would not attack a minor. Mahādeva's victories over the Gaudas and the Utkalas, referred to in a Karnāṭak record, may refer to some frontier skirmishes, as Chattisgaḍh was included in the Yādava sphere of influence, since the days of Singhana.

MAHADEVA. Annexation oi Northern Silähära Kingdom.

Relation with Northern Powers.

the other.

¹See E. I., XIX, p. 27, J. B. B. R. A. S., XII, p. 35, I.A., XIV, p. 314, E. I., I, p. 28. ³J. B. B. R. A. S., XII, p. 42. ³E. I., XIX, p. 19.

⁴¹²th April 1260 is his last known date; E. I., XXI, p. 11.

^{*}J.R. A. S., V, p. 178. *E. I., XXVI, p. 129.

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The Yadavas of Devagiri. MAHADEVA.

In the Kākatīya kingdom, Gaņapati was at this time succeeded by his daughter Rudrāmbā and Mahādeva could not resist the temptation of attacking her. He captured some elephants of the Kakatiya forces, and retired¹.

Relations with the Kākatīyas and the Hoysalas.

Narasimha II, who had ascended the Hoysala throne in 1266 A.D. was vouth of twenty-two. Hoping to defeat him, Mahādeva invaded his kingdom, but was signally defeated and ignominously driven out². Kadamba feudatories rebelled as a natural consequence of this discomfiture, but their rebellion was suppressed by the Yadava general Balige-deva³.

The premier of Mahādeva was Mahārāja Tipparasu4. One of his ministers was Hemādri, the famous author of the Vratakhanda, who was also a successful general. Kolhāpūr was being governed by Māyideva and Nolambavādī by two Brāhmana brothers, Chattarāja and Kucharāja⁸. Mahāpradhāna Devarasa was in charge of southern districts. Several other officers are mentioned in his records.

Mahādeva died by the middle of 1270, and was succeeded by his son Ammana.

AMMANA,

The accession of Ammana was peaceful, but it was a signal for a fratricidal struggle. His father Mahadeva had ascended the throne in supersession of the claims of his predecessor's son Rāmacandra. The latter had now come of age and was not prepared to allow the junior branch to permanently oust the senior line. It appears that most of the senior officers and ministers were in secret sympathy with Ramacandra.

Rāmacandra seems to have withdrawn from the capital at the accession of his cousin and organised a coupe. Ammana, being youth, was naturally fond of music and dance. Ramacandra selected a few brave and resolute followers and entered the capital fort in the guise of the leader of a troupe of strolling actors. A performance was arranged before Ammana, and while he was engaged in enjoying it, Rāmacandra and his followers suddenly threw off their masks and seized Ammana and his principal supporters. This coupe could not have been successful, if the sympathies of the leading officers were not with Rāmacandra6. Ammana was thrown into prison and blinded. He soon died in prison and it was suspected that his end was hastened by his cousin7.

Our authorities here are mostly Mahānubhāva works like Lilācarita (Lila, No. 725)

Nagadevacarita of Parasurama Vyasa.

¹Hemādri (v. 14) states that Mahādeva refrained from pressing his victory home, because his opponent was a woman; why then did he attack her?

**E. C., IV, Ngm No. 9; V, Chn. No. 269. These records give the Hoysala version.

**E. C., VII, Sk. No. 41; XI, Dg. No. 79.

⁴E. C., XI, Dg. No. 102. ⁵E. C., VII, Ci. No. 21.

The account of this coupe appears rather improbable, but since it is given in a contemporary record of Rāmacandra himself, (Ē. I., XXV, p. 290) we can accept it as historical. Bhāmacandra himself, (Ē. I., XXV, p. 290) we can accept it took his brother unawares while on a hunting expedition and effected his capture.

The accession of Ramacandra which took place in the latter half of 12711 A.D., was hailed by the officers and general public as the enthronement of the rightful heir. The new ruler felt himself quite secure on the throne and embarked upon conquests in the very first vear of his reign.

Rāmacandra signalised his accession2 by a wanton attack upon his northern neighbour, the Mālava king Arjunavarman, who had been engaged in a conflict with his minister. He scored an easy victory.

To avenge the defeat sustained by the Yadava forces in the reign War with Hoysalas of Mahadeva, Ramacandra organised a big expedition against the Hoysalas and entrusted it to his able general Tikkamarasa. The Yādava forces penetrated up to Belavādī almost on the outskirts of the Hoysala capital Dvarasamudra. Beating back the Hoysala forces under Anka and Māyideva, Tikkamarasa pushed right up to the capital and besieged it in January 1276. The situation was however saved by a courageous sally of Ankeya Nāyaka, the son of Hoysala commander-in-chief. The Yadava forces were driven back, and if we are to accept the Hoysala version, Saluva Tikkama fled in haste and disgrace leaving behind a lot of equipment3. In a record of his own, Tikkama claims to have reduced Dvarasamudra; he is seen building a temple of Visnu at Harihar in 1277 in commemoration of his victory over the Hoysalas4. This must refer to his successes in the earlier part of the Hoysala

When freed from his southern commitments, Rāmacandra planned expansion in the north-east. In the reign of Singhana, the Yadavas had conquered Jubblepore and Chatisgadh, but had lost their hold over these territories later. Ramacandra's armies first captured Vajrākara (probably Vairagadh, 80 miles North-east of Cândā); then Bhandagara or Bhandara (40 miles east of Nagpur) and then penetrated to Tripuri near Jubblepore. The Purusottamapuri plates of Rāmacandra⁵ claim that Rāmacandra captured Banāras. Since the Yadava ruler is credited with having built a temple to God Sārngadara at Banāras, its capture may be taken as a historical fact. After the death of Balban in 1286 A.D., Delhi had lost its firm hold over the outlying provinces and there is nothing inherently improbable in Rāmacandra having held Banāras under his control for a short time. His forces may have withdrawn after the accession of Jalaluddin Khilji. The claim to the conquest of Kanauj and Kailasa is probably not sustainable. This daring expedition of Rāmacandra to Banāras may be placed between 1286 and 1290 A.D. While his forces were engaged in it, there were rebellions in Mahā-

CHAPTER 10,

The Yadavas of Devagiri, RAMACHANDRA.

War with the Para māras and Cālukyas.

Capture of Banaras.

2nd year of the king's reign.

*E. C., V, Belor, pp. 120, 165, 167.

*Mysors Inscription, p. 44.

¹Some late records (C. G., E. C., VIII, Sb. 209) suggest that Rāmscandra began to rule in 1270. This may be due to the desire to ignore the reign of Ammana.

*Victory over the Paramäras is mentioned in the Paithan plates issued in the

⁶E. I., XXV, p. 199.

CHAPTER 10.

The Yādavas of Devagiri.

RAMACHANDRA.

rāṣṭra at Kheḍ, Saṅgamner and Māhīm, which were however quelled by the king's sons.

The Yādava power began to decline with the commencement of the Muslim attack in 1294 A.D. When the power of the Paramāras and Cālukyas, who were the northern neighbours of the Yādavas, was being shattered during the last quarter of the 13th century, the Yādavas should have realised that their turn would come next and tried to organise a Deccan federation to resist the apprehended attack. Instead, they went on picking quarrels with all their neighbours at every step, which created intense hatred against them in the mind of the Paramāras, Cālukyas, the Hovsalas and the Kākatīyas. The Muslims thus could attack each of these states separately and establish their supremacy.

The first Muslim raid took place in 1294 under Alläuddin, the cousin of the Khilji emperor Jaläluddin. The Muslim chroniclers usually represent that this expedition was dictated by Alläuddin's desire to amass wealth in order to win the throne. Alläuddin was however the governor of Kārā-Māṇikpūr, which must have suffered from Rāmacandra's raid on Banāras above described. The desire to punish him for this affront may also have been another motive in the mind of Alläuddin.

Allauddin had very carefully planned his expedition. He decided to march only when his spies had assured him that the main Yādava army was far away in the south. He first gave out that he was leading a punitive expedition against Canderī and then professed that he was going to Rājamahendri to seek service, as he could not pull on with his uncle. He pitched his camps usually near forests to attract least attention.

It was only when he reached Lacur, only about eighty miles from Devagiri, that his advance was opposed by the Yādava Governor, who sent report about it to the Central Government. Allāuddin however, easily overcame the governor's opposition and reached Devagirī with a lightning speed.

Rāmacandra was taken completely by surprise. His army was away at the Hoysala frontier. He could only raise a militia of about 4,000 which was easily defeated by Alläuddin, who had force of about 6,000 to 8,000 horse. Rāmacandra then retired into the fort, which he intended to hold out till his crown prince returned from the south. The fort however was not properly provisioned and Rāmacandra therefore was compelled to sue for peace. Alläuddin agreed to return on receiving an indemnity of 1500 lbs. of gold, large quantity of pearls and jewels, 40 elephants and several thousand horses. Rāmacandra agreed to pay an annual tribute and also gave one of his daughters in marriage to the victor.

Alläuddin succeeded in exacting these terms within a fortnight and was about to depart when the Crown prince Sankaradeva, who had been urgently summoned, returned with the main army. Muslim historians are not agreed as to what happened on his arrival. Later historians like Feristä narrate that in spite of his father's advice to

the contrary Sankara reopened hostilities, but was defeated by Allauddin, who then imposed a heavier indemnity. Isamī however states that Sankaradeva accepted his father's advice and desisted from a fresh attack.

CHAPTER 10.

The Yadavas of Devagiri.

RAMACHANDRA.

The signal success which crowned Alläuddin's expedition hardly reflects any credit on the Yādava administration. In spite of the repeated Muslim attacks on the Paramāras and the Cālukyas, it had not taken any precaution to garrison the Vindhyan passes; its capital lay without any adequate defence. The administration was completely paralysed; and it could not think of surrounding and destroying the invading force when it was retiring through the little known passes surrounded by jungles.

Rāmacandra's discomfiture was a signal for his southern neighbours to stab him in the back; they exploited his defeat just as he had taken the full advantage of the misfortunes of the Paramāras and the Cālukyas, when their power had been shattered by the Muslim attack. Pratāparudra, the Kākatīya king, attacked Rāmacandra and snatched away the districts of Raieūr and Anantpūr from him. Hoysaļa king Ballāļa invaded the Yādava kingdom and annexed Santalege 1000 and Banavāsī 12,000 in 1303.

When Pratāparudra succeeded in defeating the armies of Allāuddin marching against him in 1304, a section of the Yādava court headed by the Crown prince Sankaradeva felt that the Muslim power was declining, and prevailed upon Rāmacandra to stop the annual tribute. Sankaradeva incurred further wrath of Allāuddin by deciding to accept the hand of the Cālukya princess Devaladevī, whom Allāuddin wanted to be married to his own Crown-prince.

Alläuddin decided to send a punitive expedition against the Yādavas in 1307. One army was sent under Malik Ahmad Jhitam to capture Devaladevī and another under Malik Kāfur to reimpose the imperial authority over the Yādavas. Isāmi's statement that Rāmacandra had sent a secret message to the Sultān informing him that he was a mere prisoner in the hands of his crown prince, seems to be correct. For when after defeating the Yādava army, Malik Kāfur sent king Rāmacandra as a prisoner to Delhī, Allāuddin treated him with great courtesy and consideration. He regranted his kingdom to him, gave him the title of Rāi-ī-Rayān and sanctioned him the revenues of Navasīrā as a personal Jāgir.

Rāmacandra was deeply moved by this treatment and remained genuinely loyal to Allauddin throughout his life. He offered full facilities to the armies of his suzerain when they attacked Warrangal in 1309. Two years later he directed his general Purusottama to guide the imperial forces by convenient routes to the border of the Hoysala kingdom besides supplying it with immense provisions. Loyalty alone was perhaps not responsible for this conduct. The Hoysalas were the hereditary enemies of the Yādavas and had recently stabbed them in the back, when humbled by the Muslim defeat. Like Ambhī of

The Yadavas of Devagiri.
RAMACHANDRA.

Taxila, Ramacandra desired that the invader should annihilate the power of this neighbour, who was always a thorn in his sides.

Rāmacandra died in 1311¹ A.D. after a long reign of 41 years. Like most of his other contemporaries he could not comprehend the natural consequences of the Muslim expansion. Rāmacandra's defeat in 1294 A.D. was due to his being taken by surprise; but he could have retrieved the situation by leading a federation of the Deccan powers against the northern invader. Personal jealousies and hereditary dynastic enmities had however so embittered the feelings of the different Deccan kings that a plan for joint action could hardly have come within the realm of practical politics.

A number of authors flourished in the time of Rāmacandra. Hemādri continued to serve under him and wrote Caturvargacintāmaṇi. Jñāneśvara completed his famous Marāṭhī commentary on the Gitā* during his reign in 1290. A number of Marāṭhī works were written by the authors and saints of the new school of the Mahānubhāvas.

Sankaradeva.

Sankaradeva, the crown-prince, succeeded his father on his death. He had two brothers, Bimba and Ballāļa; the former was the viceroy of southern Gujarāt and the latter of southern Mahārāṣṭra.

We have seen already how Sankaradeva was all along opposed to his father's policy of meek submission to Delhī. When therefore he himself became the king, he immediately repudiated the overlordship of Allāuddin and declared independence. We cannot but admire the courage of Sankaradeva; the sources of tiny Devagiri were nothing as compared to those of the mighty Delhī empire, whose armies had by this time acquired the reputation of invincibility. Allāuddin once more sent Malik Kāfur to put down the rebellion; he easily defeated Sankaradeva and put him to death. Yādava kingdom was now annexed and Malik Kāfur was appointed its governor. He stayed at Devagiri for three years and reorganised the administration.

END OF THE YADAVAS,

When Alläuddin fell seriously ill in 1315, Malik Kāfur hastened to Delhī with the Muslim garrison. Harapāladeva, probably, n sonin-law of Rāmacandra, and Rāghava, a minister under the same king, boldly came forward to reestablish the Yādava power. The resurrected Yādava kingdom could last for about two years only. For, when Qutb-ud-din Mubārak Shāh got a firm hold over the Delhī administration, he marched against Devagiri in 1318, and crushed the rebellion. Harapāla was taken prisoner and put to death. Thus ended the Yādava power, which had dominated the Deccan history for more than a century.

¹His latest known date is September 1310, supplied by the Purusottampuri plates.

^{*} Viz. Jñānes'warī

CHAPTER 11

SOCIETY, RELIGION AND CULTURE* 500 A.D. TO 1200 A.D.

VARNA-VYAVASTHA OR THE CASTE SYSTEM CONTINUED TO BE THE SALIENT FEATURE of the Hindu society during this period as well. The usual theoretical number of the main castes is, of course, four, namely the Brāhmaṇas, Kṣatriyas, Vaiśyas and Sūdras. It is, however, 500 A.D. to the Brāhmanas, Ksatriyas, Vaisyas and Sūdras. It is, however, strange that Greek writers like Megasthenes and Strabo as well as Muslim writers like Ibn Khurdadba and Al Idrisi agree in mentioning the number to be seven; although the castes enumerated by them are, by no means, identical. The Greek ambassador does not include any of the untouchables in his castes; while the Muslim writers enumerate at least two of them among the depressed classes. Alberuni, however, maintains that the number of castes was sixteen. In addition to the four well-known ones, he has included five semiuntouchables and seven untouchables. The actual number of castes and sub-castes of our age was, however, more than sixteen, as is indicated by the Smrtis of our period. The statements of these writers have to be examined, in view of the valuable evidence afforded by the Dharmaśāstra literature, before being completely relied on.

CHAPTER 11.

1200 A.D. SOCIAL CONDITION.

Ibn Khurdadba, who died in 912 A.D., mentions the following seven castes:-(1) Sabkufriya (spelt differently in manuscripts as Sabakferya or Sarikufria), (2) Brahma, (3) Katariya, (4) Sudariya, (5) Baisura, (6) Sandalia and (7) Lahud¹. Al Idrisi's seven castes are almost identical with these with the exception of the seventh caste which, according to him, is Zakya and not Lahud. Both of them agree in saying that the members of this (i.e. seventh) caste were dancers, tumblers and players by profession. It has to be borne in mind that the order of enumeration of these castes is not given according to their relative status or importance. Among these, Brahma, Sudariya, Baisura and Sandalia appear to be the same as Brāhmanas, Sūdras, Vaisyas and Cāndālas. Katariyas are the same

^{*}This chapter is contributed by Dr. M. D. Paradkar, M.A., Ph.D., Sanakrit Department, University of Bombay, Bombay.

1 Elliot, History of India, Vol. I, pages 16-17.

CHAPTER 11.

Society, Religion and Culture 500 A.D. to 1200 A.D. Social Condition.

as Kṣatriyas as is clear from the fact that they could drink three cups of wine and their daughters could be married by the Brāhmaṇas. Sabkufriyas, very probably, are the same as Satkṣatriyas; because the Muslim writers tell us that kings were chosen from them and they were regarded as superior to all castes. The distinction between Katariyas and Sabkufriyas reminds one of the distinction between the Kṣatriyas and the Rājanyas of the earlier period.

Alberuni gives a more detailed and interesting account of the caste system. After mentioning the usual four principal castes, he mentions Antyajas divided into eight classes or guilds viz. (1) the washerman, (2) the shoemaker, (3) the juggler, (4) the basket and shield-maker, (5) the sailor, (6) the fisherman, (7) the hunter of wild animals and birds and finally (8) the weaver. The four principal castes do not live with these in one and the same place. These guilds, therefore, live near the villages and towns of four castes but outside them. Alberuni also mentions Hadi, Domba, Cāṇḍāla and Badhātu considered as one sole class distinguished by their occupations consisting of service and dirty work.

It must be admitted that Alberuni's eight-fold classes appear to be untouchables and most of these were pronounced to be so by some of the later Smṛtis like Angiras, Atri, Apastamba etc. Alberuni's statement about the weaver being regarded as untouchable is not supported by Smrti literature. Granting Alberuni's statement would amount to the fact that the famous weaving industry in ancient India was a monopoly of the untouchables, which is highly improbable. Statements in Brhad-Yama Smrti and Apastamba Smrti, however, lead us to believe that a section among weavers dealing with manufacture of red and blue cloth was held in low estimation. Among the remaining three, namely, Hadi, Domba and Badhātu, what section is meant by Hadi is not quite clear. Dombas were untouchables as is proved by the Rajatarangina. Alberuni's Badhātu is an apabhramśa of vadhaka or the executioner, who, according to the Dharmaśāstra literature is undoubtedly included among the untouchables.

Although epigraphical records of our period do not give any idea of the intensity of the notion of untouchability, Kalhaṇa's Rājatarangiṇī throws a flood of light on the subject during our period. And as Kalhaṇa is supported by the Smṛti literature, it can be safely assumed that similar ideas prevailed in the South as well. In the Rājatarangiṇī V 77, a Cāṇḍāla or sweeper is found refraining from touching child on the read through fear of polluting it; in fact he requests Sūdra woman to pick it up and rear it. The untouchables could not enter the audience hall. This makes the King Candravarman hear the shoemaker's complaint in the outer courtyard (IV-62). Even conversation with untouchables led to pollution according to some sections of society. This is the reason of the agitation of King Candrāpīḍa when he began to talk to a shoemaker (IV-67). In short, the notion of untouchability was very deep-rooted.

Coming to the position of the higher castes, all castes including the Brahmanas paid homage to the members of Sabkufriya caste, from whom rulers were chosen. This should not be interpreted as giving support to the contention of the Buddhists and the Jainas, that the Kşatriyas, as whole, were superior to the Brahmanas. The average Kşatriya did not enjoy a social status to that of an average Brāhmana. On the contrary, the Brāhmanas were regarded as superior to the rest of the population. Respect for actual rulers and their descendents shown by the Brahmanas irrespective of the caste to which they belonged, is, by no means, unnatural.

The Brahmana community of our period followed a number of professions. Al Idrisi describes Brahmanas dressed in tiger-skins addressing the public about God and his nature. These are called istins by Alberuni. Epigraphical records also confirm this. Many of the Brahmanas were engaged in carrying on their Scriptural duty namely teaching and conducting schools and colleges. Abu Zahid informs us that mostly jurists, astrologers, mathematicians, poets and philosophers were members of this class. Administrative civil posts were also largely filled by Brahmanas. Ministers and officers of the Rāstrakūta Kings were chosen from this class. There are reasons to assume that Brahmanas were largely seen in Government service. It is true the Smrti writers do say that Brahmanas should not serve; but their statements should be applied to non-government service only. Manu lays down that Brahmanas alone should be appointed as a rule to the ministerial and judicial posts.2

Sankarācārya's (788-820 A.D.) statement that the castes were no longer following their prescribed duties and functions is corroborated by historical evidence. Some of the Brahmanas were enlisting their names in the army. Bettegiri inscription of Kṛṣṇa II3 offers a handsome tribute to the memory of a Brahmana named Ganaramma who laid down his life with bravery defending his village. The Kalas inscription of Govinda IV4 speaks of the glorious career and achievements of two Brahmana generals Revadāsa Dīksita and Vīsottara Dīksita who were really Somayājins. Alberuni informs us that in the 11th century some of the Brāhmanas directly dealt in clothes and betel nuts; while some others indirectly entered into trade by employing a Vaisya to carry on the actual dealings in business. The Gautama Dharmasūtra allows Brahmanas to live on agriculture, trade etc. on the condition of appointing agents to carry on business. Although Smrti writers never held the medical profession in esteem, it appears that in society doctors were honoured equally with learned men. Thus a Brahmana physician is found among the donees of an agrahara village given by a Pallava King in the 8th century. The ban placed by Manu and others on the feeding of a doctor

CHAPTER 11.

Society, Religion and Culture 500 A.D. to 1200 A.D. SOCIAL CONDITION. Position of the Brāhmanas.

¹ Elliot, History of India, Vol. I, p. 6.

² Manusmyli, VII—37, 58; VIII—20.

³ E., I., XIII, p. 189

⁴ Ibid, XIII. p. 33.

⁵ I. A., VIII, p. 277.

CHAPTER 11.

Society, Religion and Culture 500 A.D. to 1200 A.D. SOCIAL CONDITION, Position of the

Brāhmaņas.

at a Srāddha dinner appears to be partly a result of their puritanic ideas and partly a consequence of their theory that the medical profession belonged to a mixed caste known as Ambastha. This theory also does not appear to be borne out by facts. Thus trade, agriculture, banking etc. became the normal vocations of the Brāhmaṇas of our period. Naturally Smṛtis belonging to the age have boldly withdrawn the ban on these professions placed by earlier Dharmaśāstra writers. Bṛhaspati holds banking (kusīda) to be an ideal profession of the Brāhmaṇas; while Hārīta and Parāśara boldly declare that agriculture can be followed by them. The Āpastamba Smṛti also mentions that agriculture, cattle-breeding etc. were the necessary and normal vocations of the Brāhmaṇas; there is no reason to consider them as Āpaddharmas.

The Smrtis and Puranas uniformly declare that Brahmanas ought to be free from taxation and capital punishment. There is no epigraphical evidence of our period to support a general claim of exemption from taxation for all Brahmanas. It is true that the Srotriyas or learned Brāhmaņas in the Rāstrakūţa regime, really donees of Brahmandeya grants, used to receive all taxes payable to the King and that they were required to pay nothing to the King. This is reflected in the Dharmasastra literature which exempts a Srotriya from all taxation; but on this basis, it cannot be assumed that ordinary Brahmanas of our period enjoyed this privilege. The Tuppad Kurahatti inscription of Kṛṣṇa III and the Honavad inscription of Someśvara make it clear that even Devadeya grants i.e. lands granted to temples by kings were not free from taxation. Somadeva of the Nîtivākyāmrta lays down that a king can take a portion of the property of the Brahmanas and temples for the sake of tiding over a calamity; only he should take care to keep at their disposal money that is necessary for the performance of sacrifices and worship.

Exemption from capital punishment is, however, a privilege that the Brahmanas of our period seem to have enjoyed. From ancient times, the sin of Brahmahatyā was regarded as the most heinous and Hindu States in India have generally refrained from incurring it. The Apastamba Dharmasûtra (II, 27, 16) lays down that a Brāhmana should be blinded and banished for offences involving capital punishment for other castes. This advice appears to have been followed in our period as is corroborated by Alberuni who states that though a Brahmana was above the death sentence, he could be banished and deprived of his property and in case of being guilty of stealing a precious or costly article he was blinded and his right hand and left foot were cut off1. It is significant to note that the sentence mentioned for stealing on the part of a Brahmana is not found in the Smrtis. The words of Kautilya in his Arthasastra Book IV, namely Kantaka-śodhana (Chapter 11) support Alberuni's statement. It is, however, clear that Brāhmaņas who had joined the army could not have claimed the privilege of being exempt from being executed.

¹ Alberuni's India, edited by Sachau I, p. 162.

Among the Kṣatriyas, those who were actual rulers and their relatives, naturally enjoyed the highest status in the society. Although Alberuni mentions that the Kṣatriyas also enjoyed immunity from capital punishment it appears that this was claimed by and conceded to the elite among them. Alberuni also mentions that a Kṣatriya guilty of theft was merely maimed in the right hand and left foot and not blinded in addition like a Brāhmaṇa. The Dharmaśāstra literature, does not extend any such concession of being avadhya etc. to the Kṣatriyas. As Alberuni was a fairly close student of Sanskṛt literature, his statement cannot be summarily rejected. Hence it is safe to presume that in the actual practice of our period, the privileges of the Kṣatriyas were by no means less than those enjoyed by the Brāhmaṇas.

In our period, the Kṣatriyas were not exclusively concerned with fighting; they had already taken to professions which theoretically did not belong to them. The tendency of the Kṣatriyas in accepting the business line, though explicitly stated by Tavernier to be present in the 17th century, appears to have made its presence felt during our period. Yuan Chwang has mentioned the castes of some of his contemporary Indian Kings. According to his statement, five among them were Kṣatriyas, three Brāhmaṇas, two Vaiśyas and two Sūdras. This makes it clear that Kingship had ceased to be the exclusive monopoly of the Kṣatriyas even prior to our age.

In the sphere of religion, Kṣatriya kings and queens of our age are not seen celebrating sacrifices as they had already become unpopular due to the philosophical revival under the leadership of the great Kerala philosopher Sankarācārya. Nevertheless the Kṣatriyas were allowed to study the Vedas as is stated by Alberuni who takes care to add, "He offers to the fire and acts according to the rules of the Purāṇas." In fact, all Hindus of our period were following the Purāṇic rather than the Vedic rules and rituals. Alberuni's statement may, however, suggest that the Kṣatriyas were fast losing their rights in the religious sphere and thus rapidly degenerating into Vaiśyas and Sūdras. The fact that kings of our period do not mention their gotras is also indicative of the dissociation of the Kṣatriyas in general from the sphere of Orthodox Vedic ritual.

The Vaisyas were losing their status much earlier than our age. Srī Kṛṣṇa mentions them along with Sūdras in being backward². The Baudhāyana Dharmasūtra mentions that the status of the Vaisyas and the Sūdras was the same as both were marrying indiscriminately and following similar vocations. In our period also there was no great difference between them. Alberuni conversant with Dharmaśāstra clearly says so and further adds that on reciting the Veda the tongue of a Vaiśya or a Sūdra was cut off. This means that the position of the Vaiśyas was actually reduced in practice to that of the Sūdras; although theoretically the Smṛtis state them to be superior to the Sūdras.

² Bhagavadgītā, 1X-32 cd.

CHAPTER 11.

Society, Religion and Culture 500 A.D. to 1200 A.D. Social Condition. Position of Kşatriyas.

Position of Vaisyas.

¹ Alberuni's *India*, edited by Sachau II, p. 136.

Society, Religion and Culture 500 A.D. to 1200 A.D. SOCIAL CONDITION. Position of Vaisyas.

According to the Smrtis the Vaisyas should follow the military profession only in distress. This does not appear to be the state of things during our age. Many guilds in the Deccan who flourished in towns and cities were naturally required to maintain troops of their own in the interest of security. The Mandasor inscription (5th century A.D.), for example, describes some of the members of its guild as experts in archery and bold in uprooting the enemy per force in battle¹. It is interesting to note that even the Jains of our period were among the martial races of the Deccan. Amoghavarṣa I, though a Jain, did not desist from offering a dreadful feast to the god of death in the battle of Vingavallī.

Position of Sudras.

Smṛti writers are unanimous in depriving the Sūdras of the right to read the Vedas. Alberuni's statement confirms that this rule was followed in practice. It is true that later Smrtis like Baijavapa (quoted in Viramitrodaya, Paribhāṣā, p. 135), Jātukaranya (V. 50), Ausanasa and Laghuvisnu (V. 105), make distinction between Sacehhūdra (a pious Sūdra) and Asacehūdra (ordinary Sūdra) and allow the former to perform Srāddhas, Samskāras and Pākayajñas. Somadeva, the Jain author of Nītivākyāmṛta (VII-12), confirms the statement of these Smrtis by observing that a perfectly pure Sudra is qualified to perform spiritual duties connected with Gods and Brāhmanas. But there is no epigraphical evidence to show that the Sudras of our period actually enjoyed these privileges. Nevertheless on the basis of the statements made by the Brahmānical writers of the Smrtis it can be assumed that respectable Sudras used to perform \$rāddhas etc., of course through the medium of the Brāhmanas and with Purānic mantras.

From earlier times, service to the twice-born had ceased to be the only profession of the Sūdras. Smṛti writers like Uśanas and Devala mention crafts, trade and industries to be the normal avocations of the members of this caste. Soldiers were also recruited from the Sūdras; which, at times, brought the throne also within their reach. The theory that Sūdra cannot own any property was exploded long before. Medhātithi admits the right in the case of a Cāṇdāla and says that his stolen property, on recovery, must be returned to him by the king².

It seems that provincial barriers of castes had not arisen during our period. Brāhmaṇas freely migrated to different provinces and permanently settled in them. The donees of the Alas plates of Yuvarāja Govinda³ and the Vaṇi-Diṇḍorī plates of Covinda III were persons from Veṅgi in Āndhra country and they were assigned villages in Mahārāṣṭra. This shows that these immigrants had become domiciles of Mahārāṣṭra. Although in earlier records, the donees are never described as Gauḍa, Kanojī, Nāgara or Drāviḍa Brāhmaṇas⁴, the composer of the Bāhaļ (Khāndeś district) inscription

¹ Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum III, No. 18.

On Manu, VII, 40.

² I. A., Xl, p. 157. ⁴ E. I., IX, p. 24.

of the Yadava king Singhana dated 1222 A.D., is seen describing CHAPTER 11. himself as ■ Nāgara Jñātiya Brāhmaņa. This indicates that the way towards the formation of provincial castes was already paved. Smrtis like Atrisamhita were helping this tendency by dubbing Brāhmaņas from certain provinces as worthless. These books were gradually being followed in the North in the 11th century. It is no wonder that in later times they came to the forefront in the South also.

Society, Religion and Culture 500 A.D. to 1200 A.D. SOCIAL CONDITION. Position of Súdras.

The fact that intercaste marriages of the anuloma type admitted to be legal by Smrti writers used to take place in our period is confirmed by the Nītivākyāmrta of Somadeva, a contemporary writer. The celebrated poet and dramatist Rājašekhara of the Yāyāvara family (875-925 A.D.) married Avantisundari, an accomplished Ksatriya lady. Although these marriages were permissible, it appears that they were becoming unpopular at the end of our period. Alberuni mentions that the Brahmanas in his time did not avail themselves of the liberty of marrying beneath their class. The observation of Abraham Roger, Dutch clergyman of the 17th century (who lived in Southern Presidency), that the Brahmanas used to marry girls of all the four castes although their marriages with Sudra girls were disapproved,1 holds good in case of the Nambudri Brahmanas only. Another European observer of the same century, Bernier, contradicts Roger's statement and asserts that intermarriages between the four castes were forbidden.2 Any way, Kalhana, the 12th century historian from Kāśmir, can be taken to represent the 12th century view in this case. He, in his Rajatarangini (VII 10-12), strongly finds fault with Sangramaraja, the king of Kasmir in 11th century, in allowing his sister to marry a Brahmana.

Family System.

As in the earlier period, so in our age the joint family was the general order; but cases of separation were not very rare. Torkhede inscription of Govinda III3 speaks of separate shares assigned to two brothers indicating that they were not members of a joint family. Bendegiri grant of Kṛṣṇa (1249 A.D.)4 mentions eight brothers and two sons who were given separate shares from their families. The Paithan plates of Rāmacandra dated 1271 A.D.5 inform us about a father living separately from his six sons as well as four brothers and thus no longer adhering to the joint family system. On the basis of such records it can be stated that partitions in the lifetime of the father, although disapproved by Smrti writers, continued to take place in actual practice.

An inscription from Managoli in Bijāpūr district (1178 A.D.)6 gives an order of succession that is in general agreement with that of the Jurists like Yajñavalkya and his commentator Vijñaneśvara. This record states, "If any one in the village should die at Mamgavalli

¹ Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, London, 1894, p. 1 and 1895, p. 576.

^{*} Travels in India, p. 325.

^{*} E. I., III, 54. * I. A., XIV, p. 69. * Ibid., p. 315. * E. I., V, p. 28.

1200 A.D. SOCIAL

CHAPTER 11. without sons, his wife, female children (probably a daughter's son is meant), divided parents, brothers and their children and any Society, Religion and Culture kinsmen and relatives of the same Gotra who might survive, should take possession of all his property i.e. bipeds, quadrupeds, coins, take possession of all his property i.e. bipeds, quadrupeds, coins, grains, house and field. If none such should survive, the authorities CONDITION. of the village should take the property as Dharmadeya grant." Family System, There is evidence to show that in the Deccan during our period a widow could inherit her husband's property. A good illustration is offered by Gavunda, who was succeeded in his office by his widow1. The Saundatti record2 informs us of Gauri, the only daughter of Madirāja II of Kolara family becoming an heir to Kolara fiefdom even after her marriage with a Banihatti chief. This shows that in the absence of male issues, daughters of a person could become heirs to his property.

Position of Women.

It has been already stated that widows and daughters could be heirs to property. Smrti writers have recognised their proprietary rights over certain varieties of Stridhana. A fragmentary record from Kolhāpūr in the 12th century refers to the case of a daughter selling landed property³.

Alberuni's observation that marriages among the Hindus used to take place at a very early age and that Brāhmaņas in his time were not allowed to marry a girl above 12 years, appears to be true in the Deccan of our age. This is confirmed by the author of the Nītivākyāmṛta, who says that in marriage, the boys were usually 18 and girls not above 124. The fact that almost all Smrtis like Brhad-Yama, Samvarta, Yama, Sankha etc. composed at about our age, heap curses upon the guardians who fail to marry their female wards before they attain puberty, shows that pre-puberty marriages were the order of the day at least among the Brahmanas. Occasional cases of post-puberty marriages, however, did take place especially among the ruling families. The custom of marrying the daughter of the maternal uncle which continues to prevail in Mahārāṣṭra as well as in other parts of the Deccan even upto this day, appears to have been in vogue in our age. Inscriptions offer many instances of such marriages. Jagattunga, the son of Kṛṣṇa II, married a daughter of his maternal uncle Sankaragana5. The same was the case with Indra III. These marriages are regarded as valid by the Dharmaśāstra for the residents of the Deccan.

The Purdah system is not known even today in the Deccan. The custom appears to be unknown in our period as well. Abu Zahid remarks, "Most princes in India allow their women to be seen when they hold their court. No veil conceals them from the eyes of the visitors. The Kadab plates state that the moon-faced damsels of

¹ Epigraphia Carnatika, VII, No. 219.

² J. B. B. R. A. S., X, p. 177-⁸ E. I., 111, p. 216.

<sup>Nītivākņāmṛta, XI-28; XXI-1.
Sangli plates—I. A., XII, p. 265.
Elloit, History of India, Vol. I, p. 11.</sup>

the court of Kṛṣṇa I were skilled in exhibiting sentiments through the movements of their hand and used to give delight to the ladies of the capital. The testimony of Abu Zahid is thus confirmed.

It is possible to infer that the Satī custom, although very common in Kāśmīr, was not very common in the Deccan of our days. This inference is supported firstly by the words of the merchant Sulaiman¹ and secondly by the fact that the mention of the Satīs is hardly found in several inscribed vīrgals of our period that commemorate the deaths of village heroes who had died for their communities. Alberuni's statement that wives of Kings were required to burn themselves whether they wished or not² seems to have been based on contemporary incidents in North India and cannot be applied in the case of the Deccan. The custom, besides, seems to have been confined only to royal families and did not spread to the masses in our period.

No Muslim traveller of our period refers to the custom of tonsuring widows. The Smrtis of our age lay down various rules to regulate the life of a widow, making her lot very hard; but they nowhere speak of tonsuring her. Only one exception of the Vedavyāsasmṛti can be cited. This Smrti (II-53) enjoins that a widow should part with her hair at the death of her husband. Epigraphical literature also does not reveal any acquaintance with this custom. The usual expression occurring in the description of heroes in epigraphs viz. 'ripu-vilāsinī-sīmanta-uddharaṇa-hetu' only shows that queens on being widowed, refrained from decorating their hair; in fact the hair was allowed to grow as is indicated by expressions like 'saralita-pracur-ālaka-ālakah (Epigraphica Indica, I p. 246). It is, therefore, safe to conclude that the tonsure custom was not in vogue during our age. It, however, appears to have been established some time prior to the 17th century as Tavernier (p. 406) explicitly states that Hindu widows of his time used to get their head entirely shaved a few days after the death of their husbands. The Smrtis like Devala etc. composed in our period have allowed women forcibly ravished by the Mlecchas to come back to the fold after some Prāyaścitta. This speaks well of the liberal outlook of Hinduism of our age. Neither inscriptions, nor accounts of foreign travellers, nor the literature of our period refers to widow remarriages. It is difficult to say anything precisely in case of marriages of virgin widows, because the Smrtis are sharply divided over this issue. Parāśara, Nārada etc. permit such remarriages while Angiras and Laghu Aśvalayana prohibit them. It can only be said that widow remarriages were fast becoming unpopular among higher classes. In lower classes this question did not arise because in them widow remarriages were and are quite common.

It is interesting to note that epigraphic evidence enables us to say that land transfers and similar dealings were committed to writing

CHAPTER 11.

Society, Religion and Culture 500 A.D. to 1200 A.D. SOCIAL CONDITION. Position of Women.

¹ Elliot, History of India, Vol. I, p. 6.

² Ibid., Vol. II, p. 155.

Society, Religion and Culture 500 A.D. to 1200 A.D. SOCIAL CONDITION. Position of Women.

and the title deeds were properly attested. Two Kanheri inscriptions1 record grants given to a local Buddhist Sangha as being attested to by two witnesses each. Kadab plates of Govinda III2 speak of a case where the principal officers and the entire population of district were summoned to be the witnesses of a transaction.

It is true that Government documents of transfer of lands etc. were not always attested; but it is also true that their originals were carefully preserved in the State Archives for ready reference. Bhadan plates of Aparājita dated 997 A.D. clearly state that their originals were preserved in the State Archives of Thanas. At the time of renewal of old grants these must have been consulted in order to settle the disputes about claims.

The custom of describing a person by his surname was generally not in vogue in our period. Inscriptions normally refer to the personal names of the Brāhmaņa donees, the names of their fathers and their gotras. Patronymics were more common than matronymics. Towards the end of our period, however, surnames have appeared. Cikka Bāgevādī⁴ and Bendegiri⁵ inscriptions of the Yādava King Kṛṣṇa speak of many surnames like Paṭhaka, Dīkṣita, Paṇḍita, Upādhyāya etc., which still survive in the Deccan. Some of the surnames occurring in these records namely Praudhasarasvati and the like have not survived simply because they were too cumbrous to be used in common parlance.

Food and Drink.

In this age the society was partly vegetarian and partly nonvegetarian. The Brahmanas in Western India had become thorough vegetarians in our period. The Kşatriyas were, however, non-vegetarian and did not totally abstain from taking wine. In theory they were allowed three cups of wine. This disparity in diet and drink rendered inter-caste dining among them impracticable. The Vaisyas and Brāhmanas of our period were not confronted with this difficulty because the influence of Jainism had turned a mass of traders and agriculturists away from nonvegetarianism. But by the end of our period the Vaisyas completely degenerated into the Sudras; hence interdining between them and the Brahmanas also became impracticable. On the whole, intercaste dinners permitted by earlier Dharmaśāstra writers like Gautama, Baudhāyana, had fallen into disrepute in our period. This is the reason why later Smrtis denounce the system. Angirasa, for example, prohibits dining with a Sudra, allows one with a Ksatriya only on days of religious festivals and permits that with a Vaisya only in distress⁶. In fact these writers faithfully represent the feeling of our period.

¹ I. A., XIII, p. 133 ff. ² E. I., IV, p. 340. ³ Ibid., III, p. 275. ⁴ I. A., VII, p. 305. ⁵ Ibid., XIV, p. 69.

[•] Quoted by Haradatta on Gautama III-5; 8.

The Hindu dress of our age appears to be a simple one. In the CHAPTER 11. 7th century the Hindu male dress consisted of two unstitched cloths, one worn round like the 'dhoti' and other used as an upper garment1. Nārada confirms this statement of I-tsing by stating that a witness may be taken to be a perjurer if he continuously goes on shaking the upper garment with which his arm is covered (I-194). Marco Polo states that in the whole of Malabar not a tailor could cut or stitch a coat². Women, however, used to wear stitched petticoats as is indicated by references in the literary works of the time.

Society, Religion and Culture 500 A.D. to 1200 A.D. SOCIAL CONDITION. Dress.

Paintings in Ajanta caves shows that during the 5th and 6th centuries men in the Deccan wore large turbans. It seems that the practice of growing a beard was common in our age4.

Dancing was a favourite pastime of the people. The presence of dancing girls at the temples reveals this very fondness. Puranic dramas appear to have been performed on the occasion of annual fairs or those like Dasarā, Hoļi, Rāmanavamī and Gokuļāstamī.

Sports and Pastimes.

Animal fights were also quite frequent. One of the Angoa records speaks of a fight between a boar and a favourite hound of Bütuga II in which both animals were killed. Hunting was very favourite with kings in general and the Rāṣṭrakūṭas in particular. One of the inscriptions of Govinda III6 gives interesting information regarding game preserves in various centres of his empire. It is no wonder that these were meant only for the use of emperors and courtiers.

> Superstitions and Beliefs.

Astrology had a wonderful hold over the minds of people of our age. Epigraphy gives ample information about this. It seems that the Jains also had taken to astrology. Thus from Kadab plates of Govinda III⁷ we hear of a grant given to a Jain Matha in view of its head having removed the evil influence of Saturn affecting Călukya king. Saturn was extremely dreaded in our period. The Silāhāra prince Aparājitadeva⁸ and Mahāmandaleśvara Govuņarasa⁹ assume with pride the title 'Sanivārasiddhi' i.e. 'one who is successful (even on) Saturdays'.

Many other superstitions were current. It was believed that on observing certain laws and conditions, gods could be compelled to do the needful. Some records of our period refer to devotees who actuated by this belief threatened God with non-co-operation. Catching serpent alive was considered to be the signal proof of chastity. Sugaladevi, the wife of Mandalesvara Varma performed the feat and was considered as the most chaste lady of the land. A temple

¹ I-tsing, p. 68. ² Marco Polo II, p. 338.

³ Codrington, Ancient India, p. 26. 4 Sulaiman Saudagar, Hindi Edition, p. 81.

[•] E. I., VI, p. 56.

^{*} I. A., XI, p. 126. * E. I., IV, p. 340. * Ibid., III, p. 269.

[•] Ibid., IV, p. 66.

Vf 3010-25

CHAPTER 11. Society, Religion and Culture 500 A.D. to 1200 A.D. SOCIAL CONDITION.

was built in her honour1. Spells and enchantments against serpentbite did exist, but their futility was also recognised in many cases. Women were induced to give some herbs and medicines to their husbands considered to be efficacious in keeping them under their control. At times, the result was disastrous and ended in the death of the husband2. Epigraphs from Karnāţak show that some loyal subjects used to take dreadful vows like offering their own heads, if their kings were to be blessed with a son and used to abide by them. Ibn Khurdadba writes that persons who had grown very old and weak often used to commit suicide in holy places either by drowning or by burning themselves on auspicious days8. Such practices were, however, confined to certain sections of the society only. They give us an idea of the superstitions of the age in general.

ECONOMIC CONDITION.

Sources of information about economic condition are comparatively scanty and the matter is rendered more difficult on account of the uncertainty in attributing precise meaning to the technical terms used in records.

The wealth of the country had not much changed in respect of the produce of the soil. Cotton was produced in large quantity in Khāndeśa, Berār (Vidarbha) and Gujarāt. The Periplus in the 1st century A.D., Marco Polo in the 13th century and later Tavernier in the 16th century mention cotton yarn and cloth among the articles of export. As we know from Marco Polo that indigo was largely exported from Thana and Gujarat in the 13th century A.D., it must have been produced in our age as well. The same can be said of incense and perfumes exported from Saimur and Thana in the 12th and 18th centuries. The chief crops of Maharashtra, however were jwart, bajrt and oilseeds, Konkan as usual, was rich in coconuts, betel nuts and rice. Timber of sandal trees, teak and ebony wood was exported from Western Indian ports from ancient times, as western ghats and parts of Mysore have been yielding this material in large quantity.

It seems that the wealth of the Deccan in the period was considerably increased by the yield of copper mines which were discovered in the districts of Narsingpur, Ahmadnagar, Bijapur, Dhārvār, Cāndā, Buldhāṇā etc. Of course at that time copper was a much costlier metal. Brhaspati's relative ratio of prices of gold and copper is 1: 484. Mines of precious stones were more valuable than these copper mines. Marco Polo, Ibn Batuta and Tavernier inform us that the Kṛṣṇā valley near Golkoṇḍā and Karnool, continued to yield precious diamonds till a very late period. At the time of Ibn Batuta, Devagiri was a famous centre for trade in jewellery. Mālkhed or Mānyakheta, the capital of the Rāstrakūtas, appears to have been the main market for precious stones.

¹ I. A., XII, p. 99.

<sup>J. B. B. R. A. S., X. p. 279.
Elliot, History of India, Vo. I, p. 10.
Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar, Carmichael Lectures, 1921, p. 189.</sup>

Accounts of foreign merchants enable us to get a fair idea of the CHAPTER 11. industries of our period. The principal centres of cloth industry in the Deccan were Paithan and Tagara. Marco Polo states that Thana was one of those centres from which considerable quantity of cloth was exported in the 13th century. Paithan and Warangal were, and really are, famous for muslins. Marco Polo is full of praise for the quantity of the cloth manufactured at these places. He observes, "These are the most delicate buckrams and of the highest price; in sooth they look like the tissue of spider's web. There can be no king or queen in the world but might be glad to wear them". Paithani, which still remains one of the favourites of Mahārāṣṭrian ladies, is the significant name given to the high class silken saries.

Society, Religion and Culture 500 A.D. to 1200 A.D. ECONOMIC CONDITION.

Marco Polo informs us that Northern Maharastra was known for tanning industry in the 13th century. Thana exported leather in large quantities. The information that this industry was in full vigour in the 13th century and was successful in capturing foreign markets enables us to conjecture that this industry must have begun its career one or two centuries earlier.

Ibn Batuta gives compliments to the Marāthās near Daulatābād and Nandurbar for their skill in arts. Marco Polo speaks highly of beautiful mats of Northern Mahārāṣṭra in 18th century in red and blue leather exquisitely inlaid with figures of birds and beasts and skilfully embroidered with gold and silver. He states that these mats were also exported from these regions.

It is not possible to have a detailed account of the commerce of our period; because contemporary records are mostly silent on the matter. Nevertheless accounts of travellers like Al Idrisi, Ibn Batuta and Marco Polo, help us in giving a fairly good idea. Kalyan was a highly important port trading in cloth, brass and black-wood logs right from the 6th century A.D. Coastal trade was carried on in other ports of minor importance like Thana, Sopara, Dabhol, Jayagad, Devagad and Målvan. Revenues from all these ports appear to have been extensive. From the Kharepatan plates of Anantadeva it appears that the import duties on the coastal trade were less than those on the foreign trade. Thus, cotton yarn and cloth, rough as well as fine, muslins, hides mats, indigo, betel 'nuts, coconuts were the chief articles of export from Mahārāṣṭra.

Thāṇā in the 13th century, says Marco Polo, used to import gold, silver and copper. Import trade in horses was quite intensive. The Periplus observation that dates, gold, slaves, Italian wine (in small quantity), copper, tin, lead and flint glass were among the articles of import at the port of Broach, appears to be mostly true of ports of our peiod in Mahārāṣṭra.

Bullock carts appear to be the principal means of transport, Horses, being fairly dear, were not easily available for the purpose. The bullock carts, however, must have been quite comfortable as Vf 3010-25a

CHAPTER 11.

Society, Religion and Culture 500 A.D. to 1200 A.D. ECONOMIC CONDITION.

Tavernier in the 17th century speaks of their being more commodious than anything invented for ease in France and Italy. Besides this vehicle, oxen and horses of an inferior breed must have been used for speedy transport or in the case of transport in hilly tracts. Members of the lower castes as well as Muslims used to take to the caravan's profession. Regarding conditions of roads, it may be assumed that they were not so bad as Periplus and Tavernier in their days speak of. The reason seems to be that the Rāṣtrakūṭas who ruled the Deccan for a considerably long period in our age, must have been compelled to keep roads in good conditions for their military operations.

Rayatvārī continued to be the prevailing tenure in our period as well; but it seems that a class of Zamindars did exist to some extent. Members of this class were assigned royal revenues. Some of the contemporary records mention grāmapati along with grāmakūta. These Grāmapatis probably refer to officials who were assigned revenues of villages.

Regarding land-transfers, there is sufficient evidence to show that in the transfer of land during the 10th century the seller and the purchaser only were not concerned; the consent of the village community or the Mahajanas of the locality was considered necessary. Nevertheless, such consent appears to have become more or less formal at the end of our period. Epigraphical records of the 13th century do not mention this consent as a necessity. Smrti literature also confirms this. Vijnanesvara in his lengthy introduction to the Dāyabhāga section maintains that the consent of the village community was merely intended for the publication of the transaction. He makes it clear that the transaction does not become ultra vires if such consent is not obtained. Village artisans like the smith, the potter etc. were maintained by the community by assigning to them certain grain-share from each farmer. The artisans in their turn, were to cater for the needs of the farmers during the year. This system prevails in many villages even now. The barter-system was also in vogue.

Many coins of gold and silver are mentioned in contemporary records. A number of silver coins of Kṛṣṇarāja bearing the Paramamāhesvara-mātā-pitṛ-pādānudhyāta-Srī-Kṛṣṇarājah has been discovered in the district of Nāśik and Vidarbha. These coins, however, imitate closely the latest Gupta coins and cannot therefore be attributed to the Rāṣṭrakūṭa emperor Kṛṣṇa 1¹. They were issued by the Kalacuri King Kṛṣṇarāja who flourished in the 6th century A.D. and were known as Kṛṣṇarājarūpakas. Dramma and Suvarṇa are the principal coins of our period. In Karnāṭak and Tāmil Land of our days, Kalañju, Gadyāṇaka and Kasu are mentioned. Dramma appears to be the Sanskritised form of the Greek coin drachm. One of the Kānherī inscriptions belonging to the age of Amoghavarṣā I mentions drammas. Silver dramma

appears to be approximately one-third bigger than our four anna silver coin weighing about 48 grains. Cambay plates of Govinda IV mention a gift of 1,400 villages that yielded a revenue of seven lakhs of Suvarnas2. Very probably Suvarna here denotes a coin weighing 65 grains like the Dramma.

All coinage was in gold; the dramma was the only exception. As silver coins of Southern India of our age are very rare, it is difficult to convert the prices of gold of our age into the corresponding prices in rupees of the present day. According to Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar, the Nāśik cave inscription No. 12 shows the ratio between the prices of gold and silver to be 1: 148. The Sukraniti composed towards the end of our period gives the ratio as 1: 164. Tavernier in the 17th century says that the golden rupee was equal to 14 silver ones. This indicates that the relative prices of these two metals were fairly constant from the 1st to the 17th century A.D.

Guild organisations have been an important feature of Hindu trade and society from early times and in our period these organisations had provided banking facilities. Members of these guilds were spread over different localities. Two inscriptions—one from Kolhapur dated Saka 1058 and the other from Miraj dated Saka 10665-give a very interesting information about a guild of Vira-Baņañjas. Membership of this guild was spread over four districts. The Vīra-Baņanjas guild mentioned in a Miraj inscription had an executive of 15 belonging to different localities in the district. Further, this inscription makes it clear that members of such guilds contributed towards religious objects also and the guild had its own rules and regulations probably binding upon all members. This is also confirmed by Smrti literature as Manu⁶ and Yājñavalkya⁷ lay down that the rules and regulations of the guilds were to be respected by the king, if they did not come into conflict with public interest. The Kolhāpur inscription mentioned above refers to the banner of the Vīra-Baṇañjas bearing the device of a hill. This brings out that the association of particular banners with particular devices mentioned in Harivamsa (Chap. 86, 5) is not imaginary. The fact that the Kolhapur record describes the members of the guild as persons whose breast was embraced by the goddess of impetuosity and brayery' indicates that the guilds were required to maintain troops in view of their authority and rule over towns or districts. The village communities had also banks of their own.

Contemporary records give us a fair idea about the money market. The normal rate of interest on permanent deposits was 12 to 15 per cent, per annum and this was generally given by banks of

CHAPTER 11.

Society, Roligion and Culture . 500 A.D. to 1200 A.D. ECONOMIC CONDITION.

¹ I. A., XIII, p. 133.

^{*} E. I., VII, p. 26. * Carmichael lectures, 1921, p. 191. * Sukraniti, IV, 2; 98.

E. I., XIX, p. 38.

Manusmyti, VIII, 41.

Yājflavalkya Smyti, II, pp. 187-88.

CHAPTER 11. Society, Religion and Culture 500 A.D. to 1200 A.D. ECONOMIC CONDITION.

the guilds and the village communities. Manu¹ and Yājñavalkya² permit the same rate of interest (i.e. 15 per cent.) on cash capital. A Känheri inscription of the time of Amoghavarsa I3 (814 to 880 A.D.) mentions a certain investment in a local bank which had consented to pay an interest upon it perpetually; the rate of interest, however, was to be determined by experts from time to time. This is only natural as a definite rate cannot be guaranteed for all time to come. Another Kanheri inscription of about the same date tells us that the premier of the local Silahara dynasty had to invest 160 drammas for fetching annually 20 drammas for Buddha worship, 3 drammas for the building repairs, 5 drammas for the robes of monks and 1 dramma for the purchase of books. This shows that the rate of interest that prevailed at Känheri towards the end of 9th century appears to be about 17 per cent. per annum. Ordinary debtors seem to have obtained loans from banks at a much higher rate of interest i.e. 20 per cent. also. If the security were to be of doubtful value, it is natural to expect a still higher rate of interest i.e. about 30 to 35 per cent. per annum. Manu and Yajñavalkya mention that Brāhmaņas, Kṣatriyas, Vaiśyas and Sūdras should be charged interest at 24 per cent., 36 per cent., 48 per cent. and 60 per cent. respectively. This indicates that lower and poorer classes, who were unable to give a good security, must have been charged interest varying between 30 per cent. and 50 per cent. This conclusion is well supported by epigraphic evidence also where depositors of best security appear to have been charged at a rate of 15 per cent. only. This incidentally explains why a usurer i.e. Vārdhusika was held in low esteem by the Smrtis which declare that he should not be invited for a Srāddha.

It is not easy to reconstruct the price level of our period; as records from Mahārāṣṭra are not able to furnish sufficient evidence in this matter. There are, however, many records available in the Tāmil districts of the contemporary period, on the basis of which the prevailing prices of articles can be found out. These prices could not have been very different from those prevailing in Mahārāṣṭra. The prices can be arrived at only after determining the modern equivalents of the various measures prevailing in those districts. Thus 32 seers of rice were available for one rupee. Oil was as costly as good ghee as two and half seers of both could be purchased for one rupee. Curds was about 20 per cent. dearer than rice as is indicated by two records at the time of Rajaraja. Pulses were, in fact, costlier than rice and this appears to be a peculiarity of Southern India. In Northern India of the day they were cheaper than rice. Among miscellaneous articles camphor was very costly; one tola of which could be purchased for 21/2 rupees. Among fruits, plantains were cheaper than at present; for one pice or two Paisas of

¹ Manusmyti, VIII-41.

^a Yājnavalkya Smṛti, II—37. ^a I. A., XIII, p. 133. ^a Ibid., XIII, p. 136.

⁵ South Indian Inscriptions, 11, pp. 74, 129.

to-day as many as 10 plantains were available. Among cattle, the cost of a cow was about three times that of an ewe; an ewe cost about 6 to 7 as.; while a cow about 1 rupee and 2 as. One she-buffalo cost about 2 rupees and 4 as. About land-prices, fertile lands were approximately four times costlier than ordinary lands. An acre of tax-free land cost about 25 rupees. On the whole, it can be stated that the price-level of 1930 A.D. (the time when cheaper prices prevailed) was 700 per cent higher than that in the 10th century. The ratio to-day would be much higher still.

The data to determine the cost of living can also be had from the contemporary records of Karnāṭak or Tāmil provinces. A capital outlay of 16 or 17 Kalanjus was found sufficient to provide a rich meal throughout the year. Paddy in those days was sold at about 10 Kalams per Kalanju (i.e. one rupee purchasing 32 seers). The cost in cash per individual per annum can be approximately said to be 33 Kalanjus i.e. about Rs. 19 because one golden Kalanju weighed about a quarter of a tola. The cost of a poor meal, it appears, was half of this amount. It is interesting to note that an inscription of the time of Parantaka I belonging to the first half of the 10th century speaks of only Kalañjus invested for feeding one Jain devotee at the local Jain temple. As a Jain devotee is allowed only one simple meal a day, it can be surmised that this was one-fourth of that invested for providing a rich meal to Brāhmana at Ukkal. The conditions in Mahārastra must have been practically the same.

It is well-known that Hinduism had started setting its house in order since the days of the great emperor Aśoka who was converted to Buddhism in the later years of his reign. Our period is important from the point of view of its powerful revival. The fact that Buddhism was never very strong in the Deccan is indicated by the fact that the pious Fa Hien did not think it proper to visit the Deccan on being told that the people, there, subscribed to erroneous views and did not respect the law of the Buddha to an appreciable extent². This information given to Fa Hien was undoubtedly based on hearsay report; but it need not be considered as far from the truth. The Vākātakas who ruled Northern Mahārāstra were orthodox Hindus; the founder of the house distinguished himself by performing a number of Vedic sacrifices like Agnistoma, Aptroyama and Asyamedha and his descendents were either followers of Siva or Visnu; but they were never Buddhists³. Earlier rulers of the Cālukya house, who later rose to power, were also devout followers of the Vedic religion and were proud of having performed Vedic sacrifices like Agnicayana, Vājapeya, Aśvamedha, Bahusuvarna etc.4 This contributed to the decline of Buddhism in the Deccan. Yuan Chwang speaks of 100 monasteries in Konkan but states that the number of heretics was considerably large. The case could not have been very different in Northern Mahārāstra also. The number

CHAPTER 11.

Society, Religion and Culture 500 A.D. to 1200 A.D. ECONOMIC CONDITION.

> RELIGIOUS CONDITION. Hinduism.

¹ South Indian Inscriptions, III, No. 197.

Legge, Fa Hien—A Record of Buddhist Kingdoms, Chap. XXXV.
 Fleet—C, I. I., Vol. III, p. 236.

Mahākūta Inscription of Mangaleśa - I. A., XIX, p. 17.

CHAPTER 11.

Society, Religion and Culture 500 A.D. to 1260 A.D.

RELICIOUS CONDITION. Hinduism.

of Buddhist monks in both these provinces was only 6,000. In fact, the total Buddhist population in the Deccan at the middle of the 7th century appears to be not more than 10,000 and this number also considerably dwindled towards the end of the 10th century.

It is, however, interesting to note that the revival of Hinduism did not very much affect the fortunes of Jainism in the Deccan; possibly for two reasons. Firstly, Jainism was fortunate to acquire State patronage under the Kadambas, Cālukyas, Western Gangas as well as Rāstrakūtas. In fact, many Rāstrakūta kings along with their generals were Jains. Secondly, important Jain saints and writers like Sāmantabhadra, Akalankdeva, Mānikyanandin, Prabhācandra, Jinasena, Gunacandra and Vidyānanda were able to wield great influence over the masses due to their works and achievements.

It must be stated, however, that our age was known for wide and sympathetic toleration. Cases of persecution were, really speaking, exceptional. From the fifth century A.D. the Puranas were advocating the very same view that all deities were the manifestations of the same divine principle and their followers were not justified in quarrolling among themselves. This view was generally accepted. Krsnavarman of the Kadamba dynasty who describes himself as the performer of Aśvamedha, had given a liberal grant for maintaining a Jain establishment¹.

Amoghavarsa I undoubtedly was a follower of Jainism; yet he was an ardent believer in the Hindu goddess Mahālakṣmī, going to the extent of cutting off one of his fingers and offering it to her under the belief that an epidemic, from which his kingdom was suffering, might vanish due to such a sacrifice on the part of the king². Mahāsāmanta Pṛthivīrāma, a contemporary of Kṛṣṇa II, is known to have erected a Jain temple in 875 A.D. The Belur inscription of Jayasimha dated 1022 A.D. contains a reference to the donor Akkādevī practising religious observances8 prescribed by the rituals of Jina, Buddha, Ananta (i.e. Vișnu) and Rudra. The Belgave inscription of Somesvara I dated 1048 A.D. opens with the praise of Jina, followed immediately by that of Visnu. This inscription informs us that at the behest of the king, one Lord Nagavarman caused to be built a temple of Jina, Vișnu, Isvara and the Saints. A certain amount of feeling against this spirit is, at times, exhibited in the philosophical writings of the period; but even here behind the superficial clash, an inner current of synthesis can be easily perceived. Advaita philosophy of Sankara appears to have been influenced by the Sūnyavāda of Nāgārjuna, as many of the verses in the Mūlamadhyamakārikā of Nāgārjuna are found anticipating the position later assumed by Sankara.

¹ I. A., VII, p. 34.

<sup>Safijān Copper Plates, Epigraphia Indica, XVIII, p. 248.
I. A., XVIII, p. 274.</sup>

It need hardly be stated that along with this spirit of tolerance for heterodox schools, harmony prevailed among the followers of the different sects of Hinduism. The opening verse in the Rāstrakūṭa copper plates pays homage to both the Gods, namely Siva and Visnu. Their seal, sometimes, has the eagle, the vehicle of Vișņu; at times it is Siva seated as a Yogin. A verse in the Surat plates of Karka speaks of the fact that Indra, the father of the donor, did not bow his head in front of any other God except Sankara1. This smacks of certain narrowness which might have been exhibited occasionally in our period; but it cannot be taken as the spirit of the age. In the 10th century at Salotgi in Bijāpūr district, there existed a temple constructed for the joint worship of Brahmadeva, Siva and Visnu². Such temples are illustrative of the tolerant spirit of the age.

This spirit of toleration was extended towards Muhammedans also. Several Muhammedans who had settled in western parts for commerce, were allowed to practise their religion openly. They were allowed to build Jumma masjids for their uses. Muslim officers were appointed to administer their personal law to the Muslim inhabitants. This toleration is in sharp contrast to the brutal treatment of the Hindus by Muslim conquerors of Sind who demolished Hindu temples, imposed Jizia tax upon them and enslaved thousands of Hindu women and sold them in the streets of Baghdad⁵. Although Hinduism of our period was in a position to inflict similar indignities on the Muslim inhabitants of the Hindu States in the south (as well as in the north) the fact that it did not resort to such actions speaks of the attitude of universal brotherhood adopted and followed in practice which has no parallel in history.

Hindu revival which reached its culmination during our period can be considered from three aspects, theological, philosophical and popular. The greatest exponent of the theological movement was Kumārila who boldly advocated the cause of pure Vedic religion. In fact, this movement had begun much earlier i.e. from the days of Patanjali; the famous grammarian. Nayanika the widow of the third Sātavāhana king, is known to have celebrated a number of Vedic sacrifices like Gavāmayana, Aptroyāma and Aśvamedha. One of the early Calukya kings is also recorded to have participated in many Vedic sacrifices?.

But the arguments of this school were unable to convince the popular mind. The doctrines of Ahimsā and Sanyāsa had become so popular that a person championing the cause of Vedic sacrifices involving slaughter of animals, could not attract and influence the minds of the people at large. Hence kings of our period are hardly

CHAPTER 11.

Society, Religion and Culture 500 A.D. to 1200 A.D. RELIGIOUS

CONDITION.

Hinduism.

^{३ (र्र.} मुक्त्वा च सर्वभूवनेश्वरमादिदेवम् ।

नावन्दतान्यममरष्विप यो मनस्यी II Epigraphia Indioa XXI, 143.

^{*} E. I. IV, p. 66.

<sup>Elliot, History of India, Vol. I, p. 27 and p. 38.
Ibid. Vol. I, p. 27.
Ibid. Vol. I, pp. 170, 173 and 182.
C. J. I. III, p. 236.</sup>

¹ I. A. XIX, p. 17.

CHAPTER 11.
Society, Religion and Culture 500 A.D. in 1200 A.D.
RELIGIOUS CONDITION.
Hinduism.

found boasting about their performance of sacrifices. It is true that many of the Rastrakūta kings have given grants to the Brahmanas for performing their religious duties; but these duties were generally of the Smarta rather than of the Srauta type i.e. duties connected with bali, caru and vaiśvadeva. The Cambay plates of Govinda IV1 are an exception because in these it is clearly stated that the grant was given for enabling the Brahmanas to perform Vedic sacrifices like Rājasūya, Vājapeya and Agnistoma. The Atri Smrti, of our period, boldly declares that brāhmanya cannot result by following the Srauta religion to the exclusion of the Smarta one. Thus it is clear that performance of Vedic sacrifices was abandoned in theory as well as in practice of our age. Alberuni was informed that the Vedic sacrifices were rarely performed and almost abandoned because long life, presupposed for their performance, was no longer seen in the present age. This appears to be another excuse for not performing sacrifices which had already become unpopular.

The philosophical revival had also commenced much earlier i.e. from the days of the formation of the present Brahmasūtras (about 200 B. C.) The Brahmasūtra school carried on the work of expounding the Hindu philosophical view and refuting the views of heterodox schools of thought i.e. heresies of the Jainas and the Bauddhas. The greatest exponent of this school was Sankarācārya (788-820 A.D.). This great philosopher, although born in Keraļa, was really an all-India figure and considerably influenced the thought of the people in the Deccan.

Sankarācārya advocated the superiority of Sanyāsa to Karmamārga and maintained that Vedic sacrifices had only a purificatory effect. This helped the age to abandon Vedic sacrifices and rituals. It is true that Sankarācārya's theory went equally against Smārta rituals also; but it must be borne in mind that people generally apply theories to the convenient extent; they do not prefer to apply them to the logical extent. It must also be remembered that Sankara, himself a great admirer of Purāṇic deities, composed prayers containing devotional fervour. In this way he proved to be a great asset to the popular religion.

Tradition says that the Ācārya toured the whole of India preaching, discussing, controverting different views and founding monastic establishments throughout India. He founded four Mathas in the four corners of India styled as Pīthas wielding great influence down to modern times. There is sufficient evidence to show that the philosophico-literary activity enunciated by him, continued for over four centuries. But it is indeed strange that epigraphical documents have shown no trace of him so far. Hence it is difficult to precisely estimate the effect of the teachings of Sankara on popular life.

¹ E. I. VII, p. 41.

It must be admitted, however, that Sanyāsa did not become more popular than before. From this point of view, the negative evidence of epigraphy appears to be significant. Hindu Sanyāsins never figure as grantees in the epigraphical records of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas as well as their feudatorics. Sulaiman's words viz. "In India there are persons who in accordance with their profession wander in woods and mountains and rarely communicate with the rest of mankind" undoubtedly refer to Hindu Sanyāsins; but the presence of these need not necessarily be attributed to the influence of Sankara as the theory of four Āśramas, accepted from the times of yore, can also explain the presence of such Sanyāsins. The reason for the failure of Sankara's advocacy of Sanyāsa appears to be its association with heterodoxy in the mind of the people, created by the Jain and Buddhist monasteries that were flourishing for centuries.

The Mathas founded by Sankarācarya, till recently, were so influential that a decree i.e. Ajñāpatra from them was held in very high esteem by the people. But it appears that these institutions did not wield such influence in the Deccan of our period. Firstly, our contemporary records do not mention any Pitha or its activities. Secondly, there are indications that down to the 12th century A.D., the term Jagadguru which subsequently designated exclusively the occupants of the Pithas founded by Sankara, used to denote ordinary Brahmanas of outstanding eminence and learning. The Managoli inscription of 1161 A.D.1 mentions one celebrity by name Isvara Ghalisasa as Jagadguru in the Brahmadeya village of Manigavelli, who flourished towards the end of the 10th century; and who was adored and worshipped by Taila II, the overthrower of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas. This Iśvara Ghalisāsa was a married man and had no relation with any Pitha whatsoever. If the Srigeri Pitha at Sankeśvar, fairly near to the village, had any special religious influence, it certainly would not have allowed this Brahmana to assume the title Jagadguru. The right to give a final verdict in socio-religious matters was neither claimed nor conceded to the occupants of the Pithas during our period. The Sukraniti mentions royal officers known as Dharmapradhanas or Panditas who were to review the social and religious practices, to find out which of them, although prescribed by Sastras, were against the spirit of the age, which were completely obsolete having neither the sanction of Sastras nor of custom and to issue order regarding points of dispute that would secure a person's well being this as well as the yonder world2. According to the Smrtis, both old and news this function belongs to a Parisad or conference consisting of distinguished persons of great learning and sterling character. In view of this, it is better to assume that the occupants

CHAPTER 11.

Society, Religion and Culture 500 A.D. to 1200 A.D.

> RELIGIOUS CONDITION. Hindulsm.

¹ E. I. Vol, V, p. 15.

^{*} Cf. वर्तमानाद्वप्रचीना धर्मा ये लोकसिश्रता: शास्त्रेषु क समुद्दिष्टा विरुध्यन्तेच केधुना। लोकशास्त्रविरुध्दा ये पण्डितस्तान्विचारयत्

नृपं सम्बोधयेत्तत्र परत्रेह सुखप्रदे ॥ Sukraniti II-98-100.

Gautama II, 10, 41-48; Manusnirti XII, 110; Yājñavalkya I—9; Sātātapa 11 and Şankha, IV,29, 63.

CHAPTER 11. Society, Religion and Culture 500 A.D. to 1200 A.D. RELIGIOUS CONDITION.

Hinduism.

of the Pīthas acquired their present powers and prestige after the fall of the Hindu states and the consequent establishment of Muslim rule. As years elapsed, the prestige of the Pithas increased considerably in the whole of the Deccan and the Parisads were completely forgotten.

Popular religion namely the religion of the masses of our period can be said to be Smarta Pauranic religion. This movement had commenced with the later Smrti writers and the remodellers of the older Puranas who were successful in completely capturing the imagination of the masses. Although, it has not become possible to fix precisely the chronology of these works, it is certain that most of them belong to the period between 500 to 1000 A.D.

The Smrtis had advocated the gospel of the Pañcamahāyajñas in place of the Vedic sacrifices involving slaughter of animals. Smarta Agnihotra was fairly common among the Brāhmanas of our period. Atrisamhita (V. 354) says that a Brahmana who does not keep such Agnihotra, is a person whose food should not be accepted. Alberuni also confirms this fact by mentioning that the Brahmanas who kept one fire were called Istins and those who kept three fires were styled as Agnihotrins1.

In comparison with Smrti writers, later Nibandha writers have increased the Smarta ritual to such an extent that almost no time is left for secular duties. Nibandha writers definitely lay down three baths for a Brāhmaņa; the composers of the Smrtis of our period hesitate between one and two. Sankha lays down one bath only; while Dakşa, Kātyāyana and Vaiyāghrapāda² add one more at midday. The theory of three daily baths began to appear towards the end of the 18th century. Alberuni has rightly observed, "Evidently the rule about the third bath is not as stringent as that relating to the first and second washing "8. The number of Sandhyas was also increasing at about our period. The etymology of the word shows that Sandhyā cannot be performed more than two times during the day. Atri, however, lays down that a twice-born should recite Sandhyā thrice and Vyāsa supplies three different names to the three different Sandhyās viz. Gāyatrī, Sarasvatī and Sāvītri, respectively. There is no wonder that Nibandha writers prescribe three Sandhyas universally. In short, Smrti writers of our period were evincing a tendency to make the simple Smarta religion as complex and rigid as the Srauta one. Detailed rules for Sauca, dantadhavana, snana, ācamana etc. were being framed so as to leave very little scope for individual liberty. From the 12th century onwards, rigidity of ritual became a prominent feature of the Smarta religion. This process has already started during our age.

Alberuni's India, edited by Sachau, I, p. 102.
 Quoted in Smrticandrikā, Āhnikakānda, pp. 290-291, 483.
 Alberuni's India, edited by Sachau, II, p. 342.

Popularity of the Vratas can be considered to be another CHAPTER 11. characteristic feature of Hinduism during this age. These Vratas were advocated by the Purāṇas. The Vratakaumudī mentions 128 Vratas; while the Vrataraja speaks of 205; all of these are based on the authority of Puranas. As Vratas offered opportunities to individuals of both sexes for personally going through a religious life of austerities along with the prospect of fulfilment of desires, they powerfully appealed to the people and still retain their hold on the minds of the Hindus in rural areas. In our period, they were slowly but certainly, gaining in popularity. Along with Vratas, Prayascittas were also coming to the forefront in the sphere of religion. Later Smrtis like Laghu-Sātātapa, Āpastamba and Brhad-Yama, which are not far from our period, are almost entirely devoted to the discussion of Prayascittas or penitential rites.

Society, Religion and Culture 500 A.D. to 1200 A.D. RELIGIOUS CONDITION. Hinduism.

The Puranas, it must be admitted, offered new anthropomorphic nuclei for religious devotion and the deities in their Saguna form glorified by them became immediately popular among the masses. Epigraphical records of our age bear eloquent testimony to the popularity of Puranic deities. Saivism and Vaisnavism were evidently the main sects as is clear from the fact that the Rastrakūta grants generally open with a verse containing a salutation to both the gods viz., Visnu and Siva. A temple of Sarada existed in Managoli¹. Some records especially Ragholi plates of Jayavardhana² speak of the prevalence of the Sun worship. We cannot precisely determine whether Vithoba of Pandharpur, the most popular deity of Mahārāstra today, existed in our age. An inscription of Belgaum district dated 1250 A.D. refers to a grant made in the presence of Visnu at Pundarika-Ksetra described as situated on the banks of Bhimas. The name of the Tirtha and its situation on the Bhīmā river obviously attest to the existence of the Viţţhala temple at Pandharpur in 1250 A.D. It appears to be a famous centre of pilgrimage in those days also as premier Mallasetti made a donation in the presence of Vișnu at this Kşetra. The fame of the temple was, however, well established by the middle of 13th century A.D. As it was a famous centre at this time it can be safely assumed that the worship at the place must be a couple of centuries old at the time.

Besides, worship of some aboriginal deities was also current among the masses. The worship of Mhasobā, for example, can be mentioned. Al Idrisi very probably refers to this worship in the words, "Others worship holy stones on which butter and oil is poured."4 He also mentions tree and serpent worship. The followers of all these different gods appeared to a foreign traveller as forming different sects. Al Idrisi, for example, speaks of the existence of 42 different sects at his time. But the underlying idea was, on the

¹ E. I. VII, p. 143.

^{*} Ibid IX, p. 42.

*I. A., XIV, p. 70.

*Elliot, History of India, Vol. I, p. 76.

CHAPTER 11. whole, the worship of the self-same God under different manifestations; and hence they cannot be called as different sects.

Society, Religion and Culture 500 A.D. to 1200 A.D. RELIGIOUS CONDITION. Hinduism.

The problem of the origin and development of image worship is not easy to solve. Neither Dharmasütra writers nor Manu refers to the worship of images in temples or public places. Probably the example of Buddhism with its attractive temples and Vihāras might have influenced the Hindu mind to emulate their practices. Any way it is true that temples soon became recognised as holy public places of worship during our age. In fact, they became a characteristic feature of Hinduism. Some of the temples in the Deccan must have been centres of wealth also. It is known that Kṛṣṇa I gave a number of gold and jewel ornaments to the Siva image in the Ellora temple, which he had excavated from solid rock at a great cost1. Lands and villages were alienated for different temples. Cambay plates of Govinda IV² dated 930 A.D. speak of the king's gift of 400 villages and 32 lakhs of drammas for various temples in his dominion. Under such circumstances, provisions made for the maintenance of watchmen for bigger temples³ should not cause any surprise.

It appears that part of charity that flowed into temples was utilised in a useful way. Some temples used to contribute towards maintaining educational institutions. Epigraphical evidence proves the existence of many feeding houses run from such charities of temples and maintained in them. One of this type existed at Khārepāṭaṇ4 in Konkan. Some records give an idea of the daily temple life also. We learn that daily worship was done three times a day. Rice and other articles were included in the naivedya to the deities. Flowers and garlands were indispensable for worship and records mention grants assigned for flower garlands that were required for the temples. Temple worship was usually entrusted to Brahmanas; but the non-Brähmana Gurava worshipper makes his appearance during our age. In the Rāmeśvaram temple on the Tungabhadrā, worship was being performed by a Gurava in 804 A.D. at the time of the visit of Govinda III. Sivadhri, who received a grant from the emperor, is clearly described as a Gurava in the record⁵. It is interesting and important to note that Gurava worshippers in the Siva temple at Mantravādī in Dhārvār district, were required to maintain the vow of celibacy⁶.

Grhya-Sutra ritual enjoins animal sacrifices in connection with popular deities like Vināyaka, Ksetrapāla etc.7. That such sacrifices prevailed in our period in Northern India, is vouchsafed by Alberuni. But these were considerably rare in the Deccan of our period, as Al Idrisi, who was intimately acquainted with the conditions in the

¹ I. A., XII, p. 159. ² E. I., VII, p. 26.

³ Ibid. V, p. 22 as well as South Indian Inscriptions II, p. 301-3

⁴ Ibid. III, p. 30.

I. A., XI. p. 127.

⁶ E. I., VII. p. 202 ⁷ Manava, II, 14; Apastam¹a XX, 12-20; Bhāradvāja, II, 10 etc.

South, does not mention them. This weaning of the masses in general from animal sacrifices may possibly be attributed to the influence of Jainism in our period.

The Puranas as well as the Smrtis of our age extolled the importance of the various Tirthas or holy places in the different parts of India, making pilgrimage very popular among masses. The popularity of Prayaga, Varanası and Gaya was greater than that of the Sun temple at Multan and the Siva temple at Prabhasa; the latter is mentioned by Muslim writers who point out that some of the devotees used to crawl on their bellies in the final stage of their journey⁴. The Laghu Sătătapa Smrti (V. 10) declares that many sons should be desired, so that at least one of them may go to Gayā and perform Śrāddha. Other Smrti writers bring out the importance of consigning the dead bodies to the river Ganga. There is no wonder, therefore, that this cult of pilgrimage was quite popular in the Deccan also. Dantidurga went to Ujjayini for performing Hiranya-garbha-mahā-dāna.2 Some records say that a person interfering with charity described therein, would incur the sin of slaughtering a thousand cows at Varanasi and Ramesvara.8 Incidentally, this shows how the cow was held in great veneration in our days. The cow is considered to be sacred even in the modern times. In those days, travelling to such distant places involved very great danger; hence there arose the doctrine of getting merit vicariously through somebody by requesting him to dip many times in the sacred waters on one's own account. This is also mentioned in certain Smrtis.

Charity was considered to be the most effective way of acquiring religious merit. Hiranyagarbha-dana made by Dantidurga has been prescribed by Matsyapurāna (Chapter 274). Tulāpurusadāna (giving a quantity of gold equivalent to one's own weight) said to have been made by Dantidurga4, Indra III5 and Govinda IV8, has been prescribed again by Matsyapurana (Chapter 274) and Hemādri's Dānakhanda (p. 212). The occasions on which gifts are made are also those that are considered sacred by Smrtis and Puranas. The College of Salotgi in Bijāpūr district got good gifts on a sarvapitṛ-amāvāsyā day7. The Karhād plates of Kṛṣṇa III8 were issued on the 13th day of the dark half of the month of Phalguna which has been described as a Vāruņī day. One Upapurāņa[®] declares that this day is called Vāruņī as being presided over by the lunar mansion Satatārakā; Mahavārunī if the day is Saturday and Mahāmahāvārunī if there is also an auspicious Yoga on that day. The day referred to in the above record (930 A.D.) was Wednesday as it is described as a simple Vāruņī day.

CHAPTER 11.

Society, Religion and Culture 500 A.D. to 1200 A.D. RELICIOUS

> CONDITION. Hinduism

¹ Elliot, History of India, Vol. I, p. 67.

^{**}E.I., XVIII, p. 248.

**I.A., XII, p. 220, 225.

**Samangad plates, Ibid., XI, p. 111.

**Begumra plates, E.I., IX, p. 24.

**Ibid., VII, p. 30.

**Thid. IV. n. 255.

⁷ Ibid., IV, p. 355. 1bid., IV, p. 26 р. 260.

Quoted in the Tithi Tattva as cited in Sabdakalpodruma.

CHAPTER 11.

Society, Religion and Culture 509 A.D. to 1200 A.D. RELIGIOUS CONDITION, Hinduism.

It is evident that during our period Hinduism came into contact with Muhammedanism. Travellers had come and settled down in western India and consequently mosques began to appear. In Sindh hundreds of women were forcibly ravished and thousands of men were converted to Muhammedanism during these times. The attitude of Hinduism towards all these problems is noteworthy. The Smrtis of these days permit reconversion. The Devala Smrti composed in Sindh for this purpose permits reconversion of forcibly converted men within a period of 20 years. Brhad-Yama (V. 5-6) lays down a suitable Prayascitta for admitting such people back to the fold of Hinduism. In the case of women forcibly ravished, the Smrtis like Devala declare that they can be readmitted to their families after an appropriate Prāyaścitta or penitential ceremony, even if ravishment had resulted in conception. This was in theory and in those days Hinduism was not so short-sighted and conservative as at present so as to deny this in practice. Cases of reconversion must have been there; at least one specific case of reconversion has been mentioned by Al Utbi¹. Muslim writers like Al Biladuri² themselves give further evidence to show that reconversion on mass scale used to take place during the 8th and 9th centuries.

It is indeed a great pity that the lead given by the Smrtis in this matter was not followed a few centuries later. There is evidence to show that towards the beginning of the 11th century A.D. Hinduism started hesitating about this process of reconversion. The masses were still in favour of reconversion; but the orthodoxy had started frowning upon this healthy practice. It has been already shown that interdining and intermarriages among various members of Hindu castes was disallowed towards the end of the 12th century. This created greater difficulties in the way of reconversion to the Hindu society. Alberuni, for example, rejects all reports about reconversions and accepts the information of his Brahmana informants. He declares "How should that (i.e. reconversion) be possible? If a Brahmana eats in the house of Sudra for sundry days, he is expelled from his caste and can never regain it".3 From this it appears that ideas of excessive purity were responsible for frowning upon the practice; it started with the Brahmanas and slowly spread through the masses.

There is not much evidence to indicate the social relations between the Muslims and the Hindus of our age. The fact that the Muslims of our period were using Indian dress and speaking Indian languages⁴ may indicate that great exclusiveness probably did not exist at the time. It is, by no means, unlikely that the mosques in the ports of western India had some Hindu worshippers also.

Buddhism.

Two Buddhist establishments are known to have flourished in Mahārāṣṭra during our period; one was at Kānherī near Bombay and

¹ Elliot, History of India, Vol. II, p. 32-33. ² Ibid., Vol. I, p. 126.

Alberuni's India edited by Sachau II, p. 162-63.

Elliot, History of India, Vol. I, p. 39.

the other at Kāmpīlya in Solāpūr district. Three inscriptions belonging to the reign of Amoghavarşa I¹ (821–880 A.D.) confirm the existence of a Buddhist Saṅgha at Kānherī. Several records of the Sātavāhana period are preserved in these caves. This proves that Kānherī was centre of Buddhism during that period. During our age also, it certainly was famous as a Buddhist centre. This is confirmed by the fact that an inhabitant of distant Bengāl is found constructing meditation halls and making permanent endowments for the benefit of the monks of this Saṅgha. The endowment made provision for the purchase of books also, which indicates that this Saṅgha had a library or perhaps a school attached to it. This Saṅgha was situated within the direct jurisdiction of the Silāhāras who, it appears, looked upon it with a sympathetic eye; as one premier of this state is known to have made an endowment for supplying clothes to the monks.

The Buddhist monastery at Kāmpilya is known to have received u village in donation from Dantivarman's grant. Kāmpilya or Kampila appears to be a village in Tuljāpūr taluka of the Osmānābād district. In addition to these two establishments, the existence of two Buddhist monasteries at Dambal in Dharvar district is proved by an inscription of the time of Vikramāditya VI dated 1095-1096 A.D. These are the only known centres of Buddhism during our period. It is, therefore, evident that Buddhism had lost its hold upon the mind of the people. In fact the decline had started from the 8th century; and by the 10th century Buddhism disappeared from India, its real birth-place. There are two or three reasons for this. Firstly, the Brāhmaṇas successfully revived the Srauta and Smarta religion by introducing the necessary changes and by assimilating the rites as well as gods that were not originally their own. This helped the Brahmanas not only regain their place in the hearts of the people at large, but enabled them to impress their necessity upon them. Contrasted with this, the Bauddhas as well as the Jainas remained haughtily aloof from the institution of the family and thereby lost their importance. Secondly Buddhism in its early phases, especially the Hināyāna sect, continued to proclaim their atheistic doctrine. The idea of God in his Saguna form irresistibly appealed to the human mind, and its absence in the Buddhist doctrine went a long way in weaning away the minds of the masses. It is true that the Mahāyāna sect tried to rectify the mistake by raising Buddha to godhood; but it divested Buddhism of its quint essence and was rather too superficial to attract the people. Towards the beginning of the 13th century the Bhagavata Dharma stepped into the field and boldly offered II hand of assistance and relief to the suffering masses in the words "Do not grieve" (mā śucaḥ). Unflinching devotion appeals to the common man; not medite ion through knowledge. There is no wonder, therefore,

CHAPTER 11.

Society, Religion and Culture 500 A.D. to 1200 A.D.

RELIGIOUS CONDITION. Buddhism.

¹ J A., VII, p. 25.

CHAPTER 11. Society, Religion and Culture 500 A.D. to 1200 A.D. RELIGIOUS CONDITION. Jainism

Buddhism could not hold its own in India. Philosophical revival under the leadership of Sankara, largely contributed to its downfall. Lastly, the scholastic and missionary activities of the Jainas during this age also contributed to undermine its importance to some extent; although Jainism was not very strong in Mahārāṣṭra.

A majority of the kings, feudatories and officers of our period were followers or patrons of Jainism. Amoghavarsa I of the famous Rāstrakūta family was more a Jain than Mindu. Jinasena in his Pārśvābhyudaya calls himself as the Paramaguru i.e. chief preceptor of this king who used to regard himself as purified by merely remembering that holy saint (himself)1. The Sarasangraha, a Jain mathematical work, also refers to Amoghavarşa I as a follower of Syādvāda². The last of the Rāstrakūtas namely Indra IV was a staunch Jain as is clear from the fact that on having failed to regain his kingdom from Taila II, he is known to have committed suicide by the sallekhanā vow.3 Royal patronage considerably helped Jainism to prosper in the Deccan especially in the province of Karnāṭak of our days. The period produced a galaxy of Jain authors and preachers. Muslim travellers, it appears, mistook Jainism for Buddhism. When Rafiduddin states on the authority of Alberuni⁴ that the people of Konkan and Thana were Samanis or Buddhists at the beginning of the 11th century, it proves the prevalence of Jainism rather than of Buddhism in parts of the Deccan during the 10th and 11th century. The words of late Dr. Altekars "that at least one-third of the total population of the Deccan of our period (of the Rastrakutas) was following the gospel of Mahavira," contain an amount of truth. In the 10th and 11th century, Jain temples had become the replicas of the Hindu temples. The worship of Mahāvīra had become as sumptuous and luxurious as that of Visnu and the Sun. It is true that Jainism preaches the doctrine of Ahimsā in a more extreme form than Buddhism; but curiously enough, their doctrine had not an emasculating effect upon its followers during this time. Jainism of Amoghavarşa I did not come in his way of offering a dreadful feast to the God of death on the battlefield of Vingavalli. The same is true of the Kadamba king Kṛṣṇavarman who, although a Jain, was proud of his title 'Ranapriya' i.e. 'a lover of war.' Towards the end of the 12th century, however, Jainism lost its hold on account of the rise of Lingayata sect which grew probably at its cost.

EDUCATION AND LITERATURE. Education.

It is natural that knowledge of the three R's was not regarded as a necessary equipment for every citizen in those days. Members of industrial classes paid more attention to initiating their wards into the secrets of their profession than to those of the three R's. It has been already pointed out that village communities arranged to meet

¹ I. A., XII, p. 216-18.

Winterintz, Geschichte der indischen Literatur, III, p. 575.

s I. A., XXIII, p. 124.
Elliot, History of India, Vol. 1, p. 68.
The Rastrakutas and their Times—Chapter XIII, p. 313.

their normal needs on the basis of the grain-share system. Thus the CHAPTER 11. carpenter, the black-smith etc. whose services were necessary for every village, were assigned a grain-share that was paid to them annually at the time of the harvest. The teacher does not appear among the grain-sharing people. This shows that the services of the primary teacher were not considered essential. So it is probable that only Brahmanas and the trading classes cared for literacy.

Society, Religion and Culture 500 A.D. to 1200 A.D.

EDUCATION AND LITERATURE.

Education.

Epigraphical records fail to throw any light on the arrangements made in an ordinary village for primary education. Neither Smrtis nor accounts of foreign travellers help us in the matter. It appears that the village accountant or the priest or members of his family were undertaking the task of giving education as was required by the people. The guardians probably paid these people at the time of the harvest according to their means. The teacher had to supplement his income by the customary gifts in kind or cash on occasions like Dasara etc. In many cases, the village teacher of those days possessed some elementary knowledge of medicine and also got some money for writing letters, bonds and leases.

There is ample evidence to indicate arrangements made for higher education in our age. Higher education in those days meant Sanskrt education. Veda, Vyākaraņa, Jyotişa (astronomy as well as astrology), Sāhitya (literature), Mīmāmsā, Dharmaśāstra, Nyāya (logic) and Puranas were the main branches of study. The donee of the Dhulia plates of Dhruva dated 779 A.D.1 is declared to be well versed in the Vedas, Vedāngas, History, Purānas, Vyākaraņa, Mīmāmsā, Logic i.e. Nyāya, Nirukta and Liturgy. Great predominence was given to grammar which was considered to be the key to the knowledge of all sciences, and must have been extensively studied.

The Society of our period did not pay much attention to the Dharmasastra injunction of studying the Vedas for 12 years laid down for the first three castes. The Vaisyas of our age had already lost their right to study the Vedas and the Ksatriyas though permitted to study them, preferred to follow the Puranic ritual. The normal Kşatriya youth, in those days, naturally took to military training; in fact Kşatriyas taking seriously to education were very rare. Among the Brāhmaṇas, only the professional priests had to and did concentrate upon the study of the sacred lore; the average Brāhmana intending to enter government service, or trade would have hardly bothered about the study of Vedic mantras. Proficiency in Dharmaśāstra was, however, necessary for entering the judicial branch of government service. It can be pointed out that Vedic study did not mean only cramming of Vedic Mantras; the title Vedarthajña in one of our records2 shows that their meaning was also studied. Astrology had become an important and popular subject. Royal courts used to maintain astrologers3. One of our records speaks

¹ E. I. VIII, p. 182.

⁹ I. A. XIV, p. 69. ⁹ Kāvi plates, *Ibid.*, V, p. 145.

Vf 3010-26a

Society, Religion and Culture 500 A.D. to 1200 A.D.

EDUCATION AND LITERATURE.

Education.

CHAPTER 11. of an endowment to found a College where the works of the famous Bhāskara were to be studied1.

> Higher education was imparted mainly in two places; (1) Mathas associated with temples with an endowment from the state or from private sources, (2) special educational institutions conducted by private individuals or village communities with the help of the public or the state. Bhadravişnu gave a donation to the Buddhist Vihāra at Kanheri in the reign of Amoghavarşa I, a part of which was utilised for purchasing books. This monastery at Kanheri was obviously maintaining a library. Itsing (p. 155) tells us that these monasteries attended not only to the training of the monks but also to the children of the laity. Some temples used to indirectly help the cause of education by giving free food to the students in the feeding-houses attacked to them2. Kalas from Dharvar district and Sālotgi in Bijāpūr district were agrahāra villages and Sanskṛt colleges run in these were quite famous. Nārāyaṇa, the minister of the Rāstrakūta Krsna III, is known to have built a hall attached to the temple of Trayi-purusa in which this college was located3. Ordinary villages also sometimes had their schools and colleges. One institution imparting Sanskrt education existed at Yewoor in 1077 A.D.4 another was located at Belur in Bijāpūr district in 1022 A.D.⁵ Probably many more institutions existed; although their memory is not preserved in epigraphical records. These institutions were financed partly by the state endowment and partly by private charity.

Literature

The energy of schools and colleges indicated above, was mainly devoted to the study of Sanskrt. Inscriptions of our period indicate that the Kāvya or classical style of writing had its firm hold on the Deccan upto 10th and 11th century. Kielhorn has indicated how the poets who were responsible for writing the sasanas of the Rāstrakūtas were indebted to works like the Vāsavadattā Subandhu and the Kādambarī and the Harşacarita of Bāṇa. The author of Kadab plates of Govinda III tries to emulate or rather imitate the style of Bana in the prose portion. Epigraphical poetry of our period does not strike the reader as being one of the first order mainly because of the lack of pratibhā. It is interesting to note that most of the epigraphical poetry is in the Vaidarbhī style.

On the whole, the output of Sanskrt poetry or literature in our period is not very rich in quality. Kumārila, Sankara, Sarvajñātman, Vacaspati in the realm of philosophy, Lalla along with his pupil Aryabhatta II in the branch of astronomy, Kāmandaka and Sukra in the sphere of political science are, no doubt, celebrities of our age; but none of them belongs to our province. We have to rest content

¹ E. I., I, p. 30.

⁹ Kharepatan grant, ibid., III, p. 360.

^{*} Ibid., IV, p. 60. * I. A., VIII, p. 21. * Ibid., XVIII, p. 273.

with Hæisena's Prasasti composed in the Kāvya style and Yasastilakacampū of the Digambar Jain Somaprabhasūri. The latter is an extensive work in eight Āsvasas composed in 959 A.D. under the patronage of a feudatory of Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Kṛṣṇa. It relates the legend of Yasodhara, lord of Avantī and the machinations of his consort and ends with the conversion of the king to the Jain faith after repeated births. The artificial style is evident even to a cursory reader. A reference may be made to Vidyāmādhava, a poet of the court of the Cālukya king Somadeva probably Someśvara IV of Kalyāṇī, who ruled in about 1126-1138 A.D. This Vidyāmādhava had written Pārvatī-rukmīṇīya describing the marriages of Siva and Pārvatī and Kṛṣṇa and Rukmiṇī.

The Vākāṭaka kings, who ruled over Northern Mahārāṣṭra from 3rd century A.D., were not only patrons of learning but were writers of no mean importance. Sarvasena, the founder of the Vatsagulma branch of Vākāṭakas, had composed a fine work in Mahārāṣṭrī known as Harivijaya. We know about this work from quotations given by celebrated rhetoricians like Daṇḍin, Ānandavardhana and Bhoja. The Harivijaya teems with excellent passages.

The Yādavas of Devagiri, who came to power by the end of the 12th century, were great patrons of learning in Sanskrt as well as Marāthī. Hemādri, who distinguished himself by his learning, was the Srīkaraṇādhipa in the reign of kings Mahādeva and Rāmadeva. His Caturvargacintāmaṇi, a standard work on Dharmaśāstra, is divided into 4 sections known as Vratakhaṇḍa, Dānakhaṇḍa, Tirthakhaṇḍa and Mokṣakhaṇḍa. The Āyurvedarasāyana is the result of his research in Āyurveda. Hemādri's commentary on Muktāphaļa, a work of Bopadeva, is also famous. Bopadeva was also a prolific writer with 26 books to his credit. He was a master of medicine, grammar and astronomy.

Marāthī language and literature were given a great encouragement during the reign of the Yadavas of Devagiri. The earliest inscription found in this language belongs to Sravan Belgola in Mysore dated Saka 930 i.e. 1008 A.D. Another at Gardaunda belongs to Saka 1077 i.e. 1155 A.D. The Cangadeva inscription of Paṭan, dated Saka 1128 i.e. 1206 A.D. as well as one more found at Pandharpur, dated Saka 1195 i.e. 1278 A.D. also belong to Marathi proper. The pioneer of the Mahanubhava sect is one Govinda Prabhu alias Gundam Raul who was a resident of Rddhapur near Amaravati. It is, now accepted that he died in Saka 1200 i.e. 1278 A.D. The disciple of this person, the illustrious Cakradhara (1298 A.D.), was the most successful preacher of the Mahānubhāva sect in Vidarbha. Many persons received inspiration from Cakradhara and contributed largely to the development of the Marathi language. Thus 'Lilcaritra', Bhāskarabhatta's 'Siśupālavadha', Mhāimbhatta's 'Rukminīsvayamvara', Dāmodara's 'Vatsaharana' Viśvanātha Bāļāpurkar's 'Jñānaprabodha', Ravaļo Vyāsa's 'Sahyadrivarnana' and Naro Vyāsa's 'Rddhapuravarnana' deserve mention. These writings have paved the way for the development of Marāthī.

CHAPTER 11.

Society, Beligion and Culture 500 A.D. In 1200 A.D.

EDUCATION AND LITERATURE.

CHAPTER 11.

Society, Religion and Culture 500 A.D. to 1200 A.D.

EDUCATION AND LITERATURE, Mukundarāja, the author of 'Vivekasindhu', 'Paramāmṛta', 'Pavanavijaya', 'Mūlastambha' and 'Pañcīkaraṇa' is considered to be the first well known writer in Marāṭhī proper. He belonged to Marāṭhvāḍā and flourished in the end of 12th century. Thus Marāṭhī became known as the language of literature towards the end of the 12th and the beginning of the 13th century. This paved the way for the celebrated Jūāneśvara (1275 A.D.), the author of Jūāneśvarī and the founder of the Bhāgavata dharma. He was responsible for establishing Marāṭhī as the language of the literature of the best order.



INDEX

A	A-contd.
PAGES ·	Pages
	Ainūlī Copper plates 227,
1DDGVIIII0-71CHCHHAD	229
Inthingital tild Children	Aiśvara Temple 10,
Abhimanyu Rastrakuta 132, 134, 233	11, 27, 29
Abhinavaditya, son of Aditya-	Āitavades (Ādityavada) 228
varman 219	Aitereva Brāhmana 4, 64
	Aiyapa 263, 269
Thhoma Plates 138, 142	Ajanthā 12,
Abraham Roger 381	10, 20, 20, 20, 27,
Abulāmā 196	31, 32, 33, 47, 55, 109,
Abu Zahid 377, 382, 383	183, 184, 194, 217, 385
Acchāran 108	Ajanthā Caves 18, 19,
Acala (founder of a new school	105, 116, 117, 120,
of dancing) 228	123, 125, 128, 129 (inscription)
Acalapura 215	130, 134, 135, 216 Ajanthā Paintings 53,
Achugi II (Sinda) . 328	Ajanthā Paintings 53, 176, 193
Achyuta Nayak (Yadaya General) 211	Āijraga 283
Aden 179	Ājirage 283 Ajjhitabhaṭṭārikā 127,
Adhirājendra Coļa . 322	135
Adicannallur 43 Adiri-Urtanapada 16	Ajitapurāna (Raņņa's work) 295,
TACTOR OF CONTROL OF CO.	298, 301
Tentyavada (m. 1.11.)	Ajitasena 295
Adityavarman (Kadamba) 298	Ajmer 95,
Adityavarman (Silāhāra of South	146, 150, 151, 152, 155,
Końkan)	156, 157, 161, 188, 196
kesin II 219, 223	Ājre 283
	Akalankadeva (Jaina author) 392
Adityavarmarasa (Kadamba Chieftain) 298	Akālavarṣa (Kṛṣṇa II—Rāṣṭra- 246, kuṭa) 290
	71
114cm	122
Advaita Philosophy of Sankara 392	Akkādevī, Satyūśraya's daughter 303,
Agnichayana Sacrifice 230,	307
391	Akola 67
Agnikula (origin of Cālukyas of Kalvāni)	Alanda 215
2002)	Alandatīrtha, a village 215
Agnimitra, son of Pusyamitra 81, 83	Alberuni 375-76, 377, 378, 379,
Agnistoma	380, 381, 382, 383, 394,
Agnyādheya Sacrifice 81,	396, 398, 400, 402
Agnyatineya Sacrince 185	Al Biladuri 400
Agrahāyaņeşti 190	Alexandria 199
A Guide to the Buddhist Caves of	Alibāg 269
Aurangābād 26	Al Idrisi 375,
Ahavamalla (Kalacurya) 342,	377, 387, 397, 398 Allaśakti
349, 352	A11-1-1-1 - 1
Ahmadābād plates 294	243, 251, 282
Ahīrs 102	Allāhābād stone Pillar Inscrip-
Aihole 10,	tion of Samudragupta 102,
14, 21, 28	113, 115, 166 (record)
Aihole Caves 22	Alāuddin Khiljī 372-74
Aihole Inscription 3, 10,	Al-Masudi 268
136, 139, 140, 141, 207,	Altekar, Dr 115,
(of Pulakeśin II) 208-212, 214	133, 136, 270, 279, 402

ii index

A-contd.			A-contd.		
	P	AGES		P	AGES
Al Utbi	• •	400	Anantadeva (Chief Astrolog	er	13,
Alur (Hassan district)		343		368,	387
Āmalla		263	Anantapāla (son of Nāgārju	ına	275
Amalānanda (author)	• •	369	Silāhāra)		
Amarabhujangadeva (Pāņ		-	Anantapala, Chieftain		329
king)		298	Anantavarmadeva of Kalinga		338
	on)	35 8	Angiras Smṛti	383.	376, 384
Amarakantaka	115,	126	Angirasatriratra Sacrifice		81
Amaramallugi (Mallugi's son)		358	Angirasāmayana Sacrifice		185
Amarāvatī		30,	Angoa records		385
116,	176,		Anhilvād		365
Amaravati Inscriptions		65,	Aniruddha		266
95, 116,	, 117,		Aniruddhapura plates	• •	108
Amrāvatī Sculptures	* *	176	Anivāritācārya (chief architec	et)	228
Ambad (Cālukya general)	• •	338	Ankāi	• •	23
Ambarişa	• •	187,	Ańkeya Nāyaka	• •	371 138
• •		189 364	Ańkollikā (village)	12	
Ambābāī temple	* *	276	Añjaneri plates		107.
Āmbada (General of Malli	Kar-	2# U			261
jūna)	-6	4	Amman II		254
Ambāghāţ		11,	Annalan		313
Ambarnath		278	Annigere		341,
F . 1 . 1-		215		342,	343
Ambolī Āmgānv		127	Anuloma marriage		172
Ambhojasambhu Ācārya		265	Anvārambhaņīya	• •	185
Amitagati (author of Subhūs	ita-	AES I	Āpastamba Dharmasūtra	• •	378 376,
ratna)		30(Āpastanība Smṛti	378,	
Ammana	269,	370	ā nilaka		85.
Ammarāja of Vengī		251	Āpilaka	86	
Ammugi (Kalacuri)	• •	347	Āppāyika Chieftain		212
Amoghavarsa I 267, 356, 380,	200	234,	Aptroyama Sacrifice		81,
267, 356, 360, 392, 401,	402	404	185, 186,		
Amoghavarşa 'Indra III''S		250	Aparāditya I (Silāhāra)		274,
younger brother			4 4	275,	
Amoghavarşa II	• •	251	Aparāditya II	• •	276
Amoghavarşa III (Rāstrakūta)	• •	289	Aparājita (Silāhāra king)		142,
Ämrakā	• •	108	268-70, 271, 292,		385
Amrakadeva		167	Aparājitadeva (Silāhāra)	• •	276,
Amravataka	4-21	215 161	Aparárka (Silāhāra)	• •	278
Amrāvatī 175 (in Andhra cour	itiy/	270	Aparārka (Aparāditya's comm		_;•
Amsunagara		297	tary on Yājñavalkya Smṛti)		275
Amulets, Beads and Pend	ants 3	38-41	Apollodotus		196
Anulets, Beatth		216	Arthaśāstra		44
Anandavardhana		405	Arthaśastra (Book IV)-Kar	ıţa-	-
Anandpura	• •	139	kaśodhan	, .	378
Ānanda	• •	85i 23(Āraiyan (Cālukya feudatory)	• •	311
Ānanda (Bilhama's brother)		33(15(Ārang plates of Bhimasena	••	121,
Andhao Inscriptions	• •	71		• •	126
Āndhra rivulet Āņahilla (Cāhamāna)		318	Āryabhaṭṭa II	• •	404
Anahilavād	• •	365	Aryadeva, a pupil of Nagarj	ına	195
Anamkonda Inscription		339	Aryabhaṭṭa	• •	199
• •	• •	341	Arabia Felix (Aden)	• •	179

INDEX iii

Acontd.		A-contd.	
P.	ACES		PAGES
Arabian sea	3,	Avantisundarī	381
4, 109, 130,	215	Avasara I	263
Architecture 1	0-23	Avasara II	263
Ariake	149	Avasara III	262,
Angirasātirātra	185	••	264, 265
Arikesarin, son of Narasimha	251,	Avantisundarikathā	215
	267	Avidheya, Rāṣṭrakūṭa	127,
Arikesarin II (Calukya), Son of			133, 134
	206,	Avveśvara Temple	265
252,		Āvvalādevi (Hammā)	304,
	288,	A 11 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1	307
4 0	289	Ayitula (donor)	169
Arikesarin alias Keśideva I	270	Ayodhyā	201,
(Silāhāra)	60		3, 285, 330
Arişţakarņa	88	Ayu	202
	102,	Ayurveda-rasāyana	405
186,	346	Ayyana II	000
Arjuna (Kalacurya king) Arjunavarman (Paramāra)	040	• • •	304, 306
	271	Ayyapadeva of Begür	200
(Malava king) 364, 365, Arkakirti (of Vāpanīya-Nandi	011	Inscription	• •
	287	Ayyanadeva (Cola feudatory)	299
Samgha)	294	Azileses-Saka Emperor	144
Aryaman, minister of Naha-		Azes, Saka Emperor	144,
	153	Area II	147, 149
	347	Azes II	145, 146
Aśoka	63,	Tree a	
64, 70, 71, 76, 77,			207
121, 159, 182,			235
196,		Was 7 1	308, 332
Aśoka Edicts	140	Bachi	000
Aśoka Edicts Aśoka's Inscriptions71	, 72	Badāmī	0
Asokaiyan (Calukya feudatory)	311	10, 21, 28, 133	
Aşṭādhyāyī (of Pāṇini)	102		215, 218,
Aśvaghosa	199	220	, 286, 346
Aśvamedha Sacrifice	72,	Badâmí caves	22
81, 82, 110, 118, 119,		Badāmī cave inscription	of 286
184, 185, 186, 207,		Kīrtivarman I	• •
230, 391,		Badāmī Inscription	• •
Āsanga 195,		207, 208	, 210, 218
Āsaţtigrāma	221	(of Narasiri	
Āṣāḍhamitrā, nun 174,	202	Bādapa	254
Atri Atrisamhitā Smṛli	396	Baddega (Cālukya feudatory)	
Atmi Counti 270		Baddega (Cālukya)	288,
Attiyabbe (Nāgadeva's wife)	295,	Roddonadous /Distriction A	289
296, 299, 301,		Baddegadeva (Rāṣṭrakuṭta A ghavarṣa III)	
Ätreya (teacher)	265	Baddiga Amoghavarşa III (u	289
Aucityavicāracarcā	135	of Govinda IV)	252, 264
Aurangābād	21,	Badvā	186
25, 26, 31	, 32	Bagali	298
Ausanasa smṛti	380	Bāgāţ	113
Avanijanāśraya Pulakeśin (feuda-		Bagevadi (Bijapūr district)	256
tory of Vikramāditya II)	227,	Bageyür fort	297
** . ** . **	235	Bagh caves	106
Avanimayya	290	Bahāl	13,
Avanti	87,	15, 35, 38,	
••	155	44, 47,	48, 53, 54

iv INDEX

B-contd.		B—conta.	
	Pages		PAGES
		Bārappa (Taila's General)	301,
Bahāl culture	8	Darappa (Tana's General)	310
Bahāl inscription	380	Barmmadeva Cola	306
Bahmani Plates	126	Barnett	17,
Bahusuvarņa Sacrifice	208,	Barnett 72	73, 74, 300
	210, 391	173	217, 260
Baijavāpa Smṛti	380	Barygaza Basadi of Sri Pārśvanātha	
Bakhale	147	(las Taile II)	101 906 301
Baladeva, Thākurī king of	Nepal 316	(by Taila II) 28 Basava Basava Purāņa	250, 250
Bălāghāț Plates	125,	Basava	350, 352
	127, 135	Basava Furaņa	350
Balaghat plates of Prthivise	•	Basaveśvara Temple Bāśim 1	10 100 100
paragnat brates or ritmarke	126	Dasim	10, 120, 120
n=11:	000	Basim plates of Vindhyasa	kti II 110,
Bălguli		112, 119, 19	20, 128, 129
Balsar copper-plate grant	225	Bassein	. 17
Balasri, mother of Gautam	īputra 93,	Baudhāyana	3, 384
Satakarni	175, 193	Daudhayana Dhaimasutta	518
Balavarman	287	Bavaladevī (wife of Some	
Balban	371	Somdeva) Bavbo, Egypian goddess	351
Balevattana or Baleyavattar	na 307	Baybo, Egypian goddess	16
(fort)	335	Bay of Bengal	109,
Balipura city	335	••	130, 215
Baligedeva (Yadava genera	I) 370	Beads, Pendants and Amule	ets 38,
Ballāļa (Silāhāra) Ballāļa I (Hoysala)	281		41, 45, 50
Ballāla I (Hoysala)	328,	Bedsā	19,
		20,	30, 33, 192 174
Ballāļa II	341	Bedsa Inscriptions	174
342, 343, 344, 3	52, 3 62, 3 6 3	Begur Inscription	290
Ballála	3 58, 35 9	Bedsa Inscriptions Begür Inscription Belagami inscription 311, 315, 316, 317, 3	309,
Ballāļa (Yādava)	374	311, 315, 316, 317, 3	20, 321, 340
Balligāve	341, 348	- 1 - ·	224
Ballige	334	Belaganv Belora plates	124
Ballipattan (fort)	307	Belsāne	11,
Ballipattana	259	4.0	12, 28, 29
* *	263, 265		361
Balsād	261	Beļaṭṭage Beļavāḍī	371
Bamhanī plates of Bhārtāb		Belür (Bijāpūr District)	404
Bamma (Bijjala's Son-in-lay		Belür inscription of Jayasim	ha 392
Bammadevarasa	336	Belvola	332
Bammadevarasa Bammalādevī	335	Belvola	371,
Bammalādevi Bammarasa	341.	Benā River	
	342, 349, 350	Benā River Bendegiri grants of Kṛṣṇa	381
Bamayya (Câlukya feudato	rv) 342	Bendegiri inscription	384
Banavāsī	206,	Bendi River	3
	09, 360, 361	Romies	381
Banāras	119, 151,	Berlin Museum plates	271
	367, 371, 372	Besnagar inscription	60,
Bāņa	139, 404		62, 99
Bānās river	151	Besnagar	160,
Banerji, R. D	147		187, 197
Bankāpur (Dhārwād distri		Betmā plates	270
Tongapur (Managa distri	333, 335	Bettaur	342
Bankeya (general of An	nogha-		OHIT
, , ,	0.40	Bettegirl inscription Betül	107
varša 1)	305	Bevlol	050
Bānsvārā plates	070	Bhādāna plates (of Aparāji	
Bāpagrāma		madana piates (or Apara)i	394
Bappuva (Rāṣṭrakūṭa—y		Bhādāna grant of Aparājita	
brother of Kakacale)	209	Duadana grant or Aparajit	a 292

INDEX

B—contd.	B—contd.
PAGES	PAGES
Bhāḍalī224	Bhavişya Purāṇa 61
Bhadasama (monk) 193	74, 87
Bhadradeva 289	Bhāya 80
Bhadraviṣṇu 404	Bhikṣudāsa 105
Bhaga (Sunga king) 84	Bhillama I, Yādava chief 256
Bhagadatta Bhāra king 119	269, 343, 344, 355
Bhagaladaśarātra	356, 359-6
Bhāgavata Dharma 401	Bhillama II (Yādava) 300
	307 356
Bhagavatī temple 268	Bhillama III (Yādava) 304
Bhāgavata Purāṇa 74 Bhagavatī temple 268 Bhagawanlal (Indraji) 3, 62,	Bhillama V 358
79, 107, 132, 141, 155, 163	Bhillama V 358 359, 360, 364
Bhagaladasaratra Sacrifice 81	Bhilsā 167, 368
Bhāgīrathī river 138	Bhīma 186, 199
Bhāgīrathī river 138 141, 211	Bhuna, mominee of Rastrakuta
Bhāgyavatī 303	Emperor (Kuṇḍiga Bhima) 245
Bhājā 20, 25,	2,87
27, 29, 30, 192	Bhima (Rāṣṭrakūṭa chieftain) 295
Bhājā eaves 17, 18	Bhima (Cālukya) 305, 309
Bhāgyavatī	364, 365
Bhammaha (Rāṣṭrakūṭa chief- 295,	Bhīma (Silāhāra)
tain)	Bhīma I 248
Bhāṇdāgāra 371 Bhaṇdārā 371 Bhāndak 21	249, 251, 290
Bhandara 371	Bhima II 290
Bhandaragasitta 21	Bhimaparakrama (10unger 220
Bhandaragavittage 229	brother of Vikramaditya II)
Bhandarakaute (in Solapur 229 district)	Bhimaparakrama (brother of 287)
Bhandarkar, D. R	Kīrtivarman II of Badāmi)
95, 214, 270, 389	Bhīmarasa (Rāṣṭrakūṭa Chieftain) 295
	Bhīmarathī (Bhimā) 136
64, 65, 93, 95, 99, 136, 286	212, 215
	Bhīmā river 8
Bhāndup plates 271 Bhārata (Mahābhārtas) 208	133, 136, 318, 397
Bhāratabāla (Pāṇḍavavamśi 115	Bhīma Saļukki 244
king) 126	Bhimasena I 126
Bhārhut 30,	Bhimasena II 121 Bhimavaram inscription 329
179	
Bhartrdaman 160.	Dl. (
163, 164, 165	Bhogasakti (Hariscandriya king) 107
Bhānu (Yādava)	26
Bhanugupta 106	Bliogeśvara Temple 107
Bharukaccha 91,	Bhoja (author on Rhetorics) 135
260	405
Bhāsa 199	Bhoja (Silāhāra) 281
Bhāskarabhaṭṭa 405	Bhoja II (Prātīhāra) 250
Bhaskara Ravi (Ruler of Kerala) 317	270
Bhāskarācārya (astronomer)	Bhoja II (Silāhāra) 283
404 (Bhāskar)	284, 363, 36
Bhattakalanka (Canarese poet) 247	Bhoja (Paramāra) 305
Bhattiprolu Inscription 66	306, 308, 309, 318
Bhau Daji, Dr 109, 132	Bhojaprabandha 300
Bhavadattavarman, Nala king 126,	Bhojapuram 305
127, 189	Bhopa 300
Bhavanāgā (bride of Indra I) 235	Bhopaki (monk) 194
Th (Th + 15)	Bhopāļ 243
Bhavisya (Rāsṭrakūṭa) 132,	Bhuleśvara Temple 12, 26
133, 134	at Yavat
	** /wt xavat

VI INDEX

B-contd.			B—conal.		
	P	AGES		PA	GES
DI 1 1 1/1 (411)			70 1 1 / 11 X		
Bhulunda Mahārāja (Abhira		104,	Brahmagupta (author)	* *	368
Feudatory)	• •	105	Brahmasphuṭa (Siddhänta		
Bhumra		188	of Brahmagupta)		368
Bhūmaka		88.	Brahmā		12,
89, 90, 145,					202
149, 150,			Brahmānda Purāna	74,	
				-	
Bhuvanapāla (Gādhipura)	• •	315	Brhadāranyaka Upanisad	• •	4
Bhūtārya (Ganga)	• •	290	Bṛhad Yama Smṛti		376,
Bhūteyadeva		296	382	, 397,	400
Bhūtiga		296	Brhaspati		378,
Bicana (general of Singhana)		367.	••		386
	368,		to the second se		186
		307			89
	• •		Brhatkathā		
Bījavādī (fort)	• •	307	Brhatsamhitā of Varāhamihira		102
Bijayitamangala (place) Bijayit record		2 98	Brhajjataka of Varahamihira		368
Bijāpūr record		362	Brahma (general of Taila II)		294
Bijjala (feudatory of Vikramad	itva	327,	Brahmapuri		282
VI)		347	Brahmapurī site		17,
	• •	204,	•		
Bijjala II, Kalacuri monarch			Brahmasūtras Brahmasūtra School	10	3, 42
(deva)		283,	Brahmasūtras		183
339, 340,			Brahmasütra School		394
34	48-51,	363	Brāhmaṇa (proper name) Brāhmī script		343
Bijjalacarita-Kāvya	1	350	Brāhmī script	146.	147
Bijjaņa (Cālukya)		289	British Museum	, ,	129
		339,			
Bijjana (Kalacuri)	250		Broach	4,	, BI,
340, 348,			149, 151, 152,	. 153,	168,
Bikkam (Vikramāditya VI)	• •	315,	178, 179, 187,	, 196,	199,
• •		319	217 (Bharul	tacchev	a or
Bilhapa		278,	Barygaza) 235,	244,	260.
281, 282, 285, 309,	312.	313.		4, 365,	
314, 315, 316,	319.	320.	Buddha		191,
322, 324	325	330	193		
	,	330	7 77 ((6 4 1)	i, 100,	010
Bilhanacarita-Kāvya	• •		Buddha (son of Sankaragana)	
Bilhanacarita-Kāvya Bimba (Yādava)		374	T1 (CT)		211
Bimbisāra		173	Buddha in Dharmacakra M	udrā	17
Dillia-Gauda		336	Buddhagupta (monk)		194
Bittarasa (name of Kubja Vis	nu-	203,	Buddharāja (Kalacuri)		122,
vardhana)		205	138, 139,		
			100, 100,	211.	346
		205	D 111 + 6 C: 7	_	
	• •		Buddharuci from Sindh	* *	18
Bitteya (fisherman)		349	Buddhavarasa		210,
Bittiga (Hoysala Vișņuvardha	ana)	205	• •	• •	217
		335	Buddhism		190-
Bittideva (Hoysala Vișņu	var-		95, 39	401.	402
		, 328	Buhler	,,	79,
79 11		288			109
Bodhan	• •		nallia nama	• •	38
Bodhi	• •	195	Bullie Roman	• •	
Bodana	• •	288	Bundlee Budruk (Bhāḍeli)	• •	224
Bombay		108,	Burgess	142,	155
	. 145	, 263	Bute-Gauda		336
Bonthādevī		290.	Būṭuga (grandson of Rājam	alla)	246
Donniadesi	000		· ·	252,	
- 1	492	, 293	Diturn II (Congo)	253,	
Bopadeva	• •	405	Būṭuga II (Gaṅga)		
Bopanna (Masana's brother)		333	Buzantion (Vaijayantî)	• •	179
Boppadeva (Dandanayaka	of	33 6			
Bittige)			C		
Borivali Station		277	Cacca (Vagod branch of I	Para-	294
		342	māras)		
Brahme (feudatory of Some	Thve	034		• •	10
)(v)	9-0		Cakalpet		10

index vii

C-contd.	C-contd.
Pages	PAGES
Cakora (Sāṭakarṇī)	Etymology, 202; of Badāmi,
O-1 C 741 #F	201-31, 261; of Vemula-
00 00 180	vāda, 230; Spelling, 203;
O-131	of Kalyani, 230.
Colmolosto 210	
Columbian 949 999	Cāmadeva (Viṣṇuvardhana's 332 general)
Columbia fort	0-1
Colonia dha	Cāmuṇdarāja (Cālukya general) 271,
Combon	(Camunda) 010 010
Cambay plates of Govinda IV 389,	Or and the country of
204 209	
Cl-t 114 117	Canda
Canaka 114, 117 Cand Bhardai (author) 361	00, 011
	Cándor 23 263 260
Cāṇḍāļadevi323, 330, 339, 347, 348	20, 200, 200
G 11-	Camedana (astallana)
Candalā 281-82	Cangadeva (astrologer) 368
Candanapūrī	Căngadeva inscription at Patan 405
Candanācārya (Jaina culture) 278	Cănje (place) 277
Canderi 372	Caste system 171, 172
Candra (Candragupta II) 135	Cāturmāsyesti 190
Candrabhabbā 246	Cavanarasa (Subordinate of
Candragupta (Maurya) 159	Mayuravarman) 307
Candragupta II (Vikramāditya) 110,	Caves-
122, 123, 124, 129,	Aihole caves 22
135, 167, 184	Ajanthā caves 18,
Candralekhā (Vidyādhara prin- 278,	19, 105, 116, 117, 120, 123, 125,
cess-Wife of Vikramāditya VI) 281,	128, 129, (Inscription) 130, 134,
323	135, 216
Candramandala 264	Badāmī caves 22
Candraprabha, 8th Tirthankara 14	Bāgh caves 106
Candrapūra 263,	Bhājā caves 17, 18
264, 269, 271	Dhārāśiva caves
Candrarāja (Silāhāra) 280	Elephanța cave 22, 28, 29
Candra Srī Sātakarni 99,	Jogi Āmbā caves
100	Kailāsa cave 22, 239
Candravarman (king) 376	Kondane cave 18
Candravalli Inscription 107	Kumbhārvāḍā cave 29
Candrāditya, son of Pulakeśin II 217,	Mānmoḍā caves 19 29
221, 222, 223, 290	Nāśik caves 19, 62,
C. I - It. (Atlat a.)	193, 194, 199
C1-11:	Pātālahuana aarras
O. 1. v. v. 1. 71	Piţalkhorā caves
0	Sidalanhadi osus
Co-1	Vísvakarmā cave at Ellorā 20
	Cāvuṇḍa II (Sinda) 349
Castana 94, 95, 96, 150, 154, 156, 158, 164	0- 1- 10- 10- 1- 1- 1- 1- 1- 1- 1- 1- 1- 1- 1- 1- 1-
Cattadeva (Kadamba king) 270	Cobvolut (in Country district) 297, 301
Cattayadeva (Şaşthadeva I) 272	Cebrolu (in Guntur district) 303
Cattiga Kadamba (Cālukya feuda-	Cedi Samvat (Kalacurī) 103
tory)	Chaharāta 144
Catuhsataka, a work 195	Chalcolithic Age 8, II
Caturvargacintāmaņi 374,	Chanda, R. P
405	Chandaka 25, 30
Caul 2, 4,	Chandogapavamānātirātra 185
179, 263, 265, 268, 273	Chandopavānmatirātra Sacrifice 81
Cākirāja 287	Chatarapana Sātakarņi (Vasisthī- 98
Cālisgānv 104	putra).
Calulana 60 000	Chattaraia 270

viii INDEX

C—contd.		C-contd.	
	PAGES		PAGES
Chattisgad	86, 118,	Dāhala	346
	270, 317,		151
01	, 369, 371	Dahrasena (son of Indradatta)	
Chemulya Choṭā Udaipur	263, 273 104		108, 186
Ciddaya (Dandanayaka)	321		396
Cikhalpadra	151	Daksamitrā, daughter of Nah	300
Cikka Bagevadi inscription		Debates 6to O-1	195
Cikkamburi	120		133
Cikmārā Cikodī plates by Avasara III	120	Dakeinänatha	3
Cikoqi piates by Avasata III	262, 263, 264		158, 159
Ciñcanî plates	268, 271	75.0 1 1	158, 159
(of Cāmmundarāja)	273		161, 162
Chadvaideva	268 , 269		162
Chattadeva (Kadamba king)	270	and the second s	160
Chinna Gajam inscription	99	Disco	160
Chinturaja (6:15 h ang)	271	D	108
Chittarāja (Silāhāra)	271, 272, 273		151 305, 309
Chittarāja (Deva)	307, 317	23.	161, 162
Chittuka (demon)	274	Dambal (in Dhārvār District)	
Cikkadeva	281	Dāmodara	
Cipļūņ	215,	Dămodarasena (Pravarasena II)	
	, 269, 275		113, 124
Cipļuņ copper-plate inscrip			. 399
Cincomilano	215 227-28	Dānavulapādu (in Kuddappa	
Ciprarulana Cirgāum	113	district)	205
Citod fort	140		3, 5
Citrakūţa,	243,	D la Dat -	141
fort 253	254, 288		196
Classical Age	26	Dantidurga (Rāṣṭrakūṭa found	
Coinage—	**		. 228-
Kşatrapa, 37; From Gupta the Silāhāra period, 37	10	29, 233-34, 235,	
Coins and Bullie—		238, 261-62, 265-66	
Punch-marked, 35; Tribal,	35 ;	Dantiga (Pallava ruler)	242
Sātavāhana, 36; Kura,			253
	ika,	Januvarman, anecator of Bun	004
Skanda, 36; Cutu and Ma	ha-	Dantivarman, another name	
rathi, 37; Kṣatrapa		Dantidurga	230, 401
Kṣaharāta, 37; Nahapā coins, 37	na s		229-
Colapuram	314		30, 287
Commos Indiopleustes	179	Daśakumāracarita	112,
Coomāraswāmy	2 2	Defenses (Gilder ford	131
Copper Age	8	Daśapaṇaman (Cālukya feud	011
Corayya (Nolamba)	295	5. 1. 1.	126,
Corporation of Mahāmātras	138		151, 187
Cousens	144	Daśaratha	213
Cults	34	D-4	81,
			185
D D	150 005		287
Dābhoļ	179, 387	· ·	302,
Dachinabdes (Dakṣiṇāpatha) Dādā (general)	050	Daśāvatāra, cave inscription	303
73 17 (-) (70 -1-1-)	0.47	Filora	of 204
Dadniei (Furanie)	, , 24	Fritors 11	, 204

INDEX ix

D-contd.			D-contd.	
	P	ACES		PAGES
Daśāvatāra (cave temple)		228		1, 327
Dattamitri (in Sindh)	• •	179.	Dhārāśiva (caves)	23, 30
,		196	Dharāśraya (Jayasimha Cālukya).	140,
Daulatābād		387	217, 22	1, 223
Daulatâbād fort		16	Dharāśraya Jayasimhavarman, son	210
		308		7, 224
Deccan Chalcolithic Culture	• •	8	Dharāśraya Jayasimha Varmarāja,	
Degamve Inscription		261,	[brother of Pulakesin II]	
		27 3	Dhārāvarṣa Dharma Dharmagupta	318
Dejjamahārāja, Rāstrakūta ch	nief	207	Dharma	82
Delhī		371,	Dharmagupta	18
	373,	374	Dharmagupta Dharmapāla, Pāla king 24	
Demetria (in Sindh)	• •	190		2, 243
Demetrius I		196	Dharmapuri (Dharmavolal or	004
Demetrius II	* *	63	Dambal)	324
Deo	• •	15	Dharmarakşita	191
Demetria (in Sindh) Demetrius I Demetrius II Deo Deopara inscription Deotek	• •	317	Dharmā river Dharmāditya (Silāditya I)	333
Deotek Deotek inscription	• •	121	TNL (III)	139 2 8 9
Deotek inscription	• •	115,	Dhamlanna (Manus)	140
Doogthan (Nasile District)		120 13	DI V.1	196
Deosthān (Nasik District)		303	Dhondegany	224
Desinga Deva, a Brāhmana Prime Minis	etar	303	Dhondegānv	224
4 =		119	Dhorappa (younger brother of	247
of Pravarasena I Deva (Hoysala) Warrior)		332	Kṛṣṇa III).	356
Devagad		387	Dhṛtarāṣṭra (feudatory)	105
Devagiri		2,	Dhruva (Răstrakūța)	236
Devagad Devagiri 356, 361,	362.		240-41, 247, 249, 25	
,,		386	Dhruva (Rāṣtrakūṭa)	62
Devagiri fort		16	Dhruva, son of Karka (of Gujarāt	
Devagupta		109	Branch).	
Devagupta (Candragupta II)		122	Dhruva II (Gujarāt Rāṣṭrakūṭa).	246
Devagupta of Magadha		110	22 (34)414 24114	249
Devala (Smṛti writer) Devala Smṛti		380	Dhruva (younger brother of	
Devala Smrti	383,	400		403
Devaladevi (Nolamba prince	ess).	304	Kṛṣṇa III)	212
Devaladevī, Cālukya princess		373	, 21	
Devapāla (Paramāra) Devarāja (Rāṣṭrakŭṭa)	• •	366	Dhulia Plates of Dhruva	40
Devarāja (Rāṣṭrakŭṭa)		132,	Dhumar Lena group	22
• •	133	, 134	Dhumar Leṇa group Dhyani Buddhas Diamabad	31
Devarasa		370		
Devasakti (Sendraka prince)	• •	222	38, 39, 40, 41,	
Devasena Vākāṭaka		112,	48, 49,	51, 5
		129	Didgur (in Karnāṭak)	238
		315	Dikshit	10
Dhādiyappā (Yādava)		356	**	17, 32
Dhalla (Assistant of Taila II)	**	295,	Dima the Greek king	63
297,	, 298,	, 299	Dimmagudi inscription	
Dhām river		125		78, 182
Dhamma (Greek)	• •	197	Dinnāga	183
Dhammadeva		196	Divākaramitra	111
Dhammiyara	• •	263	Divākarasena	110
Dhanakata	• •	65	_	13, 124 2
Dhanapāla (of Dhārā, author)	-	294	Divyāvadāna Dora (Dvārasamudra)	307
Dhanika (Vagod Branch	of	904		329
Paramāra).	••	294	Drakṣārāma inscription	3 8, 3 89
Dhārā	212	294		130 130
308, 309, 312,	Q10.	J14,	Dravyavardhana .,	+94

X INDEX

D-contd.		•		F	-
	r	AGES			PACES
Dṛdḥadharma monk		194	Family system		381-82
Dṛdhaprahāra (Yādava)		355,	Ferishta (Feristā)		318, 372
		356	Fleet, Dr.		109,
Dress		385	132,	204, 215	, 217, 223,
Dress and Ornaments	17	76-77			286, 287,
Dubreuil		133.		29	0, 307, 352
2007000	147	155	Food and Drink	••	176, 384
Dugdhamalla I		288	Foreigners in Indi	ia	195
Dugdhamalla II	••	288	Forts-	* *	
73	• •	288	Bageyür) - T	297
		288	Balevattana or B	•	
Durga	• •	322	Ballipattan	• •	307
Durlabha III (Cāhamāna)		322	Bigevādī (fort)	• •	307
Durlabhadevi of Batpura fam	*	OAR	Bījavādī Cakrakūta	* *	307
wife of Pulakesin I	• •	208		r r ro mini	248
Durvinita Ereyappor (Kong	uņi	205	Daulatābād, Dev Dvārasamudra	_	16
family)	• •	225	Dyarasaming	• •	307,
Dŭtaka	• •	142	Cuppologuadi	• •	335, 371
Dvārajā (Bhavānī)		13	Guņņalaguņdi Kāliāias	* *	341
Dvārakā		23,	Kālinjar Khalinghatta	• •	253, 254
128, 150,	179,	355	Khalinghaṭṭa	* *	255
Dvārasamudra (fort)		307,	Kiligila Nagarakote	• •	278, 281
	335,	, 371	Panhāļā (fort)	• •	318
Dvārāvatī		355		079 000	259,
Dvyāśraya		301	3600		281, 283,
			Parnnāļā (Panhāļ	20 a fame)	4, 307, 317
E		11125	Rajamācī		364
Early Historic period		10	Srīvardhana	• •	17
Early Kalacuris of Mahismati			Ucchangi	* *	359
Early Rainculis (il Mainspiret	• •	140	o commig.	• •	332, 341
Economic condition	3	86-91	INTO A	G	
Waladana		304		•	
Edenga	• •	209	Gadag	• •	11, 344
Education	40	02-04	Gadag inscription	of Vikr	amā-
Ekaşaştı-ratra-Satra		186	ditya VI, 296;	of Bal	lāla),
		228	(1191 and 1192	A.D.)	300,
Elāpura copper-plates		226			343
Elephaņţā		141.	Gadāyuddha (work	c)	287, 301
		259	Gādhipura (Kanau	i)	314
Elephanță caves		0.0	Codest -lead	• •	218, 223
		8, 29	Gadyāṇaka (coin)		388
Elephanņţā (Siva Temple)		144	Gajamitra (Ksatriya		170
Elliepür		234	Gajasena (Ksatriya)		170
Ellorā		14,	Gajavara, a Brāhm		
20, 21, 22, 26, 27, 2	8, 29	, 30,	Gotra	ania or deg	196
31, 32, 204,	228,	, 239	Galerius Roman E	Imperor	164
Ellorā plate		235	Ganapati (nephew o		
Ellora temple	• •	398	tīya).	or Rudra A	362,
Epigraphica Indica		383	-1 <i>y</i> 11/1	38	4, 369, 370
Eran (Saugar District)	• •	105,	Gaņapatināga	00	101
	118,	, 167	Gaņarāma (Brāhma		121
Eran Inscription	• •	106,		•	377
Title all the control of the control		286	Gaņdamartaņdādīty	a	254
Erakina	108,	167	Gandappayan	• •	310
Ereyanga (Hoysala)	• •	321	Gaṇḍarāditya		279,
Etagiri	• •	324	Candoniditus /sss	80, 281-83	307, 364
Etagiri Kampili		304	Gandaraditya (son	OI DECL	II) 284

INDEX xi

G—contd.	G—contd.
Pages	PAGES
Gandasamudra tank 282	262: Sīlāhāras of North
	Konkan, 266-67; Yadavas of
Ganesra mound	Devagiri, 358.
Ganeśra mound	
	Ghaisāsa Brāhmaṇa Family 284
	Ghārāpuri 141, 259
Gangamahādevī queen of Vikra- māditva I	Ghosundi 187
	Ghārāpurī . 141, 259 Ghosundi . 187 Ghaṭāka Kṣaharāta . 145 Ghaṭotkaca cave inscription . 119,
Gangapāti 312	Ghatotkaca cave inscription 119,
Gangarāja (minister of Vişnuvar-	
Grana Hoysaia)	Ghattadakere 3(14 Ghattiyarasa (Kadamba Mahā-
Ganga vajranasta v 517	Ghattiyarasa (Kadamba Mahā-
Gangavaqı 230,	sāmanta) 321
Gangaraja (minister or vişinuvardının dhana Hoysala) 328 Ganga Vajrahasta V 317 Gangavādi 238, 240, 242, 244, 246, 248 Gangā river 119,	
Ganga river 110,	Ghughusgadh 123 Girnå 8 Girnår 158
241, 249, 289, 304, 315	Gimā 8
Cangada Valler	Girnār 158
Gangādharan	Girnar Inscription of Rudrada-
Gangeyadeva (Kalacum) or 303,	man, 148, 157, (Record) 158;
Tripuri	(Record) (Prasasti), 198.
Ganguly, Dr	Gītā 374
114 11K 110 107	Glass and Glass objects 46, 47, 48,
Coffibries: 12, 110, 127	Goa 263, 283, 324
Gañjibhairav	Goā-a nun 193
Compared (foundations of Cole) 208	Goā copper plates 212,
Gannarasa (feudatory of Cols) 293,	215, 282
Condemnds imposintion 40%	Goa
Cardatriastra 195	Godavari river 2, 5, 8,
Canet Combite 87 90	15, 64, 128, 197, 299, 300,
Gardaunda inscription	
125, 128, 169, (Saptaiati), 187-83	Godăvarî-Pravară basins, Chal-
Gauri (princess of Kolāra) 382	colithic Culture 8
The state of the s	Godeśwara 26 Goggi 238 Goggirāja (Silāhāra) 268 Goggirājā (Bārappa's son) 301
Gautama	Goggi 238
Gautama Dharmasatra 377	Goggirāja (Silāhāra) 268
Gautamīputra Sātakarni 20,	
36-37, 60, 62, 65, 70, 73, 74,	eimha Captain or Mara-
90, 91, 92, 93, 94 95, 131,	Cobak 207
147, 148, 149, 150, 151, 153, 154,	Golconda 398
155, 171, 172, 173, 174, 175,	Gollanalla (place) 997
186, 188, 189, 196, 199	Gome 980
Gautamīputra Yajnaśri Sātakarni. 17	Gomateśvara 92 93
75, 92, 99, 176	Collapalle (place) Coma Condesvara Condopharnes (Wima Kadphises) 146 Condopharnes (Wima Kadphises) C
Gautamīputra Sivamagha 173	Gondeśvara Temple 12
Gautamīputra Vākāṭaka 110,	Gondopharnes (Wima Kadphises) 146
110 110 100	Gonka of the Kolhapur Branch 271,
Gautamīputra Vilivāyakura 93	280, 281, 307
19K 202	Gonkā II (Vedanādu chief) 329
Gavamayana Sattri 81, 82	Gopāla (king of Gādhipur) 314
C	Gopalachari 70, 72
Gayā	Goparāja, ally of Bhānugupta 106,
189, 243, 399	286
Genealogical tables—	Govardhana 4, 14,
	151, 179, 180, 187, 239
Cālukvas of Badamī, 231; Cālukyas of Kalvānī 291; K-la-	Govinda chieftain 212
	Govinda (Rāṣṭrakūṭa) . 133,
	136
Stlåhåras of Kolhäpür, 279; Stlåhåras of South Konkan,	Condada (Marraya)
	Govinda (Maurya) 140
Vf 3010-27	

G—contd.		H—contd.	
	PAGES	1	PAGES
Govinda I		Hāla (the author of Gāthā	
Govinda II (Elder Brother	of 038	Saptasati).	48,
Dhruva)		69, 75, 88, 89, 90, 150	198
		Hāla, a royal minister	174
Govinda III (Rástrakúta son	236.	Hanmā (Avvaladevi)	304.
Dhruva) 241, 242-45, 247, 250,		Italian (III Value ove)	307
266, 287 Prabhutay		Hammīramada-mardana (Sanskrit	365.
	4, 385, 404	drama). Hangal	366
Govinda IV (Rāṣṭrakūṭa)		Hangal 151, 333	3, 335
289, 377, 389, 394, 398,	200 404	Hangal (Inscription)	
Couladore (Conae)	907	270	0, 332
Govindara (Ganga)	200 320	Hanoy Hānuṅgal (Haṅgal) Harapāladeva (Yādava)	010
Govindacandra (Ghadavāla)	334	Hánungal (Hangal)	
Covindacandra (Gnadavaia)	405	Harapāladeva (Yādava)	374
Govinda Prabhu Govindarāja (Rāstrakūța)	227,	Harapharana, son of Setapharana.	198
Govindaraja (Rasirakuta)	228	Harappá Civilization Harihara Harihara inscription	8
		Harihara	371
Govindarāja (unknown pedigr	ree). ააი .a	Harihara inscription	340,
Govindavardhana Vişnukun	130	•	342
prince Govindavād i	130	Haripāladeva (Silāhāra)	275
Govindavādī	321	Harisāmba	105
Govindamha (younger sister	of and	Harisamba Harisena (Vākāṭaka king), son of	33,
Lakṣmī) Govuṇarasa	250	Devasena	105,
Govuņarasa	385	106, 108, 112, 113	, 128,
Greek script	148	129, 131, 13	2, 135
Grhavarman Grhya-Sütra ritual	139	Hariseņa's Prasasti	
Grhya-Sutra ritual	395	TTZ-14-0 000 00	A 279
Gühalladeva II (father of Şaş	tha- 271,	Hārīti Pañcašikha	202
deva)	273	Häriti	285
Guhesvaratīrtha at Elapura Guild organisation Gulvādā Gunacandra (Jaina Sage)	228	Häritfputra Kondamäna	173
Guild organisation	180, 389	Hariyamsa 11	4. 391
Gulvādā	. 130	Harivijava Pråkrtkavva	128.
Guṇacandra (Jaina Sage)	249,	,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,	
	372	Harni Harşa 203, 212, 213, 21	10
Gunadhya	58, 69, 89	Harşa	
Gunda (chief architect)	228	203, 212, 213, 21	
Gundamayya (Mallappa's son)		Harşa (king of Kāśmir)	281.
Gundam Rāuļ Gundur inscription Gundamayya (general)	405		323
Gundur inscription	293	Harşacarita 13	39 404
(Junqamayya (general)	308, 309	Harşavardhana	
o de a Maked		Harsavardhana 20	6, 213
Gunikā, a nun at Mahāḍ		Hastibhoja, minister of Devasena	123
Guṇṇalaguṇḍi (fort)		Hathiquennha Incordation	an
Gurjara Origin (of Calukyas)	30	62, 63	,66, 69
Gursab	200	Heliodorus	60, 62
Gutti (place)	320, , 349, 361	Hemacandra 27	5, 301
Grad t	000		7, 343,
Gūvāla I	281, 282	355, 358, 359, 36), 361,
Gůvāla II	222	365 , 367 , 369 , 3 9	9, 405
Gwālior	00	Herûru	344
Gyani	29		6, 216
Ħ		Himavat (mountain)	199
	242		30, 195
Hadadeyakuppa	342		2, 192
Haihaya	346	Hinavana Sect	
Hakusiri (Sātavāhana)	63		91-400
Hakusirī	79,	Hiralal, Rai Bahadur	
	80, 32	Hiranand Sastrī	142

	-1120	
Hcontd.		I-contd.
	PACES	Pages
Hiranyagarbha-Brahmā	202	
Hiranyagarbha-Mahadeva	of	Indradatta (Traikûţaka) 107, 108
	399	
Dantidurga Honvad	308	
Honvad Inscription	37 8	222000000000000000000000000000000000000
Honnur copper plates	223	Indravarman (of Batpura lineage) 141, 215
Hormuzd	164	
Hormuzd Hottalakere	304	
Hottur Inscription	30 2	
Hoysaladevi	., 308	Kanauj). Indukānti, wife of Pulakešin I 208
Hūli Inscription	327	
Hulegudi Inscription (Dece	mber	Indus 179 Indus valley civilization 8 Inscription of Abhīra Rājan
23, 1073 A.D.) Hulluni-tīrtha Huviṣka (Kuśāna)	320	indus valley civilization o
Hulluni-tīrtha	331, 332	
Huviska (Kušāna)	153 , 154 ,	Iśvarasena 101, 103
200	J, 100, 100	Inscriptions—
Hyderåbåd copper-plate ins	crip-	Adur Inscription 203 Aihole Inscription 3, 10,
Llaw	213	Ainoie inscription 3, 10,
tion Hyderābād	81,	136, 139, 140, 141, 207,
VV, 11	8, 304 , 31 0	(of Pulakeśin II) 208-21, 214
Hyderābād plates (of Cāl	ukya	Allahabad stone pillar Inscrip-
Pulakeśin II)	286	tion of Samudragupta . 102,
1	603555	113, 115, 166 (record)
Ibn Batuta	386, 387	Amaravati Inscriptions 65,
Ibn Khurdadba	375, 386	95, 116, 117, 173
Iconography-	(EMRO)	Andhos Inscriptions 156
Brahmanie	28, 29	Anamkonda Inscription 339,
Buddhist	30,	341
	31, 32, 33	Arthuna Inscription 294 Asoka's Inscriptions 71, 72
7 datement & de	1.0	Asoka's Inscriptions 71, 72
Idaituraīnādu		Ayyapadeva of Begür Inscrip-
Ikaşarakî	108	tion 290
Iltumush	100	Badami cave Inscription of
Indhyadri range		Kirtivarman I
Indian Archaeology Review		Badāmī Inscription 207,
Indian Ocean	215	
Indore	104,	(of Narasimhavarman)
Indeed comments must	114, 115	Bāhal Inscription 380
Indore copperplate grant	4 4 4	
Pravarasena II	115	Begur Inscription
Indra	., 82	
Indra (god)	202	311, 315, 316, 317,
Indra (Rāṣṭrakūṭa)	133, 136,	320, 321, 340
	207 , 37 3	Belür inscription of Jayasimha. 382
Indra I (Rāst)	234	Bendegiri Inscription 384
Indra, son of Dhruva	241,	Besnagar Inscription 60,
	244	62, 99
Indra III	245,	Bettegiri Inscription 377
250-251 , 254		Bhattiprolu Inscription 66
198 -	382 , 399	Bhīmāvaram Inscription 329
Indra, son of Kṛṣṇa III	254	Candravalli Inscription 107
Indra IV (grandson of Krsna		Cangadeva Inscription at
29	3, 295, 402	Patan 405
Indra, poet	278	Cikka Bagevadi Inscription. 384
Indra Prechakaraja	234	Chinna Gajam Inscription 99
	324	Dasavatāra cave Inscription of
Itagi (Bellärv Dist.)	324	Ellorà 204
Ittagi (Hyderābād State)	385, 404	Degamve Inscription 261,
Itsing	100	273
Indradeva (a monk)	193	

XXV INDEX

I-contd	I—contd.
PAGE5	PAGE
radea	Inscriptions—
Inscriptions-	(M. Pillar Inscription) 207,
Deopara Inscription	208, 209, 210, 211
Deotek Inscription . 115. 120	\falur Inscription 283, 294
Dinmagudi inscription	\fanagoli Inscription 361,
Dinmagudi Inscription	Malur Inscription 293, 294 Managoli Inscription 381, 395, 397 Mandasore Inscription 126,
Gadag inscription of Vikrama-	Mandasore Inscription 126, 380, 529
ditya VI, 296, 303 of Ballala)	
(1191 and 1192 A. D.) 343	Manimangalam Inscription 310, 311, 314, 318
	Malamanti Dillan Incortation 135
Gardaunda Inscription 405	Melagani Inscription 293 Miraj Inscription 389 Mulgunda Inscription 297 Nagai Inscription 308, 312, 317 Nandsa Yupa Inscription 162
Ghatotkaca Cave Inscription 119,	Mirai Inscription 389
129	Mulgunda Inscription 297
Girnar Inscription of Rudra-	Nagai Inscription 308,
dāman, (Praśasti) 148.	312, 317
157 (Record), 158 (Record). 198	Nandsa Yupa Inscription 162
Gundur Inscription 293	Năneghăța Inscription (Record) 60,
Hangal Inscription 270,	62, 70, 73, 76, 77, 79,
332	80, 81, 82, 83, 181
Harihara Inscription 340,	Narasalgi Inscription 292
342	Narasalgi Inscription 292 Narendra Inscription 271
Hathigumpha Inscription 60,	
62. 63, 66, 69	272, 273, 274
Honyad Inscription 378	272, 273, 274 Nāšik Inscription 177
Hottur Inscription 302	Nasik Cave Inscription 101
Honvad Inscription	103, 107, 122, 171, 389
Hulegudi Inscription (Decem-	Nasik Inscription of Krana
her 23, 1073 A. D.) 320	Sātavāhana 18
Inscription of Abhīra Rājan 101,	63, 65, 70, 76, 93, 95, 99
Īśvarasena 103	Nasik Inscription of Nahapana. 148
Itagi (Stone) Inscription 224	Nasik Inscription of Cautami-
Jainad Inscription . 318.	putra Satakarņi 153
327	Pattadakal Inscription 226
Junagad Inscription (Record). 157	227, 229, 290
Junnar Inscription 18,194 Kalas Inscription 377	Perumer Inscription 326
Kalyan Inscription of Voto	Perumer Inscription 326 Pitalkhora Inscription 174
Kalyān Inscription of Yaso- varman	Pithăpuram Inscription
Kāñeipuram Inscription of	
Vikramaditya II 205	Rewah Inscription 316 Rodda Inscription 30
Känheri Inscription (Records). 18.	Sahat-Maheth Inscription (1118
66, 90, 94, 95, 99, 267	A. D.) 314
(of Pullaśakti) 384, 388, 390	Šilāhāra Inscription I.
Kanasva Inscription 140	Sogal Inscription 292
Kārjol Inscription 292	297, 298, 301
Kārlā Inscription 18	Sundekola Inscription 29
Kārlī Inscription 95,	Srāvana Belgolā Epitaph 293
174, 194, 196	294, (Records) 295, 33
Karavur Inscription 312.	Súdi Inscription
313, 317	Talwada Inscription 32 Thana Inscription 27
Kolhapur Inscription 283.	
Komus Incodution 249	Tr. S II Turantaklası 21'
Korvar Inscription 342	Tiruvanam inscription
Kudā Inscription 174, 192, 195	Vîra Rajendra) 31
Kulanur Incorintian 206	Torkhede Inscription 318
Kuragoda Inscription 342	Tuppad Kurahatti Inscription 37
Mahākūṭa Inscription 138	(of Kṛṣṇa III) 378

i-contd.	∫~contd.
Pages	PAGES
Inscriptions—	Jakavvā (Rāṣṭrakuṭa princess
Udri Inscription 332	married to Taila II) 256
Ulchâla Inscription 225	married to Taila II) 256 Jalaluddin Khilji 372
Vadavalī Inscription (of Aparā-	Jalgānv 29
ditya I) 274 Vasai Inscription 275	Jambur 349 Jananātha (of Dhārā) 313,
Vemulavada Inscription 206,	314
288, 289	Jananātham 318
Yali-Sirūr Inscription 350	Janjira (copper-plate grant) 269,
Yevūr Inscription 201 Irechchayan 313 Irila (Greek layman) 197	278
Irechchayan 313	Jātakas 33
Irila (Greek layman) 197	Jatakas 33 Jātakamālā 31
Iriva-Nolambādhirāja 302	Jațăvarman Sundara Pāṇḍya 369
Irugayan (husband of Nagalai) 312	
Irukudi (village) 282	Jatiga II 280, 281
Isāmi 373	Jattunga (Silāhāra)
lsāpur 332	Jatukarnya Smrti
Istarāma 530	Jaya 182
lévaradatta 159, 160 lévara Ghalisasa 395	Jayabala 128
Navara Chalisasa 395	Jayadaman (son of Castana) 95,
Isvarakrapa	96, 148, 150, 156, 157 Jayagad 387
Isvarasena Abhīra Rājan, son of	Jayagaq 387
Sivadatta 101,	Jayakarna (Câlukya-sou of Can-
102, 103, 107, 122	dralekhā) 323,
Itagi (Belläry Dist.) 324	Jayakeśin, Kadamba king 261
The state of the s	Jayakesin II (king of Goā) 273, 274, 282, 283, 320, 324,
	330, 333
Ittagi (Hyderabad State) 324	
Jabalpûr 85,	Tavantinura 241
86, 137	343, 360
Jagaddeva (Paramāra) 318,	343, 360 Jayapurā 107 Jayarāja 133 Jayaśakti, son of Allaśakti 222
327, 328	Jayarāja 133
Jagadekabhūṣaṇa (Nāga) 318	Jayaśakti, son of Allaśakti 222
Jagadekamalla II (Calukya 334,	Jayasimha Cālukya I 133,
Kalyānī) 335-38,	136, 201. 207, 208
339	Jayasimha II (Kalyāņī Cālukya) 201,
Jagadekamalla (brother of Taila	265, 270, 285,
III) 341, 348	303-308, 310, 313, 319, 392
Jagadevarasa 350	Jayasimha Dharāśraya (Younger
Jagattunga (son of Kṛṣṇa II and 250,	brother of Pulakesin II) 261
brother of Kṛṣṇa III) 252	Jayasimha (brother of Some-
Jahlapa 369	śvara I) 311,
Jaiminiya Upanişad 4	315, 320
Jainad inscription 318,	Jayasimha of Kāśmīr 274
327	Jayasimha (Paramara Bhoja's 309,
Jainiam 392,	son) 312, 321, 322
399, 402	Jayasimha (Younger brother of 324,
Jaipūr 152, 161	Vikramāditya VI) 325
Jaitrapāla (Bhillama's general) 361	Jayasimharāja (Cālukya) 216
Jaitrasimha 344	Jayasimhavallabha (Calukya) 285
Jaitugi (Yādava) 344,	Jayāśraya Mangalarasa 221,
362, 368	224, 225
tallata 177 ger	Jayaswal 73,
THE 1.1 . A. 15 . P. MILE . THE	110, 113, 114, 115,
jarabbe (wife of Talia II) 290	118, 119, 147

xvi index

I-cen	td.		K-contd.	
J 500		GES	PAGE	
Jayavardhana		397	Kailāsa 37	-
Jayavarman (Paramar		336,	Kailāsa Cave 22, 23	
Jayavaninan (Laranan	_,	337		35
Jejurī plates		214		16
Jemarasa (General)		309		77
Jhañjha	-	268	Kakkala (Rāṣṭrakūṭa) 26	
Jhansi	243,	250	289 (Karka II), 292, (Raņakambh	
Ihodgā				93
Jimutaketu		260		92
Jimutavāhana		260,	Kakkula 30	67 20
J		278	Kakuchandā (Buddha)17,	
Jinacandra Muni (Gu	ru of Taila		17 1 - T	04 18
11)		301		00
Jinamandana (author)		327	** 1	09
Jinaprabhasuri		72		46
Jinasena (Jaina autho		247,	Kalañjara	
,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,	202		Kalarasa 3	49
Jinendra Temple		287	** 1	04
Jivadaman		99.		77
J2 *	159,	160	Kalas inscription 3	06
Jizia Tax			Kaldum (amakim)	03
Jizia Tax Jñānaprabodha		405		10
Jnanaprabodna	374,		Kalhana 281-8	
]ñāneśvari				
Jogama (Kalacurya)		347	020, 010, 0	
Ingamarasa (M		TUU	12-1: 1-	23
Jogamarasa (M. śvara)		323		33,
Jogathembi Hoard		37,	107, 123, 124, 125, 12	
jogathemoi iloaid	91, 92,		arrivale and all arrivals	81
Jogai Āriibā Caves		22	Kālidāsa (Brāhmaņa Sangrāma Kanthisara)	07
		73	Kālideva 3	07
Joglekar S. A.		8,	Kalideva	50
Jorve	40, 41		0. 1	93 94
Jorve-Nevāsā Culture		8	rememberation	-
Joshi		8	22 - 1: 1 11 - 1 /32 - 1 \ O	58
Jovian year		134	Kaliyaballala (radava) 3 Kalpi 2	50
Jubblepore		367,	Kālpī 2. Kālūru 317, 3	
Juonichore	240			38
Junăgad Inscription		157		
* * * *		10	Kalyāņ 2, 11, 14, 91, 178, 17	
lummum.		4,	192, 272, 3	
	0, 29, 30, 33,		Kulutu Caula	2
	153, 179, 188,			05
Junnar Inscription			man	V
Lunckha Walaka		330	Kolvást	01
Jyeşina Kalasa .	• • •	000	202 (branch), 304 (Capit	
K			of Calukyas), 308, 31	
Kāca I .		105	323, 324, 325, 330, 34	
Kāca II		105	342-44, 348, 351, 352, 36	
Kaccega (Rástrakūța)		290	361, 362, 4	
Kacch plates of Man		261		42
Kadab plates		382		160
(of (Govinda III)	384,		04
,		404	Kamasutra 88, 1	
Kadambagiri .		209		01
Kādambari		404		Ю0 ОТ
Kadvāhā		265		99
Kahaum (Gorakhpür		185		01
	•••	-		

INDEX XVII

	K-contd.		K-con	td.
		PAGES		PAGES
Kampili		310, 320	Kārlā Inscription	19
Kamraj	• •	108	Kārle	175, 179
Kānākhedā		105, 118	Kārlī	71,
Kańci			150, 18	8, 191, 192, 193
Vattet	218, 220, 226		·	194 (cave), 197
	240, 242, 244		Karli inscriptions	95,
	210, 212, 211	2, 314, 364	•	174, 194, 196
Kāńcipuram		000	Kārşāpaņa	82,
	inscription of V		178.	181, (Sitre), 182,
māditya II	mscription or v	OOF	• • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • •	187, 193, 194
Vandania		014	Kārtavīrya-Arjuna	23
Kandalganv Kandal	• •	7.0	Kartikova	82
Kandaiganv		314	Kāruegrāma	226
Kandai Kane, Dr. P.	v		Karād	301
Kanheri		18-21,	Wareh & d	2, 15,
Admicii	OK 21 27	, 108, 140,		13-44, 46, 48, 52,
	170, 179, 191			08, 163, 179, 197,
			228 279	9, 280, 301, 318,
Kanhari Inna		3, 400, 404	220, 21	323, 363
ABIMCH IMSCI	ription (records)	18, 94, 95, 99,	Karahād plates of Kṛṣ	
	267 (of Pulla		Karahata	070
	and for Little	38 8 , 390		4, 316, 318, 33 9
Känheri plate		137	Karahâţaka	4, 010, 010, 000
Kāṇṭhadurga	* *	301	4 110 110000 110000	179, 197
Kanyalashia		220	Carahāṭanagara	
Kanaéva Inco	ription	140	Caramdanda	188
Kanauj	прион	139,	Karādikaļ	320
reamen)	241, 243, 244		Karjat	
		, 314, 371	Varies I	234
Kandara (Kal		350	Karkka II (Gujarat I	
Kana (a plac	acurya)	179	244 24	6, 255, 256, 257,
Kankadaya /I	e) Paramāra)	294	264 28	39, 292, 294, 295
Kaniska	· ·	87,	Karka Pātālamalia	245
Varnáka	• •	90, 155	Karkaroni	265
Kanthales the	horro	25, 30	Karna (Kalacuri king)	309,
	e horse	0.45	31	10, 315, 330, 350
Kannamadana	(Kalacurya)	347	Karna (Câlukya)	321, 330
Kannegal Kannegal	(Kalacutya)	346	Karna (father of Bhill	ama V) 358
Kantakācāma	(founder of	328		
	amily of Goā)		Karpasundari (work of	
Kanyākumārī	ummy or God)	0	Karnool	
Kana Sätakar	ni	73	Karnool (district plates	
Kanhabenna	40	69	Karusā	22, 23
	(Rāstrakūta K		Karavūr Inscription	312,
III)	(resistania s	292,	Santa di Miscribuoti	313, 317
/	• •	298	Karve, Dr	A
Kanva-Telum	Grammarian	65	Kāsāre plates	222
	ounder of Silal		Kāsārī river	282
of North K		., 261,	Kāśi	189,
or Horar K	vanay)	266, 267		3, 315, 346, 367
Vapordi- 11	Marchy Vone		Kāśikā, a commentary	
	(Laghu Kapa	050	dhyāyā	102
Kārā-Māņikpū Kārdamaka		194	Kāśmir	274, 381
	Khetähära or K		Kasapayya Nāyaka	
	•		of Bojjab II),	349, 350
Kārjol Inscrip		10	Kasu (coin)	200
Kārlā	90	25, 26, 27,	Kāthiāvād	151
	40,	30, 31	Kātyāyana	396
		<i>50</i> , 01		500

XVIII INDEX

K-contd.		K-contd.	
	PAGES		PAGES
Zatuara	289	Kharosthi script Khāravela	146, 147
Katamallasetti (warrior)	349	Kharavela	60, 62,
Kutare Dr. 79	. 84. 85	63, 66, 70,	78, 80, 81
Kātyera Katamallaseţţi (warrior) Katare, Dr	72	Khāravela 63, 66, 70, Khārepāṭan 263	259,
		263	, 265, 398
man 1 20	05, 209	Knarchaian braces	,
Katturu epigraph	349	269, 273,	, 292, 387
Kaundinyapura	4, 23	(of A	nantadeva)
Kausāmbi	. 77, 93	Khed	372
Kausikiputra Sri Nägadatta	173	Khedaditya (god) of Brahmar	ouri 282
Kauthem plates	201,	Khidrapur 26, 28	10, 11,
man 1	204		
Kautilya 3, Kautsiputra Pothasiri Kavana Kaveri river 220, 297, 299, 3	44, 378	Kholeśvara (Brāhmaņa genera	l of
Kautsiputra Pothasiri	. 173	Singhana) 365 Khonamukha	367, 36 8
Kāvaņa	. 342	Khonamukha	330
Kåveri river	. 214,	Khottiga, brother of Kṛṣṇa	
220, 297, 299, 3	301, 368	204	254, 255,
Kavadīdvīpa 273, 2	. 271,		(Nityavarsa
273, 2	14, 218	Khuśrů II of Persia Kilhorn, Dr. 125, 204,	noghavarșa)
Kavirājamārga (a work of Amo		Knusru II of Persia	200, 210
ghavarsa I).	. 247	Kilhorn, Dr.	109,
ghavarşa İ)	135	125, 204,	210, 207,
Kāzad	. 108	Villada fast	300, 404
Kelhana of Naddula (Cāhamās	a	Kingha fort	270, 201
king).	. 360	Kirāt (villaga)	004
Kendur copper-plates .	. 229	Kirti Kanandi	285 388
king). Kendur copper-plates Kerivakāsive (agrahāra) Keryakāsive	. 341	Kirtiraca	350
Keryakāsive	. 349	Kirtiraja (Kirtivarman I)	205
Kesaribeda (Kolaput district) .	. 209	Kirtirâja (Silāhāra)	280-81
Keśava · ·	. 186,	Kiligila fort Kiraņapura Kirāţ (village) Kirti Kaumudī Kirtiraṣa Kirtirāja (Kirtivarman I) Kirtirāja (Silāhāra)	301
189, 204 (name of I	Lesiraja),	Kirtivarman I (Cālukya)	140.
204 (name of	Bijjala).	141, 201, 203	
Keśava (assistant of Taila II)	. 300	209-10	, 212, 286
Kesava Dandanāyaka		Kirtivarman II (Badami)	201,
Keśavadāsa (Singhana's genera	1) 363	204, 228-29, 233	3, 236, 238,
Keśava, Gavunda general .	. 204	286	, 287, 290
NCSAVA KIVA	, ,	Kirtivarman III	290
Keśavaraja (Madhuva's son).	. 297	Kirtivarman III Kirtivarman (Cundella) Kirtivarmarasa Koccuraka	315
Keśavarāja Keśideva I (Silāhūra) Keśideva II (Silāhūra)	. 303	Kirtivarmarasa	204
Keśideva I (Silāhāra)	. 270	Koccuraka	222
Keśideva II (Silāhāra)	. 276	Koceram copper-plate inscrip	otion 221
Kesimayya (name of Bijjala)	. 336	Kocrem grant	222
Kesirāja (name of Bijjala), 204	;		
(name of Kesi Gavunda) 204		Kogaļi	
(Cālukya general) 336; 337		Kogali Record	298
Kesirāja (Canarese poet).	. 247	Kokkala (Cedi ruler)	250
	308, 323	Kolhāpūr 15-17, 29, 3	2, 4,
	3 313	10-11, 29, 3 AR AR AO	52, 54-56,
	010	93, 127, 133, 191	
_	73, 97	270, 275, 278, 280	
Khada Sătakarņi	200	305, 307, 31	
***	DAY	Kolhāpūr plates	280
	203	Kolhāpūr Inscription	283,
721 . 1	. 179		389
721 1 /. 3	. 173	Kolhāpūr Record	389
Khanda-caliki-Renimanaka	207	Kollipara piates	288

INDEX XIX

K-	contd.				K-cont	d.		
		P	AGES				P.	ACES
Kolleru lake			214	Krspā River				2,
Kollipakkai	• •	304,	310	• • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • •	, 64, 69, 8	1, 197.		
Kondane			20,	-, -	304, 306			
	2	5, 26	, 30		,	319.	325,	381
Kondane caves	• •	• •	18	Kṛṣṇā-Malapı	rabhá line			362,
Kondapur			38,	-444-			• •	363
	50.	154,	•	Kṛṣṇā Godāv	ort Delta	Dook		64,
Kondapur Excavat			84	Tille Occar	an Dena	DOLD	• •	66
Kondivte	• •	• •	19	Kṛṣṇā-Venṇṇ	ā		AF	, 226
Kootwad			281	Kṛṣṇā-Veṇṇā			00	, 220 2
Koppam			311.	Kṛṣṇeśvara		•	• •	254
roppum		313,		Kṛtayuga	-			
Kopparam copper			-7-		• •			125
tion copper			212	Kşaharâta	• •		20	
Koppeśvara Temp	le.	10		Kşatrapa	• •		• •	143
Kobbesage Jemb	10	26,		Ksemendra	• •		• •	135
Varian imministra			342	Kşullakapura	• •		4.4	278
Korvar inscription		• •	226	Kubera			• •	89
Koregány		• •		Kubha Sātal	karņi		• •	73
Kosikiputra Sataka	armi	• •	60	Kubiraka			• •	66
Kotur (in Karnata	ik)		238	Kubja-Vispu	vardhana			203
Koțțarăja (Abhira)			103	ON THE				215
Kotta	• •	• •	103	Kucharāja	• •			370
Krishna, Dr.			133	Kucchita (a	village)			279
Krspa (God)	• •	• •	21,	Kuḍā (a vil	lage)			20,
	102, 128,			125.07		169,	176,	192
	204,	205,		Kudā inscrip	otion		••	174
Kṛṣṇa			2, 67	6.0				. 195
Kṛṣṇa (second Sā	tavāhana)		63,	Kudāl				211
65, 75	, 76, 78, 79,	184,	191	Kudālasanga				313
Krsna I (Rástraki	ita)		133,					, 315
13	36, 207, 23	0, 23	7-39,	Kulenur inse	cription			306
	32, 263, 383			Kulottunga		Rāj	ine	001
Kṛṣṇa II			248	Rajendra).		, tal		322
	268, 290,	356,	377,	tusjenura/i	• •	208	329,	
			392	Kulottunga (Colo I	320		329
Kṛṣṇa III (Rāṣṭra	kúta)		230	Kulpak				304
	248, 253-54,		257,	Kulpak	• •		• •	
	, 268, 280,			V. l. i. i.				310
	293,			Kulyāvāpa			• •	178
	(Vanagajam			Kumāra	* *		• •	82
		404,	405	Kumaras (Ti				296
Kṛṣṇa (of Gujar			249	Kumaradatta				141
Rastrakūta)			2-0	Kumāra-Bhā	ya		7	9, 80
Kṛṣṇa (Kalacuri)	• •	• •	346	Kumāragupt	a I			111
Kṛṣṇa (Yādava k	ing)		277,					189
widne (recens w	368, 369,	381		Kumāra Ha	akuśiri			78
Kṛṣṇadāsa	000 ₅ 000 ₁		105	Kumārapāla				275
	• •	267	276	-	27	76, 286,	337,	338
Kṛṣṇagiri	• •		4	Kumārapālas				275
Kranagiri Hill	strakijta)	• •	289,	•				327
Kṛṣṇarāja III (Rā	straknia)	• •		Kumārapāla-	nrahandha			327
			290	Kumārila	Linnaming		• •	393
Kṛṣṇarāja (Kalacu		100	109,	Vintility	* *		• •	404
122	2, 131, 132,		138,	Part Lt.				
		140,	388	Kumbhi rive			• •	289
Kṛṣṇarāja (Parami			250	Kumāra Sāi	uvanana		• • •	77
Kranavarman (Kad	damba)	•••	184,	T. 411 - 400	.1		9	2, 83
_	186,	392,	402	Kumbha Sa			• •	60
Kranavani River			344	Kumbhārvād	ia cave			26

XX INDEX

K concld.				L-contd.			
		P	ACES			P.	AGE8
Kumkumadevi			225	Lätür			234
Kumkumamahādevī			225	Lavaņaprasāda	(Bhima's r	ninister)	365,
Kunāla lake	• •					366,	
Kundaladevî, queen	of Vajjada	11	270	Lembulapātaka			288
Kundakadevi, grand				Lemulvåd (in			238
Mugdhatunga			25 0	Levallois flake			В
Kundamayan .			311	Liaka Kusúlak	a Kṣaharāta		144
Kundi village			211	Lilācaritra	•		405
Kundin (Kundirāja)			3 03,	Liládevi			308
•			306	Lilávaī, a Prā	kṛt work	89	90
Kuṇḍina			4	Līlāvati (daug			1
Kundirāja (Satyāśray	/a's son)		303	Ceylon)			90
Kundivātaka village	:		211	Limyrike (Por	t)		179
Kundivātaka village Kuntala Svātikarņa Kuntalešvaradautya		8	7, 88	Limyrike (Por Lingāyata sect			402
Kuntaleśvaradautya			135	Literature		40	4-06
Vania varia	• •		281	Lohagad			17
Kupikā, a village	•		104	Lohaner plates		• •	214
Kuragoda inscription	1		342	Lokamahadevi,		Vikra-	
			121	māditya II			228
Kurundaka, a sacre			250	Lokaprakāśā, d	laughter of	Bhima-	
	of Supre	me	C	sena		• •	126
Yoga)	• •		319	Lokāmbikā (R			289
	• •	• •	144	Lokeśvarabhat	țăraka Tem	iple	228
Küram plates of	Paramesva	ra-	100	Lokkiguņģi	• •	***	296,
varman I	• •		218	00/10/10		301, 344,	
	• •		306	Lokkundi		4.0	296
Kūḍal	• •		314	Lona		• •	275
	_		-7/8/	Lonād	• •	275,	276
	L		-3.85	LEGIL			
Lacur	• •		372	100046	M		
Laghu Āśvalāyana	Smṛti		383	Madavalli			342
Laghu Kapardin			263	Māḍharīputra			37
Laghu Sătătapa Sr	nŗti		397,	Mādhariputra	Iśvarasena		103,
_			399				173
Laghuvişņu Smrti			380	Māḍhariputra	Sakasena		66,
Lekhāpaddhati		• •	366				173
Laksmana (brother	of Rāma)		369	Mädhariputra	Viranunisa	datta	196
Laksmana (Cedi k	ing)		256	Mädhava (ally	of Taila	II)	300
Laksmaņarāja (Kal	acuri of 7	[ri-	290,	Mādhavavarma	n I (Visnu	kundin).	122
puri).	• •	29 2	2, 293	.VIIIIIII VA VARIA	(· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·	130	, 132
Lakşmanesvara	• •	• •	289	Mādhavasena		• •	83
Laksminikā, wife	of Nada	ka-	174	Madhu-Kāmār	nava li A		•
torika				varmadeva).		211111111	338
Laksmī, daughter o	f Sankaraga	aņa	250	Madhumati (A	rah fandat		268
Lakşmideva II (Ra	aţţa)		364	Madhuva			297
Lakşmidevi	• •		l, 323	Madnuva	* *	308	, 317
Lakşmīdhara (son		ırā-			(Kalaa	urya)	351
cărya, court-poet			362) f = 11	(Kaiac	•	313
Lakşmivarman (Par	amāra)	• •	337	Madhuvanam	(Housele	wardorl	339
Lakulīśa, founder	of Pasup	ata		Madhuvarman		waiii0i/	190
sect		• •	142	Mădhyamika	PCHOOL	• •	195
Lal, Dr.		• •	8	1473	/1.4	. Volem	38
Lalla	• •	• •	404		(king of	POTEIN	JOZ
Lambodara		• •	85, 86	family).	A- 0-3		121
Lāñjīśvara	• • `	• •	210	Mahābhairava	, the God		3
Leńkā	• •	• •	261,	Mahābhārata	97 100	122, 182,	
	•• • • •		271		21, 102,	186, 199	100
Lattatūra (Lātūr)			234	* *		100, 100	, 200

M-contd.			M-contd.
4 4	P	ACES	Pages
Mahābhāşya (of Patañjalī)		102.	Mahīpāla Pratīhāra Emperor 250,
nambialy a (of I acatifati)		330	251, 289
Mahād		20,	Māhişmatī 23,
		194	106, 131, 132, 136, 137,
Mahādeva, brother of Kṛṣṇa			140, 346
dava		277,	Mahiṣāsuramardinī 21, 30
369, 370			Mahmūd of Ghaznī 314,
Mahādeva Hills	,,	132	318
Mahādeva Temple		12	Mahobā 251
Mahāhakuśirī		3, 82	Māhurjarī 10
Mahâkâla (Bhima's general)		249	Mailadevi or Mailaladevi (Wife
Mahakirti (author)		279	of Someśwara I) 308.
Mahākśatrapa	• •	143	(Wife of Someśvara II) 320
Mahakuta		211	Mailaladevi (wife of Jayakeśin II
Mahākuţa inscription		138	Kadamba) 324
(M. Pillar inscription		208,	Mailapayya, minister of Gandarā-
	, 210,		ditya 282
Mahālakşmī of Kolhi		278,	Mailarāya 340
(Goddess) 281, 283, 2		lindu	Mailugi (Kalacuri Bijjala's
Go	ddess)	_	brother) 339,
Mahālakşmī Temple	1	3, 29	348, 350
Mahalige		336	Mailugideva 353
Mahāmayūrī a Buddhist Text	2	5, 30	Maitreya, 8th Buddha 17, 31
Mahānadī		236,	Maitreyanatha, founder of Yoga-
		133	căra school 195
Mahānubhāva sect		405	Majumdar R. C 14, 104,
Mahārāja Tipparasu (Mahāde	va's	SIN	111, 112
general)		370	Malabār 3
Mahārāṣṭra		/100 O 1	Malaprabhā river 361
Adult a series with all a	• •	3	Målavikā 123
		198	Mālavikāgnimitra 83,
Maharathi Tranakayira (father Naganikā).		79	123
1 × 1 × 1	* *	189	Malayavatidevi 324
3.4.1. * 41	• •	317	Malik Ahmad Jhitam 373
34-14-	* *	3,	Malik Kāfur 373, 374
	218,		Mālikā 324
Mahāvīra 2	3, 30,		Målkhed 244
Mahaviracarya (Jaina auth		247	252, 255, 256, (Sack) 386
Mahayana	••	30,	Malla (general of Kṛṣṇa Yādava) 277 Mallakarṇi 75
31, 183,			Mallama (of Vanta)
			M-II
Mahāyāna Sect	100	401	000 000
Mahendra King Mahendragiri of Piştapura	120,	121	3 # 32
Mahendragari or Fistapura Mahendravarman I (Pall	4 4	121	Mallappaya (father of Atti- 295 yabbe).
1-1A	214,	919	Mallafatti (mmantan)
Mahendravarman II	_	220	Mallanamadari 004
Mahaduana	• •	23,	Mollidaya Cala 200 041
	106,		Mallikariuma (Calulana) 220
Maheśvar-Nāgada Chalcoli	_	8	(W-11-)
Culture Charcon	ناللب	U	(6:1=1,=) noo
Måhi river	213,	228	14-11/1 x 2
Mahidhara (Dādā's son)		35 8	070
Māhim	* *	372	Mallikārjuna Kadamba (Mayura-
Mahimbhatta	• •	405	and the second s
Mahipala (Kacchapaghāṭa Kin	σ)	315	Mallilandone (Valerone) OFO
Mahipala I	8/	316	Mallania (Drama's Landon) 000
TOTAL PORT OF THE PROPERTY OF		U40	Manuseth (picahas promet) 309

XXII

M—contd.			Mcontd.
W. Wille.	PAGE	uh.	PAGES
A.C. William	0.0		Mangaliveda 347, 351, 352
		n 1	Mangalvede 347,
Mallugideva (Bijjala's brother) .	. 35	0. 30	359
(1.20.1.0.0-)	-		Mangi (general of Nolambas) 248
Malur inscription	293. 29	4	Manigavelli (Brahmadeya village). 395
Mālvan	. 38	37	Māṇikyanandin (Jaina author) 392
Mālvaņ Mamgavalli Mārivani (Silāhāra)	. 38		Manimangala 218
Mariyani (Silahara)	. 27	Z. ·	Maimiangalam
Manifecture (Gramman)	32	25	Manimangalam inscription 310,
Mån (town)	96, 1	54	311, 314, 318
Māna (Saka king) (Mahāsenāpatī)	101, 1	17	Mankha, author of Srikantha-
Mana, the third son of Dev	a-		carita
raia.	13		
Managoli	39	97	Mannaikkadagam 304
(Incorintian)	381.39	95	Mannara 310
Maṇalūr	. 3	26	Mannaikkadagam 304 Mannandippai 310 Mannara 298 Manne (Mānyapura) 238 Mānor 224, 261
Mānamātra	. 13	33	Manne (Manyapura) 238
Mananka, founder of Rașțr		0.	Mānor 224, 261
		7,	Manor plates (of Vinayaditya 203
129, 132, 133,	134, 13	35	and Jayasraya Mangalarasa) 221,
		27.	Manţalaka 68 Manţaraja of Kurāļa 121 Mantravâdi (în Dharvar District) 398
132, 133, 134,	136, 2	24	Mantalaka 88
Mānāvaloka Ratnavarşa (nephe		1004	Mantarāja of Kurāļa 121 Mantravādi (in Dhārvār District) 398
of Krsna I)	2	38	
4 1 7 1	2	18	Manu, the son of Brahma 174,
	2	85	188, 189, 202, 377, 389, 390, 398
		79	36 11 45 4
Mandalaka		75.	Manudharma Sastra 208
Mandataka		50	Mânuși Buddhas (seven) 17, 31, 32
Mandali river		08	01, 02
Mandalesvara Varma	- 58	385	Manusmṛti 171, 172, 174, 182,
Mandara mountain		99	190 100
		51,	NAME AND ADDRESS OF THE PARTY O
Mandasor	153, 1		287, 292, 294, 304,
Mandasor Inscription		26,	308, 386
17241111111100		80	· ·
Māṇḍava		08.	A COLORA
	309, 3		Marasimha, Ganga King 254, 255, 256, 264, 280,
Måndavalī		276	289, 293, 294, 295,
Mandavi		276	(Parmādi) 296, 297, 301
Māṇḍavya		202	Mārasimha (Silāhāra King) 280,
Māndhāta		346	281-82
Mandhata plates (of Jayasim		309	Mārasimha II (Silāhāra) 318,
Māṇḍú		30 8	202
Mangalapuri Capital	9	261	Marayan 313
Mangalarāja	:	211	Marco Polo 385, 386, 387
Mangalarasa-Jayāśraya, son	of		Marshall
Jayasimha Dhuaśreya	9	26 1	
Mangalarasarāja		203	
Mangalavād		47,	
		348	170
Mangaleśa (Cālukya)		21.	Maski 178 Mastana 155
138, 139,	141. 2		Mātharīputra Sivalakura 90
208, 209, 210, 212,			Mathurā 23,
Mangaleivara, brother of Ki			77, 144, 145, 152, 155,
- 0		210	156, 185, 196, 330, 367
varman I	• • • •		,,,,

INDEX xxiii

M-contd.			M-concld.	
	P	ACES		PACE
Matsya Purāpa		74,	Mugudāsa (Sūdra donor)	17
	, 88,	399	Muhammad	. 26
Mattamayura Clan of the Sa	iva.		Muktāphala (work)	40
Sect	• •	265	Mukundarāja	40
Maues, Saka Emperor		144	Mulā river	
		-42		
Mauryas Mayanalladovi		327	Múlamadhyama Karika	of
	• •	71	Nāgārjuna	39
Mayidavolu plates Väyideva (Sarvädhikāri)	202		Mularaja (of Gujarat)	301
		371	Mülastariba (marla)	35
(Hoysala general) Mayurasarman (Kadamba Kir	00)	107	Můlastamba (work) Můlasvámin	177
		380	Mulgunda inscription	000
Medhatithi Megasthenes Meghadùta	71,		Multat plates	02
Megasthenes Meghadùta		124	Multār plates Multān	án
Meghasvāti (9th Sātavāhana).			Mummuņi (Sīlāhāra)	272
A Service (Our Outermout)	35, 8 6	. 95	Transition (Dimental)	273, 32
Meharauli pillar inscription		135	Mummuridandas of Kurugodu	
Melagani inscription	• •	293	Minimum of Managaya	. 35
Melapādi		289	Mungyā Tangyā	3
Melapāţi		292	Muñja (Paramāra)	270
Meru (mountain)		199		300, 30
Merutunga		89,	Murud	141, 14
	, 299,	305	Musangi	30
275		133	Musi river	81, 23
Middle Palaeolithic period		6	Musikanagara (Asikanagara)	69.8
Middle Pleistocene period Mihira Bhoja		6, 7	Muttugi record	359, 38
Mihira Bhoja		246	Myakadoni	0
Mīmāmsā-sūtras Miņdholā river Minnagar, Nahapāna's capital		190	Mysore Mayûreverman (Kadamba)	80,8
Mindholā river		108	Mayuravarman (Kadamba)	307
Micnagar,, Nahapāna's capital		153	• •	33
Miracle of Avalokitesvara	• •	31	11.0	
Miracle of Sravasti		31	- N	
Miraj		280	Nābhāga	186, 18
Miraj inscriptions		389	Năcnă	118, 12
Miraj plates (of Jaisimha II).		201,	Nācne-Ki-Talāi	114
265, 270,			1	, 11
(of Mārasimha 1058 A.D.),			Nādakatorika	17
(doba 1024 A. D.) 76,	79, 84		Naddula	36
Mirashi, Dr.		69	Nadsur	1
Mirifija	* *	280	Nagabala	12
Miriyavālpalli Mitākṣarā		336	Nagabhatta II	242, 24
Mitākṣarā		330	Nāgad plates	. 22
Mithila	• •	316	Nāgadatta	12
Moda Saka	161,	176	Nagadeva (Dhalla's son).	29
Mokṣakhaṇḍa		403	296, 297,	298, 301
Mominābād	• •	22		308, 30
Mora Bunder	* *	141	Năgai	31
Mrgendra Svätikarna	• •	88 194	Nāgai inscription	308
Mṛgeśvaravarman (Kadamba) Mṛṇālavati (Taila's sister)	* *	184 299,	Mr. al. 1 / An although Commend	312, 31
withansan (range sizes)	• •	300	Năgalai (daughter of Cămund	
Mudhāi Devī Temple	• •	29	N/2	80, 8
Mudivemu (Agrahāra)	• •	202	Naganka	31
		336	Nagarakote fort	123, 20
Mudugere brother	of	330	Nagardhan	137, 23
6. Hanna		250	Nagaresvara Temple (Ballige)	
sankaragana		****	************ * CITILIO (NOTINO)	

xxlv mpex

	N-contd.		N—contd.	
		PAGES		PAGES
Magadina		58,	Narasimha I of Vem	
Nāgārjuna	• •		Calabas familian	250
	**	183, 195,	Calukya feudatory. Narasimha II	250
		Sünyavāda	Narasimna II	289
	Scho	ol) 392	Narasimhadeva Narasimha I (Hoysala) Narasimha II (Hoysala)	338
Nāgārjuna (S	ilāhāra)	272, 273	Narasimha I (Hoysaļa)	337,
Nāgārjuna (Ś Nāgārjunkoṇḍa		30	3	39, 341, 349
ζ,	101, 103	, 183, 195	Narasimha II (Hoysala)	370
Nägärjunkonda			Narasimhavarman (Pallava)	218
		cord), 207,	Narasingaiyya (Mahāsām	anta) 289
		inscription)	Narasingaiyya (Mahasam Narasinghapotavarman	227
Nāgasena			Naravana Naravahana (Nahapana)	227
Nagasena		121	Naravāhana (Nahapāna)	91
Nagavarman (ing)	392		152 154
Nägasena Nägavarman (k Nägavarman II Nägpür	• •	241	Narendra Narendra Inscription 2' Narendrasena	405
Nägpür		10,	Narendra Incorintian	071
Nagavarman II Nagpűr	110, 123, 137	7, 331, 371	o a	70 070 074
		001	Novemberson	12, 213, 214
Någpür prasast		321	Watchdrasena	112, 113,
Nagipoli (father	r of Manakala		115, 125, 12	8, 127, 135
Nahapāna	**	20,	Nareyangal (village, agra	.hāra) 323
		0, 92, 145,	Narmada River	3, 67,
]	147, 154, 155,	, 176, 180	99, 106, 114	i, 115, 118,
_	181	, 195, 196	121, 126, (Mek	alasutā) 136,
Nahna		112	196, 215, 21	7, 241, 247,
Nahusa		187	255, 294, 3 08, 30	9, 367, 368
Naik Dr.		28 28 34	Narmadă Valley Chalco	
Nālandā	••	17 184	culture	8
Namhanus (kin	a)	140	Namālā	17
Nahnā Nahusa Naik. Dr. Nālandā Nambanus (kin Nānaṅgala Naudabālikā, v	5/	150	culture Namālā Naro Vyāsa	405
Nandahālikā, v	wife of Reim	ากิโล-	Narseh (Sassanian)	163,
ะหลังที่	170	174 199	avason (oussessum)	164
Nandardhan		702 121	Narvan plates	227
Mandad (Manda	1.540\	120, 171	Nāśik	
svāmi Nandardhan Nānded (Nāndi Nandikešvara	Kaia)	010	194151R	
Mandikesvara	/D-11 1.	tu =\ 000	62, 67, 78, 79	
Nandinotavarma	an (Fanava K	111g) 226	(Eulogy) 2, 10	
Nändod Nandsa Yūna l	P	235	30, 36, 37, 38	
Nandsa Yuna I	inscription	162	46, 47, 48, 51	
Nandipuri (Näi Nandivardhana	100a).	2:15	55, 56, 101, 10	
Nandivardhana		110,	150, 151, 153	
	123, 124, 12 7	, 137, 209	177, (record)	179, 180,
NT 3/	2-11	OOK	181, (record)	188, 191,
Nandivarman I	anavamana	007 000	192, 193, (
. 1 1.	• •	000 007	217, 224, 356	3,
Nandurhär Näneghät	• •	4.00	Nāśik Caves	19,
Nāņeghāţ		4. 20,	62, 68, 1	93, 194, 199
62	2, 67, 68, 71,	11, 10, 19,	Nāśik cave inscription	101,
Naneghāt Rec	ord (Inscript	Hon) 60,	103, 107, 12	
62,	70, 73, 76, 1	77, 79 80,	Nāšik Inscription of	
		, 83, 181,	Sătavăhana [*]	63,
	(of Någanikā)	185 187		70, 76,
	(of 'Nays		Nösik Inscription of Naha	
NTt.mtlt	(OI IVAYE	202	Nāšik Inscription of Gau	•
Nangili Nangili	ualaka uasa			
• • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • •		nger 238		5, 93 , 99 , 153
brother of K	risim r		Nasik Inscription	95, 177 34, 193, 196
Nannarāja	 	137, 138	MCAIL States	
Nanni (Cālukyi	a reudatory)		Nāśik plates	221,
Nareda Smrti	-44	383, 385	Masimuddin Mahmad	223, 224
Narasalgi inscri	puon	292	Nasiruddin Mahmūd	367

INDEX XXV

N-concia.	U-conta
Pages	Pages
Navasāhasānkacarita of Padma- 269,	Objects of Household use 44-45
gupta 300	45, 51-52
gupta 300 Nausârī plates 221,	Objects of Ritual use 52
227, 235, 261 (Navasārī)	Objects of Stone
	Objects of Stanton 1
(141400414141414141414141414141414141414	Objects of Structural use 52
Navasīrā 373	Objects of Toilet and Ornaments 45
Nayanikā, the Sātavāhana queen 175,	46, 52, 53
181, 187, 188, 393	Olajikabbe (mother of Mālikā) 324
	Oldenberg 155
Nayapāla (Pāla)	
Nayivarman (Silanara) 200	
Nelkunda village 219 Neolithic (Culture) 7	Ontia 132 Ornaments 16, 53
Neolithic (Culture) 7	Ornaments 16,53
Nerle 36 Nerūr 211	
Nerur 211	P
	Padam Pavāvā 119
Nerur Copper-plate inscription	Padevala Taila (Năgadeva's son) 303
(of Mangalesa) 208,	D 1
221, 222 (inscription)	Padmagupta 269
226 (of Vijayaditya)	Padmapura 127 Padmavati 119,
Nerūr plates (of Vijayabhattārīkā) 218	Padmāvatī 119,
	120, 121
261	· ·
Nevāsā 2, 8, 9,	Padumanikā, a nun 194, 195
10, 15, 16, 35, 36, 38, 51,	Painting 33-4 Paithana (Pratisthāna) 2, 4,
53, 54, 55, 56	Paithana (Pratisthana) 2, 4,
Nidadavobi (in Godāvarī District) 249	raidiana (riadistinana) 2, 4,
	15, 35, 36, 38, 41, 42,
Nidugundi 319	43, 45, 52, 54, 61, 68,
Nikumbha brothers 362	69, 70, 78, 154, 179,
Nilagunda plates 201,	101 000 000
293	69, 70, 78, 154, 179, 191, 260, 387 Paithan plates 369,
	I territoria prateco
	381 (of Rāmacandra)
Nilakanthesvara Temple 11	Pāiyalacchī (work) 294
Nimbadevarasa 282	A may remove the (vivile)
Nimbanus 153	Palavatthāna (Phalṭan) 224
	Palāšinī river 158
N7	Pâle (near Dābhol) 179
	Pale (near Mahad) 179
Nirpan copper-plate charter 217	Palipamai 179
Nirupama, brother of Kṣṛṇa III. 252,	I dispatitus
27 c	Pampa (Kannada poet) 206,
Nitivakyamrta 378,	251, 288, 289
380, 381, 382	Pampabhārata (work) 288,
Nivartana, measure 178	000
Nivartana, measure 178 Niyoga system 173	
Nolamba (Cālukya feudatory) 311	Pāṇāda 269
Nolambaraea 908	Pāńcāla 77
Nolambarasa 298 Nolambavādī 361, 370	Pāncāladeva, successor of Māra- 256,
Nolambayadi 361, 370	
Nolambadhirāja (Nolamba prince) 295,	• 0
298, 302	294, 296, 297 (Pancāla)
Northern Black Polished Ware 15	Paficaganga River 2, 311
	Pañcikarana (work) 408
	Pāṇḍaraṅgapallī plates 127,
297	
Nurmadi Taila (Taila III) 338	133, 134, 198
Nurmmadi Cola (rājarāja) 302	Pāṇduraṅga (Cālukya general) 246
Nyāyabhāṣya 183, 190	Pandyadeva 326
100	Pănini 102
· ·	
190	200 000
Nvāyā-Vaišeşika School 190	Pandarasa 290, 291
Nanyadeva of Mithila 316	Pandayya 290
0	Pandharpur 28,
Objects of Bone & Ivory 53-54	347, 397
Culous of none or trost	

XXVI INDBX

P	-contd.			P—contd.	
•	- Comita-	P	ACES		PAGES
03:		_	290	Pārvatī-rukmiņīya	405
Paṇḍiga Panhālā	• •		275		142
Panhālā fort	• •	• •	259.	m	22
ratmaja tort	278, 280			Pățaliputra	62,
	284, 30				
Pannāla		.,,	278.	151,	
4 44444	28	0, 307		78, 85, 86, 151, Pāṭan	29, 405
Panyel			275	Pāṭanā record	367
Parabhani plat	es (of A	rike-	288.	Pātne	23
sarin III)			289	Pedgānv	13
Parada (Pardi)	iver		151	reiar	278
		• •	11	Pendants, Beads and Amulets	38-41
Paramām ŗta	• •	• •	406	Pennar river	
Parameśvara-Pall	ava		225	Perddore	332
Paramesvara II			225,		303
			227	Periplus (of the Erythrean se	
Paramesvaravarm		• •	218,	149, 153, 178,	
(Pallava King)	• •		220	260,	
Paraśurama	(7)	• •	23	Periya Sahana (Commander-	in-
Parasuramacarita	(Sanskṛt	WOLK	301		360
of Ranna).	VI		OFO	учдинити	I-
Parantaka Cola	-	• •	253 391		335
Paräntaka I	• •	• •	378	Permādī Jayasimhadeva (Vik	ra- 323, 328
Parasara Smrti		• •	383	māditya VI)	
Parel	• •	• •	278	(Sind chieftan of Jagado	335
Parifică	• •	• •	10	malla II) (father of Kalacuri Bijjala)	
Pariyala	• •	• •	218	(rather of Kalacurt Dijjula)	347, 348
Pariyalu (village	١		225	Paračnoski (Pollovo)	000
Pariyaya (village		• •	216	Permänadi (Pallava) (Udayadityadeva)	308
Pariya (Pariyaya)		216	Perumer inscription	326
Parmānadiveva			298	Perumer inscription Peruvalanallur	220
Parmāndi (Vikra	māditya VI		282,	Petrigala	25
•, ,	•		, 323	Phaltan	224
			004	Phoṇḍāghāṭ	4
Parnāļā (Panhāļ	•	• •	364 263		
Parodá river	• •	100	, 393	Pimpalner (Pippalakhetta)	222
Patañjali	• •		144	Pippalakheta	222
Pațika Saka Pațțadakal		• •	14.	Pippalakheta Pippalala (a village) Pistapura	228
rațțacianai	• •	22, 22 6		Pistapura Pitaļkhorā	19, 20,
Pattadakal insci		,0	226.	29, 30	
1 attadayar mee		227, 229		Pitalkhorā caves	18,
Paunamayya (M		other)	297.	i iaikiioia caves	191
t dullallay y d	indupu o	,	299	mu 11.1 n W 1.11	1774
Daniel and	1000		208	Pitalkhora Inscription	174
Pauņdarīka sacr			119	Pitangalaya	014
Pauni Pavanavijaya (w	mele)	• •	406	Pithāpuram Pithāpuram inscription	330
Pavnār	UIR)	• •	125	Pithunda	66,78
Pavailikā, a nur	1	• •	195	Plates—	
Pāyosni, tributo			252	Ahmadābād plates	294
Pārdī (Pāradā)			151	Ainûtî copper plates	227
Pārdī plates		• •	108	11 - 1	229
Pārijāta king	• •	• •	240	Aniruddhapura plates	108
Pårśvanātha	• •	• •	22,	Afijaneri plates	107, 261
	• •	23, 30), 283	Arang plates of Bhimasena	121,
Pārsvābhyudaya	• •	• •	402		126
•					

INDEX xxvii

P—contd.	_	P—contd.
Dlatas	PAGES	PACES
Plates—	100	Plates-
Bahmani plates	126	Khairah plates 306
Balaghat plates	125,	Koceram copper-plate pascrip- 221
material to the contra	127, 135	tion
Bālāghāt plates of Pṛthiv		Kolhāpūr plates 280
II	126	Kollipara plates
Balsar copper-plate grant		Kopparam copper-plate Inscrip- 212
Bamhanī plates of Bhārte	bala. 115	Hom
Bānsvārā plates Bāsim plates of Vinc	305	Kûram plates of Paramesvara- 278
Basim plates of Vinc		
śakti II	110,	varman I
112, 119, 12		Mandhata plates (of Jaya- 309
Belora plates Berlin Museum plates	124	simha).
Berlin Museum plates	271	Mânor plates (of Jayāśraya 203,
permy braces	270	Manalaresa) 921 981 985
Bhādāna plates	297,	Mangalarasa) 221, 261, 265 Mayidavolu plates 71
(of Aparājita) Bhāṇḍup plates	384	Missi plates (of Isistisha II) 001
Bhāṇdup plates	271	Miraj plates (of Jaisimha II). 201,
Cambay plates of Govinda	a IV 389,	265, 270, 280, 281
	394, 398	(of Marasimha), 305,
Cikodi plates by Avasara	III. 262,	(dated 1024 A.D.)
	263, 264	Multăi plates 234
Cifican plates (of Cammu	nda- 268	Nagad plates 222
rāja).	271, 273	Nagardhan plates 137,
Ciplun copper-plate inscri	ption. 210	Narvan plates
	215	Narvan plates 227
Dhulia plates of Dhruva	403	Nasik plates 221, 223, 224
Elāpura copper-plates	226	Nausari plates 221
Ellorā plate	235	227, 235, 261 (Navasari)
Elāpura copper-plates Ellorā plate Gadvāl plates Goā copper-plates	218, 223	Nerur copper-plate 208,
Goā copper-plates	212,	211, 221, 222
	215, 262	(Inscription of Vijayaditya) 226
Goḍaci plates Hyderābād copper-plate	205	Nerur plates (of Vijaybaţţā-
Hyderābād copper-plate	In-	rīkā) 218, 261
scription	213	rīkā) 218, 261 Nilaguņņa plates 201,
Honnur copper-plates Indore copper-plate	223	293
Indore copper-plate	• •	Nirpan Copper-plate Charter. 217
grant of Pravarasena II	115	Paithan plates (of Ramacan-
Jañjirā (copper-plate grant)	269,	dra). 269, 381
	278	dra). 269, 381 Påndarangapalli plates 127,
Jejurī plates	214	133, 134, 198
Kaccha plates of Mangala	rasa. 261	Parbhani plates (of Arikesarin 288,
Kadab plates	382	
Kadab plates (of Govinda		III) 289 Pārdī plates 108
-	385, 404	Poonā plates of Prabhāvati- 110,
Tratis wishes	010	granto 110,
Kaira plates	216	gupta 112, 124 Prince of Wales Museum 28,
Kalavan plates	306	
Kalige plates	293	plates 29, 97, 145, 146, 268
Kānheri plates	137	Purusottamapuri plates (of 283,
Karhād plates of Kṛṣṇa III	399	Rāmacandra)
Karnūl (district plates)	219	Ragholī plates of Jayavardhana 397
Kāsāre plates	222	Rāygad plates 226
Kauthen plates	201, 204	Rddhapur plates 111, 112
Khārepāṭaṇ plates	265.	Sāmangaḍ plates of Danti-
(of Anantadeva)	269,	durga 229
	3, 292, 387	Sanjan plates of Buddha-
Kondôr conner mister		varasa 217
Kendar copper-plates	228-29	Sankheḍā plates . 138
(G.C.P.) I-A Vf 3010-28	(1.007_1_68)	

xxviii INDEX

P-contd.			P-contd.
	Pac	GES	Pages
Plates-			Prākāśe 8
	1	36,	10, 38, 42, 43, 46, 47,
	203, 2	215	52, 53, 54
		137	Prākṛta Piṅgalam 334
Surat plates of Satyaśra	aya,		Pranala 283
Siladitya (of Satyaśr			Praņāla
Silāhāra (Karka II).	2	19,	278
* *		39 3	Pratāpamalla (Cedi ruler) 367 Pratāparūdra (Kākatīya) 373
Tāļale plates (of Gaņdarādit		80,	10 - 11-11 c 0 4
		282	Pratisthāna 2, 4, 59, 61, 68, 69, 70, 78
Talamanci plates		218	89, 178, 191, 198, 260
Taxila copper-plate of Pa		144	
Thana plates of Arikesarin		267	Pratyantagaḍa
Tivarkhed plates ņdikāvātikā plates	• •	234	127, 330
ndikavatika plates		133	Pravarasena I 109
Vadaval inscription (of Apa		274	110, 113, 114, 115, 117
ditya I)		274 142	118, 119, 120, 128, 164
Vadner plates		142	165, 173, 186
Vani Dindori plates	O1	380	Pravarasena II (Damodarasen). 109
Govinda III Vakkaleri Copper-plates	-451	229	111, 112, 113, 114, 115
Pliny		14	128, 129, 135
Podagadh (Koraput district)		209	Pravarā River 2, 5
Podana		288	8, 4
	100	224	Pravîra 109
Poinād		269	
Polekesi and its forms	2	204,	Prayaga 119
	- 6	205	Pravaga (new-Kolhānūr) 289
Polemois (King)		154	Prayaga (new-Kolhapūr) 28: Prince of Wales Museum 28
Polished Stone-using cul		- 8	29, 97, 145, 146
Ponna (poet)		301	268 (plates
Ponnāla		317	Prolarāja (Kākatīya) 33
Ponnavāda		308	Prolarāja (Kākatīya) 33 Prthvīcandra Bhogasakti 22
Ponnāla Ponnavāḍa Pooṇā 66	22,		Prthivīmahārāja of Rana-Dujava
Poons plates of Buchlander	3, 150,		family 21-
Poona plates of Prabhavatig			
Possiden Pomen Cod	112,	16	Prthvīrāja-rāso 36
Poseidon, Roman God Position of Brahmanas	37		Prthivīrājā-Vijaya32
of Ksatriyas		379	ridhynama
of Sūdras	380		Pṛthivīṣeṇa I 110
of Vaisyas			122, 123, 124, 160, 16
Position of Women	1	174-	Prthivisens II
	75, 382		Prthivîşena II
Pottajakere		304	Przyluski 7
Potta (ra) van	• •	3 13	Ptolemy 66
Prabhācandra (Jaina author).		392	92, 94, 102, 154, 156
Prabhāsa		151,	260, 26
179, 187, 188, 189			Pugavarman (son of Pulakesin
Prabhāvatīguptā		110,	I—Călukya) 23
111, 112, 11			Pulakeśin I 201
Prabhudāmā, sister of Rudras		161	205, 207, 208, 209, 212, 230
Pracanda (Brāhmaņa feudat		249 250	Pulakeśin II 33
Pracandagada		359 104	62, 133, 136, 138, 139
Pracakāśa Prajāpati		82	141, 203, 205, 206, 207, 206 210, 211-18, 219, 220
Prakāša	• •	104	222, 261, 286, 28
a + tortified 0 P			,,,,,,,,,,

INDEX xxix

P-concld.	R-contd.
Pages	PAGES
Pulakeśi-Vallabha, son of Vijayā-	Ragholi plates of Jayavardhana 397
ditya 203	Raghu's Digvijaya 107
Pulekeśin (Calukya feudatory) 311	Raghuvamsa 50,
	73, 124, 136, 281
Puli	Rāhappa (Kirtivarman II) 238
Pullaśakti (Silāhāra) 266 67	Rāicūr Doab 361
Pulomā 96	Rāja I (Kalacuri) 346, 347
Pulomā I (Sātakarņi 15th)	Rāja II ., 347
87-88	Rāja-Bānder 141
Pünāka (Poonā) 269	Rāja-Bānder 141 Rājamācī Fort 17
Pundarika Kaetra (on the bank	Rājādhirāja I (Cola) 310,
of Bhīmā) 397	311
Pūṇdūr 310	Rājāditya 288
70. 1 2	Rājāditya I 289
67, 68, 93, 94, 95	Rājaditya (son of Kaccega) 290
Puļumāvī III	Rājamalla, son of Sivamāra 246
70. 7 A m 977	Rajamalla Ganga 298
Pulumavi IV 102 Purāņacūdāmaņi (work of	Rājamalla II (Gangawadi) 248,
Panna)	252, 253
Purapic or Traditional History 23-24	Rājamalla Muttaraiyan 303
Purdah custom . 175	Rājamahendri 372
Purdah custom	Rajamayan (Dandanayaka) 314
253	
na 18 -	Rājāpūr 212 Rājāpurī 2, 141,
Purikā 114, 117, 118, 120, 123	142, 212, 259, 278
	Rājāpurī creek 179
	Rājarāja (Coļa) 298,
141, 142, 212	299, 302, 306, 390
Puri—capital of North Konkan 259,	Rajašekhara 3, 89
263, 270, 277, 278	135, 198, 222, 381
Purindrasena (19th Sātakarņi) 75,	Rajasimhesvara Temple
88, 150	Rājasūya sacrifice 81,
Purnasanga 75	185, 394
Pūrnotsanga 75, 83	
Purusottama (Yadava general) 373	Rājatarangiņī
Purusottamapuri plates (of Rāma-	Rajawade 71, 74
candra) 283,	Rajendra 303, 311, 312
371	Rajendradeva II 311
Pururavas 202	Rājendra Cola 304,
Puskara 151,	318, 322, 329
188, 189, 196	Rajendra I 306
Puşkara Lake 152	Rājiga (Rājendra) 322,
Puskari 127	326
Pusyamitra 83, 185	Rājiga (Yādava) 358
Puvānada 177	Rajuvula-Saka 144, 148
	Rajyapāla of Kanauj (Pratīhāra) 314
Q	Rājyasrī 139
Outb-ud-din Aibak 364	Rakksa Ganga 296
Outb-ud-din Mubārak Sāh 374	Rāma 57,
Auth-na-dim Mahmay 12mm 6	186, 189, 199, 271, 369
R	Rāma (son of Kholesvara) 367
***	Rămacandra (God) 124,
Răcamalla (Ganga) 295,	125
297, 306	Rāmacandra (Yādava) 363,
(Sind) 351	369, 370, 371-74, 381
Rādhānagarī 278	Rămacandra Temple 125
Rafiduddin 402	Rāmadeva (Yādava) 405
Rāghava (minister) 374	Rāmadevī (Queen of Sankame) 352
-	
TZ4 3010 30-	

XXX INDEX

R—contd.	R-concld.
PAGES	PAGES
Rāmagirī 124	Revatīdvīpa, capital of Cālukyas, 141,
Rāmagiri Svāmin 124	210, 212, 215, 262
Rāmalinga Temple 26	Rewah inscription 310
Râmatīrtha 151 Râmāyaṇa 3, 27	Rice (scholar) 290
Rāmāyaṇa 3, 27 186, 199, 208, 213	Rkşavat mountain 114,
Dr. /	Robert Bruce Forte 5
Rămetwaram 954	Rodda 298
Rāmesvaram Temple on Tunga-	Rodda inscription 301
bhadrā 398	Roy Chaudhari H. C 59
Rāmţek 124	Rṣabhadatta (Uṣabhadāta) 150
Rāṇaragavarman, son of Pula-	Ŗṣimūlasvāmin 172,
keśin, brother of Vikramā-	174, 188 Ruddavādi 323
ditya I	Ruddavādi 323 Rudra (Kākatīya King) 362
Ranaraga, son of Jayasimha 207-08 Ranaranga-bhīma (Taila II) 300	Rudrabhūtī, Abhīra general . 102
, , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , ,	Rudradamaka (Western Ksatrapa
Rănavad 276 Ranna, Kanarese poet 141,	coin) 181
202, 270, 287, 295, 298	Rudradāman 3,
Rapson 63,	94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 148,
64, 66, 71, 73, 84, 85, 94, 97	150, 154, 156, 157-159,
Ratanpūr 346 Ratnāgirī 4	176, 184, 196, 198
Ratanpur 346	Rudradāman II (founder of Saka
Ratnapāla (King of Kāmarūpa) 317	dynasty) 165 Rudradāsa Mahārāja (Ābhīra 104,
Ratta (prince)	Feudatory) (Abhīra 104,
Raţţa (prince)	Feudatory) 105 Rudradeva 113,
D 1. 77 - 40#	115, 121
Ravi-minister of Sarvasena	(Kākatīya) 339, 341
the state of	(Kākatīya)
Ravikirti 136 Ravisāmba 105	Rudrasena 160, 161
Rayatvārī system 177,	Rudrasena I 110,
388	112 (Nandivardhana Branch),
Rāśin 14	113, 114, 115, 120,
Rāstrakūta (term) 233	121, 122, 126 Rudrasena II (Vākāṭaka) 110,
Rāstrakūta, son of Ratta 233	Rudrasena II (Vākāṭaka) 110, 111, 112, 113, 123,
Rāstrakūtas of Mānapura 132-36	124, 167, 189
Rāvaņa 57 Rāyamurāri Sovideva 350,	Rudrasena II (Kṣatrapa) 162,
Rayamurari Sovideva 350,	163
Rāyaņa 324	Rudrasena III
Rāyanārāyaṇa (Someśvara I) 312	165, 166, 167
Räygad plates 226	Rudrasena IV 167
Rddhapur 405	Rudrasimha (Saka) 99
Rddhapūr plates 111,	(Western Kṣatrapa) 102,
112	159, 160 Rudrasimha II (founder of 3rd
Rddhapūra-varņana 405	Saka dynasty) 118, 164, 165
Redi (a place) 138, 141	Rudrasimha III 167
Redi 210, 262	Rudrāditya (Muñja's minister) 299,
Revā (wife of Nandivarman	300
Pallavamāla) 229	Rudrāmbā 370
Revādāsa Dīkṣita 377	Rukmini-svayamvara 405
Revakanimadi, sister of Kṛṣṇa III 252	Rūpasiddhi 308
Revaladevi 320	S
Revä river 213	Sāba (Kṣatrapa minister) 167
Revati 141	Sābarabhāṣya 190

ÍNDEX XXXÍ

S-contd.	S—contd.
PAGES	PAGES
	Sangamner grant 300
Sabdamani darpana (Kannada	Sangamner grant
work) 204	Sanghamitra (monk) 194
Sabdārņavacandrikā of Soma-	Sanghapriya monk 194
deva 283, 284	Sangitaratnākara of Sārngadeva 368
Sagara 187,	Sangrāmarāja (king of Kāsmīr) 381
346	Sangrāmasimha (Sankha-Lāṭa) . 365,
Sahājī 77	366
Sahasrajit 346	0.49
Sahasrārjuna Kārtavīrya 23,	Sanjan grant 246 Sanjan plates of Buddhavarsa 217
136	Sankalia, Dr 6, 7,
Sahat-Maheth inscription (1118	15
A.D.) 314	Sankamadeva (Kalacuri) 341,
Sahavāsī Brāhmaņa (śavāśe) 275,	342, 349, 351, 352
284	Sankamaiya (Senaû Brāhmana) 265
Sahiyārahāra (son of Madhu- 268	Sankara (Premier of Jaitugi) . 362
mati)	Sankara (Sankarācārya) 377,
Sahyādrivarņana 405	379, 392, 394,
Saimur 386	395, 402, 404
Saka Sātakarņi 60,73	Sankaradeva (Yādava) 372, 373, 374
Sakasena 90	Sankaragana 122,
Sakkara-Kottam 318	138, (Kalacuri) 142, 211, 346
Sakti Kumāra 82	
Sākuntala 174	0
Sala Nṛpakrama 307	
Sālankāyana king 130	Kṛṣṇa II. 250, 382
Sālivāhana 71	Sankarşana 82
Sallekhanā vow 256,	Sankesvar 395
295, 402	Sankha (Sangrāmasimha Lata) 365
Salli (general of Pañcaladeva) 294	Sankha Smrti 382, 396
Salotgi (Bijāpūr district) 393,	Sankhavarmadeva (Kalacurya
404	Sovideva)
Salotgi college 399	
Saluva Tikkama (Yādava	Sankila in Calukya records 248
general) 371	Santamula (of the Iksvaku 184,
general)	family) 186, 196
Sāmangad plates of Dantidurga 229	Såntilla (general) 138
Sāmantasena 317	Santinatha 23, 30
Samantabhadra (Jaina author) 392	Saptaśatī (Gāthāsaptaśati) 169,
Sāmkhya-Kārikā of Isvara- 190	198
krsna	Sarabhapura 130, 133
Samudragupta 102,	Sāradā temple 397
113, 114, 115, 120,	Sāradādevī (Abhinava) 339,
121, 122, 126, 158, 166	347, 348
0	
0 1 1 0 11	Sāradvatīputra, disciple of 108 Buddha
0.11 14 11	Sārasangraha (Jaina mathematical 402
	work).
Saṇa phulla (\$ilāhāra) 262,	Sarasvatī river 102
263	Sarasvati kaṇṭhābharaṇa 135
Săñci 30,	Caulta.
85, 105, 118, 162, 184, 193	
Sangamasinha 137	Sarīputra, disciple of Buddha 108
Sangamesvara 269	Sarva (Vindhya chief) 244
Sangamesvara temple 226	Sarva Amoghavarşa I 245-48
	C1071
	1
Sangamner 372	Sarvakalā (Hoysaļa Princess) 365

xxxii INDEX

S—contd.	S—contd.	
PAGES		Pages
Sarvasena Vākāṭaka 110,	Savāse Brāhmanes	275
112, 113, 120 (son of	Sculpture	25-27
Pravarasena I), 128, 129, 405	•	144
Sarvavarman 89	6 11-	- 00
040	C11-	0.00
	n - /n 1- \	000
Danking of Contraction		100
Sasivrata 361 Satānīka 202	Sendrakas	07
Satānīka 202	Seşa Setapharana	100
Şaşthadeva II (Kadamba king) 270,	Setapharana	
271, 272	Setha Bhūtapāla of Vaijayanti	19
Sāṣṭī 137	Setubandha, a Prākṛt kāvya	125
Sāta 73,	Seumulla Seunacandra (Yādava) Seunacandra II	179
81, 84, 85	Seunacandra (Yādava)	12, 356
Sātakanīśa	Sewell	140
Sätänaka (a village) 269	Sewell	
Satakarni 3, 69,	Sewell Shapur III Shastri K. A. N	
77, 80, 158	Shastri K. A. N	
Sātakarņi Sage 73	Shell-Objects Sibi (Puranic) Sidlloväis of Cutarët (Caululya)	54-55
Satakarni I 67,	Sibi (Puranic)	247
72, 74, 75, 79, 80, 81, 82,	Diddinataja of Gujarat (Gautukya)	336
83, 84, 85, 185, 186	Siddharāja Jayasimha (Cālukya	337
Sătakarni II 60, 63,	Siddhartha	
Sātakarņi II 60, 63, 81, 84-87, 91	Sidlephadī cave	. 8
Sātasa 81,84	0-1 1 (0 1)	. 197
215	Sikhanduketu (Vidvadhara king) 269
Sătâră plates 136,	Siktī Buddha	. 17, 32
Sātārā plates 136, 203, 215	Silāditya-I (Dharmāditya)	. 139
03 105	Siktī Buddha	. 217
	Siladitya III	004
Sătavāhana (Father of Simuka) 76-78	Silāditya III Silāgrāma Silāhāra etymology	. 287
Satavanana 11	Silāhāra etymology	. 260
Sau	Silàhāras (of South Konkan)	262-65
Satī custom	(of North Konkan) 265-78	
Sālinde (place)	(of Kolhāpūr).	, 978-84
Satlaj river 102 Sâtpudă hills 107, 117 Sătpudă Range 114	(of Kolhāpūr). Silāhāra Inscription Simha (Lāṭa King)	11
Sātpudā hills 107, 117	Simha (Lata King)	864 365
Sătpudă Range	Simha (Lachela family—Andhra) 368
Sattiga (Satyāśraya) 302,	Simbola 280.	61 062
303	Simhala 260 Simuka	50 AT
Sattima (Satyāśraya) 302	62 67 70	. UO, UI,
Satvabhāmā, wife of Kṛṣṇa 128	63, 67, 70,	70, 10
Satyanāga, Senāpati of Sridhara-	Cim Jhanlan	78, 80
varman 106		. 75
Satyāśraya (Câlukya) 142,	Sindhurāja (Paramāra king) .	
287	(1) 11 -4 (7 -)	270
Satyāśraya Śilādītya 219	Sindhurāja (Lāṭa)	
Satyāśraya Cālukya (Tailapa's	Singan (Kosala king)	
Son)	Singhana (Kalacurya) .	
270, 297, 301, 302,	_	352
303, 304, 306		. 13
150 040	283 , 284, 362 , 363-	
Date But		3 71, 3 81
Dadituate (Panco)	Sinnara (Yādava) .	. 356
Saundatti record 382	Sinnar	. 10
Saundane 222	11, 12, 26,	27, 29
Saurisāmba 105	Sirkap	. 50
Sāvaladevī 323, 347	Sircar D. C	. 59, 69
(wife of Jogama Kalacurya),	Sirgānv	. 261
351 (wife of Someśvara Sovideva)	Siritana mountain .	01

INDBX xxxiii

S-contd.			S-contd.
	P.	ACES	PAGES
Siriyadevī		349	Samanath
Sirpur	• •	104	151, 196, 270, 330
Sirur	••	13	Somaprabhasûri 405
Siśuka	• •	75	Somavarma (Televūr Haradi) 349
Siśuka, the daughter's son of		114	Someśvara I. Calukya king 204
King of Vidisa			(Kalyāņī Čálukya),
Sisupalavadha		405	308-19, 320, 325
Sisupalgad		44	Someśvara 270
Silbhattarikā (daughter		244	Someśvara II (Kalyani) 308,
Minneyandhama IV)	-		315, 319-323,
Siva (God) 21, 28,	12	. 13.	324 , 327, 378
21, 28,			Somesvara III (Calukya-Kalyani). 330.
SivacItta (son of Jayakeśin II		274	331-35, 337, 338, 339
Sivadatta, father of Ab		103.	Someśvara IV (Calukya) 342-
Iśvarasena	• •	107	44, 360, 405
A) 1))	• •	398	Someśvara (Siláhāra) 227.
	62		380
22.00	235,		Someśvara (Kalacurya) 349 Someśvara Sovideva 350,
Sivamāra (Ganga king)	•	240	Someśvara Sovideva 350.
privatiana (Canga ang)	242,		351, 352,53
Sivaskanda Sätakarni	area,	75.	Somesvara Temple
	8, 99,		Sondekola Inscription 900
Siva-Temple (at Ambarna		101	Sopara 2, 4, 17, 32, 52, 140, 151, 178, 179, 187, 101, 177, 101, 178, 179, 187, 101, 178, 179, 187, 187, 187, 187, 187, 187, 187, 187
		200	17, 32, 52, 140, 151, 178,
272, (at Prak Sivasvāti			17, 32, 52, 140, 151, 178, 179, 187, 191, 272, 273, 387 Sorătur 343, 361, 363
			Soratur 343, 361, 363
Siyagalla, son of Sripuruşa		2 3 8	30vavarma Televur Haradi 341
Siyaka, Paramāra king		254,	Sovayamarasa (Bijiple's minister) 240
Crash XX (C	:	255	Sovideva (Kalacuri) 343, 349, 350, 352
Siyaka II (Sarşa)	••	294,	349, 350, 352
		299	Spalirises 145,
Skanda Sātakarņi	• •	97	149
Skandastambhi	* *	84	Sports and Pastimes 385
Skandasvāti	87		Sravana Belgolā epitaph
Smārta Agnihotra	* *	396	294 (records), (inscription) 395, 332
Smärta religion	396,		
Smith, Vincent	• •		Sri Canda Cantana
	90,	113	Quich amount 4
Sobhanarasa (feudatory of Sa	tyā-		106, 118, 162
áraya)		30 3	Sri-Harşa 203, 294
Sodāsa-śaka		144,	Cwilealand (Co. 11.1)
	148,	196	vāhanas)
Sodasin Sacrifice		186	0-21
Soddhala (author)	!	272,	# a 12 44 44
	273,	278	Srimukha (Simukha) 75
Sogal inscription		292,	Srinagara (Sinnar Yādava) 356
	, 298,	301	Srī-Pārsvanātha 283
Solāpūr		245	Sripura 261
Soma-a Brahmana father of I	_	128,	Srīpurusa of Gangavādī 238
		172	Sriśala mountain 91
Soma, Mālava chief		186	Śrī Sātakarņi 37
Soma Kalacurya		351	Srī Sivamaka Sāta
Somedeva, author of Sabdarna		283,	Sri Soma 161
candrikā		284	Sristana mountain
Somadeva, the author of Nits		378.	Srivallabha Seṇānandarāja (Send- 210,
Imiamouto	380.		3 1
Carrie Harris 2.7	288,		محر المستمال المستم المستم المستمال المستمال المستمال المستمال المستمال المستمال الم
Somadevasuri	400,	200	Srivardhana fort 359

xxxiv INDEX

S—contd.			S—concld.
	P	AGES	PAGES
Sringāraprakāśa		135	Susarman (Kanva) 60,
Srngaraprakasa Srngeri Pitha at Sankesvar		395	61, 78, 87
Sryāśraya Silāditya (son	of	221,	Suścirākholī (a village) 222
Dharásraya Jayasimha)		261	Suśrutasamhitä 199
Stambha (eldest son of Dhru	va)	240,	Suvarna (coin) 388
Staniona (cidest son or 25mg		242	Suvišakha-Parthian Viceroy 157
Stella Kramrischeh		16	Svāmicandra (Hariścandra 107,
	••	273	6 . 4)
Sathanaka (Ţhāṇā) 277, 278			0 1: 1: 1: 1:
		375	Svāmi jivadaman
Strabo	• •	355	family 262
Subāhu (Yādava)	• •	268	Svāmidāsa Mahārāja, Abhira 104,
Subakta	104	, 137	Feudatory 105
Subandhu (Abhīra)		404	Svāmirāja, feudatory of Kṛṣṇa 131,
Subandhu	• •	364	137, 138, 141
Subhata Varman (Paramara)		300	
Subhāśitaratna-Sandoha	• •		C-24: (C24-1
Sucandra, Andhra king	-6	65	85, 87
Sudarsana of 18th Canto		124	0 -10
Raghuvamsa	• •		Svatikarņa 75,
Sudarsana dam (lake)	• •	158	0.174.14.7
Sūdi inscription	• •	310	Svātímitrā 174
Sudevaraja	• •	133	Svetagirī 103 Svādvāda (of Jainas) 402
Sudisana		177	Syādvāda (of Jainas) 402
Sūdraka	• •	199	T T
	āra-	000	Tribunt Dente France 010
simha		254	
Sugaladovi (wife of Mandales	vara	385	Tādapa 251
Varma)	• •		Taddevādī 292
Sugatipa		268	Tagara 178, 179,
Suggaladevi	304	, 319	260, 278, 387
Suggalā		304	Tagarapura 273
Suketuvarman (Maurya)		141	Tagarila 304
Sukhtankar V. S		, 109	Tagarte 350
	389	9, 395	Tahākārī 13
Súktimuktāvali		36 9	Taila (of Cālukyas of Kalyāṇī) 230
Sulaiman (Muslim merchant)		383.	Taila I 290
		395	Taila II (Cālukya Kalyāṇī) 202,
Sultānpūr		35	255, 257, 286,
Sunao Kala Plates		137	287
Sundara		75	290, 292, 302, 310,
Sundara Sātakarņī		89	•319, 395, 402
Sundarī		294	Taila II (Kadamba) 333
Sun Temple at Multān	• •	399	Taila III Tailapadeva 339-42, 348, 363
Sünyavāda school		195	(Cālukya)
Sünyavāda of Nāgārjuna	• •	392	Tailanāga (Kadamba relative) 332
Supaya (Daņdādhipati)		275	Tailapa III 283
Superstitions and Beliefs	3	85-86	Tailapa (Taila) deva 264
Sūramāra		218	265, 269, 292, 293, 299,356
Surat	108	3 , 2 61	Tailapa (Kadamba) 332
Surat plates of Satyāśraya			Tailappa (Taila II) 292
ditya (of Satyaśraya Silāh		219,	Tailappayya (Taila II) 292
(of Kar		393	Takkolam (North Arcott district) 253
Sürpāraka	• •	4, 14,	Talakāḍ (capital of Gaṅgas) 210,
140, 178	, 273	, 274	240, 296, 302, 306, 328
Sůrya		11	Tālale plates (of Gandarāditya) 280,
Sürya Temple		29	282
Sûrya-Miniyûr		295	Talamañci plates 218

INDEX XXXV

T—contd.		T—contd.	
	PAGES		PAGES
Talvādā inscription	327	(at Ambarnā	th), 399 (at
Tambasāhikā	261		Prabhāsa
Tamsāhi	261	Someśvara Temple	11
Tanjore	253	Sun Temple at Multān	399
Tantrayāna	30, 33	Sürva Temple	29
Tantrayāna Tavernie;	383,	Trailokyeśvarabhaţţāraka Temple Uttareśvara Temple	
38	8, 388, 3 89	Temple	228
Taxilā	45, 46, 50,	Uttareśvara Temple	10, 277
5	1, 145, 374	Vijayesvara Temple Vitthala Temple	226
Taxila copper-plate of Paţik		Vitthala Temple	28
		Vitthala Temple of Pandh	arpūr 397
Tāpī river 13	3, 151, 331	Ter	10, 15,
Tārādevī (Jogama's wife)	347	16, 17, 36, 38,	, 43, 44, 4 8,
Tārāvarṣa	318	49, 50, 52, 5	5 3, 5 4, 178,
Tarddavādī	292		179, 260
Tarhāla	36, 92,	Terracotta Objects	48, 49,
Tārāvarṣa Tarddavāḍī Tarhāla 97, 98, 99, 1	00, (hoard),	_	5 0- 5 3
Tarikādunādu	347, 352	Tewar	
Tarikāḍunāḍu Tāvare (place) Tejahkaṇṭha (ambassador Aparādiṭya I) Teja Rāya Pāṇḍya Telasaṅgava (village) m grahāra Temples— Aisvara Temple	302	Ţhāṇā 27 0, 272, 276	212,
Tejahkantha (ambassador	of 274,	27 0, 272, 276	3, 277, 278,
Aparāditya I)	275	282, 283, 38	
Teja Raya Pandya	322	Thâṇā inscription Thâṇā plates of Arikesarin	277
Telasangava (village) m	aha- 339,	Thana plates of Arikesarin	267
grahāra	348	Thanesvar	318
Temples—	-59	I hani	270
Aisvara Temple	10, 11,	Thanesvar Thani Tiastenes	14, 154, 156
	27, 29	Tikanna (Dandanayaka of	Taila 296
Ambābāi Temple Aveśvara Temple Basaveśvara Temple	364	II)	
Aveśvara Temple	265	Ţikka (Kadamba)	324
Basaveśvara Temple	352	Tikkamarasa (Yādava genera	ıl) 371
Dhagayati remnie	203	Tirmullai inscription	,, 318
Bhogesvara Temple	107	Tirthakalpa (work) of Jinapra	
Bhuleśvara Temple	12,	sūri	72
26	(at Yavat)	Tīrthakhaṇḍa Tiruvallam inscription	405
Daśāvatāra (Cave temple)	228	Tiruson and inscription	311
Elephanta (Siva Temple)		Tiruvenganadu inscription	(of 312
Elloră Temple	308	Vira Rājendra)	
Gondeśvara Temple	12	Tivarkhed plates Todd	234
Jinendra Temple	287	Tondai Mandalam	6
Kăleśvara Temple	10	Tondai-Mandalam	254
Gondeśvara Temple Jinendra Temple Kăleśvara Temple Koppeśvara Temple	10, 11,	Tools	· · · 6
• •	26, 311	Toramāṇa, Hūṇa king	41-44
Kṛṣṇeśvara Temple Lokeśvarabhaṭṭāraka Ter	254	Torkhede inscription	106
Lokeśvarabhaţţāraka Ter	nple 228	Lorna	381
Mahadeva Temple	12	Toyimadeva (Kadamba)	
Mahālakṣmī Temple	13, 29	Traditional or Puranic History	307
Mudhāi Devi Temple	29	Traikūţakas	
Nagareśvara Temple (Bal	lige) 334	Tuellaling 1 a 1 m	107, 108
Papanatha Temple	22	Queen of Vikramāditya, m	other
Rājasimheśvara Temple	227	of Kirtivarman II)	
Rämacandra Temple	125	Trailokyeśvarabhaţţāraka To	228
Rāmalinga Temple	26	Trayodaśarātra sacrifice	
Ramesvaram Temple on Tu	nga-	y	81,
bhadrā	398	Tribhuvanamalla (Cālukya)	185
Sangameśvara Temple	226	Tribhuvanapāla	273
Saradā Temple	397	TribhuvanavIra	301
Siva Temple	272	Tricipopoly	297

XXXVI INDEX

T—concld.			U—contd.	
	P	'AGES	P	AGES
Trikūṭa mountain	• •	107	Upapurāṇa	399
Tuilin azum tzaana		65	Upendra Kṛṣṇarāja (Paramāra	250
m 1. n 11		202	chief)	
Trilocanapāla (of Lāṭa)	• •	309,	Upendragupta	105
		310	Upper Pleiostocene	
	• •	314	Uragapura (Uraiyūr)	220
Material .	• •	23	Uraiyūr (Uragapura)	220
Trimuri	• •	197	Urangalapattana	277
Tripurī 103, 252, 290, 292,	207	48 ,	Urangalapattana	.300
77 . / . 1 . 1 . 1		196	Uşubhadata, son-in-law of Naha-	145, 149,
	• •	186	pāna 150, 151, 152	
Triratra Trivikram (a Brāhmaņa)		224	,	380
Trivikramapāladeva .		301	Usanas (Smṛti writer) Uṣavadāta (Saka)	177,
Tula-purușa-dana (Dantidurga).		399	180, 181, 187, 188,	
Tungabhadra River .		109,	195, 196,	
244, 304, 306, 310, 3			Utpala (Muñja) Uttama Coļa 298	299
319, 320, 3			Uttama Cola 298	
Tunned Virahess survivas	349,	398	Uttamadāta, king of Mathurā	152
Tuppad Kurahatti inscriptio (of Kṛṣṇa III)	n	378	Uttara Purāṇa Uttarādattā	249
Testino		311	Uttarādattā	174
iditan	•	311	Uttareśvara Temple	277
U		34103	TOUR DESIGNATION OF THE PERSON	211
Ucchangi (fort)	332	341	2000 V	
TTotal /T/ 1		347	Vācaspati	404
Udaypur prāśasti		294,	Vachavya of Thani	270
		306	Vachhomi-The best poetic style	109,
Udayadityadeva (Permanadi)		306	Ellis Inc.	128
(Udayaditya), 321, (Paramar	a)	322	Vādā	141
		328	Vadavali	272
Udayagiri Udayagiri Hills		188	Vadavali inscription (of Apara-	274
Udayana	• • •	167 202	ditya I) and plates Vaddiga	289
Udaypūr	11	1 6 1	Val.lt (322 Jane)	356
/\(\lambda_1 \dagger_1 \dagger_1 \)		321	Vaddraja	308
		272,	Vādirāja Vadnagar	139
		278	Vadnagar Prasasti	286
Uddhare Ekkalarase (Yakkalaras	e)	350	Vadner plates	142
Udhapuram		321	Vāgholī 28	3, 29,
Udri inscription Udyotakāra		332	104,	
Udyotakara		183		, 404
		308	Vaidehīputra Ajātašatru 93,	173
Ujjayini			Vaijayantī	
94, 95, 123, 126, 1 146, 154, 155, 161 _. 1				209
179, 196, 198, 2			Vainaganga river Vairagadh	371
249, 250, 254, 309,			Vairagach Vaisāli	161,
T77-11		391	180, 191,	
I Ilethren anni C.		186	Vaiyāghrapāda	396
Ulchāla inscription .		225	Vājapeya Sacrifice	110,
Ulchalu (village)		225	118, 119, 186,	
Umā-Maheśvara (God) at Kolhā	Ř-		230, 391,	
_	•	284	Vajjada	223
	•	132	Vajjada I (Silāhāra)	268,
Y7111 .	•	133	77. · · . 1 == /441-1 + \	269
Uņukallu	•	303	Vajjada II (Silāhāra)	270

INDEX XXXVII

V-contd.		V-contd.
P	AGES	PAGES
Vajra (Kalacurya)	349	Vasai inscription 275
Vajradeva	351	Vasanta Vilāsa (work) , 366
Vajrayāna	3 0	Vāsava 82
Vajrākara (Vairagaḍh)	371	Vāsavadattā 404
Vajrāţa 203,	223	Vāsisthīputra Puļumāvī 37,
	241,	62, 65, 67, 68, 75, 92, 93,
242,	243	94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 99, 150,
Vākāţa	113	154, 156, 173
Vākāṭakas	109	Vāsisthīputra Sātakarņi 172,
	-128	173, 196
Vatsagulma Branch	128	Văśișthīputra Santamūla 173
132,		Vāśiṣṭhīputra Sivaśrī 156,
Vakkaleri Copper-plates	229	Vogture 15 (C)
Vākpati Munja (Paramāra)	299	Vastupāla (Governor) . 366
Valabhī (Valā) 140, 179,		Vasubandhu . 195, 197 Vasudeva 89
Valasanga 339,		37 (411-)
Valavada (Capital)	278	Vasusena (Abhīra) 103 Vatālika
Vala (Valabla)	278 140	True a land a
Valā (Valabhī) Valivāda, Capital of Silāhāras of	140	
-C Trailer V	259	Vatsagulma 210, 215, 218
17-11-1- /	104	100 100
Valkesvar	278	17. An - 1
Vallabha (Kirtivarman II)	229	Vatenzaio
Vallabharasa, Cālukya King	204	225 (legendary)
Vallabheśvara (Pulakeśin I)	207,	
	208	0.40
Vallūra 116,		Vatsarāja (Kīrttrāja's son) 301
Välmiki	213	Vâtsyāyana 103, 183
Vāmanaśāstrī Islāmpūrkar	115	Vāyu Purāņa 74 75,
Vanagajamalla (Karkka II)	295	78, 98, 104
Vanavāsī 4,		Vedantakalpataru
127, 134, 212,		VedavyšsasmeH
Vandugi (Yādava)	356	Vediśrī
Vani Dindori plates of Govinda		Voliniu
III	380	Velür
Vankad	104	Velvikudi grant
Vankikā	104	Vemavād 288
Vanniya-Revan	311	Vemulavāda 230,
Vappuga, Nolamba prince	253	249, 250, 288
Vappulaka (general of Kalacuri)	309	Vemulavāda inscription 206,
Vappuvanna 26		288, 289
Varadā river	212	Venbai (place) 229
Varaharan II, Sassanian Emperor	163	Venginādu 312
Varāhadeva	33	Vengī 201,
Varāhadeva, son of Hastibhoja,		202, 240, 246, 248, 249, 251,
minister of Harisena	129	254, 298, 299, 329, 330, 380
37a.:=1,(L.)	130	Venonda
Varāhamihira	102,	210, 222, 262
Vāvānast 220	368	Venka Rāvata 363
Vārāņasī 330,		Vonno viscos
Varețikă Varņavyavasthă	272 169,	Vibhurāja (alias Māna) . 134
	169, , 375	37:3:/-
Varana	82	113, 114, 117, 124
Vonet	17,	x 51 7 71 1 (C) 7 71) 01 4
vasai	275	Vidyadhara (Candella) 314,
• • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • •		010

XXXVIII INDEX

V-contd.		V-contd.	
	PAGES		PAGES
Vidyāmādhava	405	(Yuvarāja) ···	226-28,
Vidyāmādhava Vidyānanda (Jaina author)	200	2	35, 236
Vidyahanda (Jahia adhier) Vigrahapāla (Gādhīpura)	315	Vikramāditya III	. 290
Vigrahapāla (Pāla)	316	Vikramāditya IV (father o	f 290,
Vigrahapāla III	316	Taila IÍ) 2 Vikramāditya V	91, 293
Vigrahapāla II (Cāhamāna)	301	Vikramāditya V	. 201,
Vijamba Vijaya a monk	250	205, 303-	·U4, JU0
Vijaya a monk	195	Vikramāditya VI 2	. 201,
Vijayabāhu (king of Simhala)	318		
Vijayabhattarikā (wife of Candra-		Vikramāditya VI (Tribhuvana malla) Cālukya	. 273,
	8, 222	281-82, 285, 308, 3	
Vijayadevavarman (Salankayana)	186	313, 314, 315, (Bikka	
Vijayāditya (Cālukya)		317, 319, 320, 321, 322,	323-31
203, 205, 220, 221, 3		(Tribhuvanamalla), 332, 3	
228, 244, 24		339 , 347, 3	
(Son of Someśvara I-Calukya	310	Vikrama Era (Varșa) . Vikramapura	. 324
Kalyāni)	314	Vikramapura	. 331
Vijayādityan	242	Vikrama Vīra (Vikramāditya V	() 318,
Vijayāditya, brother of Sivamāra	280	323 (\	/ikrama)
Vijayādītya II (Silāhāra)		vikramankadevacarita .	. 285,
Vijayaditya II (Silaliaia)	83, 363		324, 330
Vijayāditya III (Cālukya)	246,	Vikramānkadevacarīta (of . Bilhaṇa) 2	. 202,
248, 24	19, 289	Vikramārjunavijaya (work)	78, 281
Vijayādītya V	251,	Villahba (Vikramāditva)	. 288 . 220
,.,	252	Vimalāditva (Cālukva)	. 287
Vijayagada	179	Villabha (Vikramāditya) . Vimalāditya (Cālukya) . Vinašana, ■ holy place . Vinavāditya	. 102
Vijayagada Vijayāṅkā poetess (Vijjakā)	222	Vinavaditya	. 140,
Vijaya Pāṇḍya	0.41	Vinayāditya 214, 219, 2	
Vijayapura	304	224-25 (Grandson of Pula)	keśin II)
Vijayarāja, son of Buddhavarman		Vinayāditya (Hoysala) Vinayāditya Maṅgalarasa Vinayapiṭaka	. 328
(Cālukya)		Vinayāditya Mangalarasa .	. 203
Vijaya Satakarņi	99,	Vinayapitaka	. 195
	100	Vinayavati (Queen of Govinda	t -
Vijayasena	160,	rāja)	. 228
16	32, 163	Vindhya mountain	114, 117
Vijayasimhācārya (author)	278	Vîndhyasakti I-Vâkāṭaka	
Vijayeśvara temple	226	109, 110, 1	
Vijjakā (Vijayānkā)	222	Vindhyaśakti II of Bāśim plate	17, 118 s 110,
Vijjala (Modha prince)	273	112, 113, 123, 1	
Vijayeśvara temple Vijjakā (Vijayāṅkā) Vijjala (Modha prince) Vijjarāṇaka	271	Vindhyasena (Vindhyasakti II)	
vijnanesvara	000,		29, 134
	31, 388	Vindhyavarman (Paramāra king	
Vikkalan (Vikramāditýa VI)		Vingavallī	040
313, 319, 32 Víkki 310, 31	19, 323		380, 402
	30, 337	Vipaśeyi (Buddha)	17, 32
Vikramāditya of Garda Bhilla 8	_	Virāṭanagar	. 333
family	., 201.	Visakhadatta	
Vikramāditya		Viśaiyavāḍai	
(legendary)	123		367, 369
Vikramāditya (Candragupta II)		Visāpūr	
Vikramāditya I, son of Pulakešin		Visnu (Andhra)	
	23, 261	Viṣṇu (God)	
Vikramāditya II (Cālukya)	•	12, 13, 28, 125, 1 Viṣṇubhaṭṭa Somayājin .	000
Talamautya II (Calukya)	, <u>-</u>	višiuonaita somayalin .	. 202

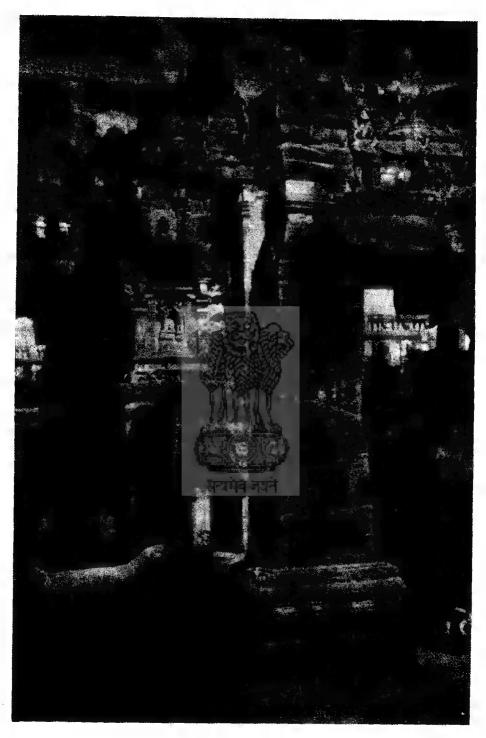
INDEX XXXIX

V—contd.	V-concld.
PAGES	PAGES
Visnucitta, son of Jayakesin II 274	Vyâghra 174
Visnudatta 196	Vyāgrha, Uchchakalpa prince 112,
Viṣṇugupta 267, 368	127
Visnupālita, Saka 196	Vyåghradeva 114
Viṣṇu Purāṇa 74,	115, 127
75, 109, 117	Vyāghrarāja the ruler of Mahā- 115,
Visnuvardhana (Pallava) 202,	kāntāra 118,
203	Vyāghrasena, son of Dharasena 108
Visnuvardhana 136, 139	Vyāsabhāṣya, on the Yogasūtras 190
(the younger brother of Pula- 205,	
keśin II) 210, 285	W
Viṣṇuvardhana; Hoysala king 205,	Walave 278
333, 334, 335, 336, 338, 339	Warrangal 362,
Visnuvardhana IV (Vengi-Calukya	373, 387
ruler) 239,	Wāī 20, 35
Viṣṇuvardhana (Cālukya) 285	Wainganga 65,70
771/ 11 Del 11	Wardhā river 131
Visottara Dikșita 377 Visruta 132, 135	Wijāsan 21,
Viśvābāhu (Buddha) 17, 32	22, 23
Viśvakarmā, cave at Ellorā 20	Wima Kadphises 87,
Viśvanāth Bāļāpūrkar 405	90, 146, 149, 151,
Viśvasena (son of Rudrasena II) 160,	152, 155 (Wima)
163	
Viśvasena, son of Bhartṛdāman. 163,	Y
164	Yadu 346
Viśvasimha, son of Bhartrdaman 162,	Yajdani 25, 26
165	Yajñasena 83
Vițe 14	Yajňaśrī Sātakarni 17,
Vitthala Temple 28	20, 36, 95, 98, 160, 176
Vitthala Temple of Pandharpur 398	Yājñavalkya 174,
Vīr 224	188, 189, 381, 389, 390
Vīra (Village)	Yājñavalkya Smṛti 171,
201	172, 189, 199, 275, 278, 330
361 Vira-Baṇañjas 389	Yali-Sirûr inscription 350
Vitas bhata	Yama 82,
Vira Bijjaladeva	368
Vīradāman 162	Yama-Smrti 382
Vīramitrodaya 380	Yamunā river 102,
Vīra Pāṇḍya 336	241, 250, 315
Virapurusadatta, Iksväku ruler 161	Yasahpāla 34
Vīra Rājendra 312,	Yasastilaka Campa 288,
313, 314, 318	289,
Vīra-rasa 341, 349	Yāska 3
Vīrasena 116	Yasodāman I 160, 162
Vīrasena (Sena) 317	Yasodāman II 118,
Vivekasindhu 408	163, 164, 165
Vohiyavvā (daughter of	Yasodhara, a Commentator of
Dhorappa) 356	Kāmasūtra 103 Yašovarman 287
Vradhamabbārasi (Satyāśraya's 303	
daughter)	Yasovarman (feudatory of Bhoja 305 Paramāra king) 336
Vratakaumudi 397	Yavana, Greek Layman 197
Vratakhanda (Hemāda's work) 370	Yavat 12, 28
Vratarāja 397	Yayāti 187
Vrdhimbbāraše (Satyāśraya's	Yelburgā 361
daughter) 302	Yevür inscription 201
	·

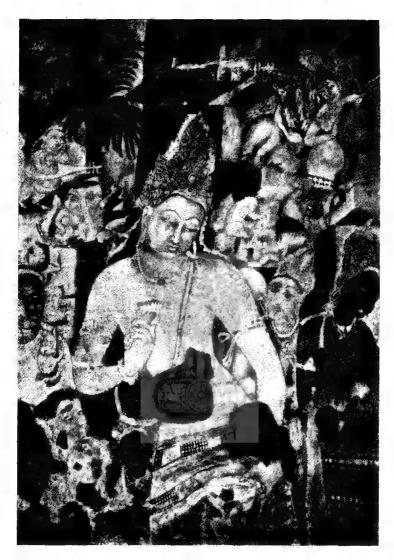
xl ndex

Y—contd.				Y—concld.			
		PA	GES			PAGES	
Yevur tablets			285	Yuddhamalla II		288	
Yevur			404	Yuddhamalla III		289	
Yogācāra school]	190,	Yudhāmalla (son of Tāḍapa)		251	
· ·	• •		195	Yudhvmalla II		254	
Yogasutras		183,	190	Yudhişthira of Mahābhā	Mahābhārata		
Yasamotika	• •		154	fame		122	
Yuan Chwang		379,	391	Yagapurāņa		87, 90	
Yuddhamalla	• •		288	Yuvarāja I (Cedi)		252	





Kailas Temple—Ellora



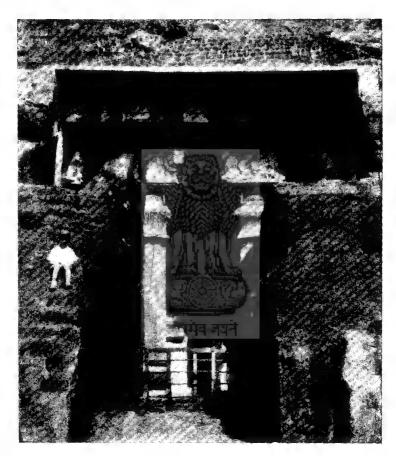
Bodhisattva Padmapani



Magnificent Trimurti-Elephanta



Carvings on the Walls of Karla Caves



Bedsa Caves-Lonavla



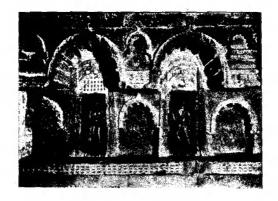
A general view of Pale Caves, Mahad



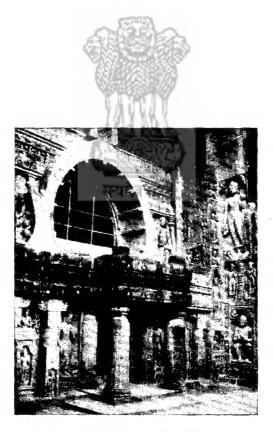
The Rock-cut Caves of Pitalkhora Caves 3 to 6



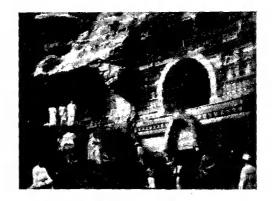
Pillar bracket at Ajanta Caves



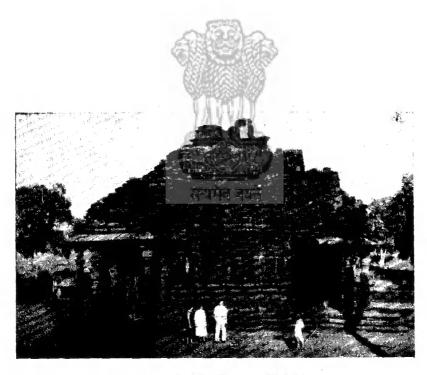
Vihara-Bhaja Caves



Ajanta Cave No. 19



Pandav Lene (caves) -Nasik



Ambernath Temple near Kalyan

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